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Bruce C. Donaldson

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Preface

Afrikaans has been one of the two official languages of the Republic of South Africa since 1925 when an act of parliament replaced Dutch with Afrikaans. It is the mother tongue of at least five million South Africans as well as of some tens of thousands of Namibians. This number includes approximately two and a half million whites, so-called Afrikaners, who were formerly commonly called Boers; the rest of the white population, about one and a half million, speak English as their mother tongue. The so-called Cape Coloureds, who are descended from the first Dutch settlers, imported Indian and Malay slaves, as well as from black slaves (chiefly from Angola) and Hottentots (the original inhabitants of the Western Cape, now extinct), are more or less equal in number to the Afrikaners and the vast majority of them also speak Afrikaans as their mother tongue. In Namibia, which was taken from Germany by South Africa in 1914 and which only gained its independence in March 1990, the majority of the white population of 100,000 are also Afrikaners, followed by Germans and lastly by people of English-speaking descent. The various groups of mixed race living in Namibia also have Afrikaans as their mother tongue and the most wide-spread lingua franca of the total population of one and a quarter million is Afrikaans, although it was deprived of its official status at independence. In South Africa too Afrikaans serves in many rural areas as the predominant lingua franca between whites and blacks. It is therefore difficult to estimate how many people overall use Afrikaans on a daily basis but it is certainly several millions more than those whose mother tongue it is.

Uncertainty surrounds many of the processes that led to the development of Afrikaans from seventeenth century Dutch. The controversy about the origins of the language has bounced back and forth between those who have advocated that the language developed spontaneously out of the seventeenth century Dutch dialects spoken by the original white settlers, and those who have maintained that it is the product of pidginisation in the mouths of the many non-white inhabitants of the early Cape, i.e. the slaves from Africa, India and the Indies, as well as the indigenous Hottentots. Although the debate still rages from time to time in various quarters, non-South African linguists maintaining that racial prejudice forces Afrikaners to play down the latter theory and adhere blindly to the former, there seems to be a general consensus now within South Africa that the truth probably lies somewhere between these two poles.

South Africa consists of four provinces, all the result of nineteenth century white expansion into the interior of southern Africa from Cape Town, the country's mother city which was founded in 1652 by the Dutch East India Company. The Cape Province is the largest and, apart from its far eastern fringe, has never been subject to black immigration from the north, unlike the other three provinces. The indigenous peoples of the Cape Province were the Hottentots and Bushmen. The former, in as far as they were not wiped out by newly introduced diseases, were absorbed into the Cape Coloured community while the survivors of the latter group have

retreated into the Kalahari desert which straddles South Africa, Botswana and Namibia. As Dutch settlement proceeded along the southern coast in an easterly direction throughout the eighteenth century, so the language of the European settlers was introduced into the rest of the province. With the British take-over of the Cape in 1795, which introduced English to Cape Town, and the decision of the British Government to bring 5,000 English immigrants out to the Eastern Cape Province in 1820, two bilingual areas arose: Cape Town and the towns and surrounding countryside of Port Elizabeth and East London. Otherwise the rural areas of this province are still overwhelmingly Afrikaans-speaking, the majority of the population being coloured, not white.

The Orange Free State and the Transvaal are the result of the Great Trek, which took place during the 1830s. These areas enjoyed the status of independent republics until their defeat by the British in the Boer War of 1899-1901. At the time these areas were also overwhelmingly Afrikaans-speaking, at least as far as their white populations were concerned. Afrikaner expansion also extended east of the Drakensberg mountains down into the province of Natal with its inland capital of Pietermaritzburg. With the Great Trek went the Afrikaans language, being the language of a community of farmers seeking Lebensraum beyond the reach of British authority and the English language. The discovery of diamonds, and subsequently of gold, in 1876 in the heart of the South African Republic as the Transvaal was then known, brought within very few years a flood of non-Afrikaans-speaking immigrants, most of them English-speaking. Thus was born the city of Johannesburg. In the 1840s the British had already annexed Natal and founded the port city of Durban, forcing many of the voortrekkers, as those who made the Great Trek are known, in that region to retreat back to the Transvaal and the Free State. These historical developments explain why it is that virtually the whole of the Free State (because it is overwhelmingly farming country), the rural areas of the Transvaal and the north-west of Natal along the Drakensberg, are Afrikaans-speaking while the towns and cities of the southern Transvaal and Natal are bastions of English language and culture. However Dutch names like Johannesburg and Pietermaritzburg may sound, one does not hear much Afrikaans there these days. Since the Boer War many Afrikaners have become urbanised, and the capitals of the Free State and the Transvaal, Bloemfontein and Pretoria, are predominantly Afrikaans-speaking, in the latter case because Pretoria is also the national capital, and the public service, as well as the armed forces, both based in Pretoria, are manned chiefly by Afrikaners whose political party has ruled South Africa since 1948, the year in which the loss of the Boer War was, ideologically speaking, overturned.

In spite of the fact that it is over eighty years since Afrikaans began to displace Dutch in public life, and over sixty years since an act of parliament officially recognised it, many aspects of the language have still been inadequately described. It is of course a mammoth task to describe any language in all its almost infinite variety. It is not that South African academics have not attempted to meet the challenge, for they have been

very prolific indeed in describing Afrikaans, but such is its variety, and one might say even its volatility, that there have to date been very few comprehensive descriptions of the language.

For many years there was only ever one grammar of Afrikaans for English-speaking people living outside South Africa which was, in its day, readily available throughout the English-speaking world. The book I refer to is M.P.O. Burgers *Teach Yourself Afrikaans* (English Universities' Press, London, 1957). It is an excellent little book that underwent several impressions, but it has been out of print for years now. While the present book was being written a new *Teach Yourself Afrikaans* by H. van Schalkwyk (Southern Books, Johannesburg & Edward Arnold, London, 1989) appeared, but it is very limited in its aims. Apart from these books, there has of course been a wealth of material that has appeared in South Africa for school curricula and the like, but all that material approaches Afrikaans very much from the point of view of a second language, and not a foreign language, most of it thus being written in Afrikaans. This book is an attempt to put a useful descriptive grammar at the disposal of a world public. It endeavours to present a more complete description of the grammar of Afrikaans than any book that has appeared to date that has been intended for the non-native speaker. This book also differs from all Afrikaans grammars, whether they were written for native or non-native-speakers, in that it does not attempt to be normative, but descriptive. The one exception to this among existing Afrikaans grammars is F. Ponelis' *Afrikaanse Sintaksis*, which is also descriptive, but which is very much pitched at Afrikaans-speaking linguists. It is very innovative in its approach but is not at all suited to learning the language from, quite apart from the fact that it is written in Afrikaans. It also deviates drastically from the traditional approach to grammar.

This descriptive grammar differs from both Ponelis' *Afrikaanse Sintaksis* and J. van Schoor's *Die Grammatika van Standaard-Afrikaans*, for example, in that it is also to a great extent contrastive with English, and thus more attention is given to where Afrikaans differs from English.

It is impossible to describe all the grammatical, and particularly the phonological, variants of Afrikaans, although *taalvariasie* studies are the "in" thing in Afrikaans linguistic circles at the moment. I concentrate on the most common, and in particular on those found in the Afrikaans of what would generally be considered to be speakers of the standard language. Thus, for example, the variety found in the Afrikaans of many, but not by any means all, so-called coloured native-speakers of the language (also called Kaaps), is not covered here.

I have aimed at describing Afrikaans very much as it is spoken now, warts and all, which means riddled with countless thousands of Anglicisms which either are no longer recognised as such or, even if they are, are now considered an integral, if not always a necessary, part of the living language. This seems to be the inevitable result of the exceedingly high degree of bilingualism that has been attained by most (one can almost say "all") Afrikaans speakers today. The norms of Dutch grammar, formerly to a great extent also automatically considered to be norms of Afrikaans

grammar, are losing their validity at an ever increasing rate. This phenomenon is not always evident, however, if one refers to the standard prescriptive works used in the South African educational system – many an English influenced structure which one will hear daily in the Afrikaans of even educated speakers is not recognised by the various dictionaries and grammars. In refusing to follow the traditional attitude to such structures and in describing them as a part of the living language, this book deviates drastically from all other grammars of Afrikaans. I do, however, endeavour to point out where the forms I describe differ from what native-speakers traditionally regard as correct.

Where references are made in this work to the attitudes of prescriptive grammars to certain structures, I have the following sorts of works in mind: Botha and Van Aardt (1978), Combrink and Spies (1986), Hiemstra (1980), Terblanche (1972), Van der Merwe (1982). Very few specific references to other works are given in this book as virtually none of them are available outside South Africa for the reader to consult anyway. Nevertheless I have on just a few occasions referred to what other works have to say on several issues where there is some debate or where a statement rests on the findings or opinion of one particular scholar.

I have chosen not to acknowledge the sources of the many sample sentences used in this grammar to illustrate the concepts under discussion. To have done so would have affected the readability of the text. All the examples were collected in the field, so to speak, and have been checked by native-speakers for their grammaticality. Should the occasional odd sounding example have escaped the eye of my native-speaker proof-readers, the responsibility for its inclusion lies of course entirely with me.

Where I use the term “historical(ly)”, as in “*Dit*, historically meaning ‘this’ ...” I am referring to the situation as it was/is in Dutch, as it is still occasionally necessary to know what the situation was/is in Dutch to fully understand an Afrikaans structure. The relationship to Dutch is not always just historical since in some ways the two languages are still intertwined. At times, in the higher registers in particular, it is difficult to draw a line between the lexicon of the two languages, but even in the morphology of Afrikaans, Dutch structures continually percolate through to the surface (e.g. adjectival inflection).

The notion that Afrikaans is such a simple language, certainly a very prevalent idea amongst the Dutch, may be dispelled by this book. So-called simplification of certain aspects of the grammar has been compensated for by new difficulties, not present in Dutch, in other aspects of the grammar, e.g. adjectival inflection and pluralisation.

In the minds of so many people, both inside and outside South Africa, Afrikaans is inextricably linked with Afrikaners, their ruling party and the ideology they have promulgated since coming to power in 1948. This has brought the language itself into disfavour and lumbered it with a reputation it does not deserve – it has been an innocent tool in the hands of bigoted ideologues, so much so that the two are now seen as inseparable, and yet this should not be the case. André Brink (1984:36) has the following to say on this topic: “It is indeed a sad a state of affairs, because the language

as such is much larger and more vital than the ideology in which it has apparently become imprisoned." It remains to be seen what the role of the language will be in the post-apartheid South Africa currently taking shape and in newly independent Namibia. Although it may lose some ground to English at an official level and even as a lingua franca between the races, its role as a widely spoken community language will undoubtedly secure for it a permanent place in southern African society, whatever form that society may take in future.

About the author: I am Australian born and first studied German at the University of Western Australia in the late sixties and subsequently Old Germanic languages at the State University of Utrecht in Holland in the early seventies. It was after learning Dutch and deciding to migrate on an assisted passage from Holland to South Africa at the beginning of 1973 that my initial interest in Afrikaans was aroused. To this day, despite numerous lengthy sojourns in the Republic of South Africa and a consuming passion and fascination for that country, my interest in Afrikaans is still primarily due to its similarity to, but also differences from, Dutch. In South Africa I was able to combine two of my greatest academic interests in life – the Dutch language and the history of European expansion.

In the event I stayed in South Africa for less than a year, as in December 1973 I was appointed to a lecturing position in Dutch in the Department of Germanic Studies at the University of Melbourne, a post which I still occupy. During the years that elapsed between 1973 and 1983 I was never able to forget my 11 months as an immigrant in South Africa nor, above all, the interest that had been aroused in me at that time for Afrikaans. For a decade I harboured a burning desire to return to South Africa to follow up that interest on an academic plain. In 1983 I took leave of absence from my university to embark on a doctoral thesis which I was to write for the University of the Orange Free State entitled *The influence of English on Afrikaans: a case study of linguistic change in a language contact situation*.

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Abbreviations

Afr.	–	Afrikaans
AWB	–	Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging
AWS	–	Afrikaanse woordelys en spelreëls
DP	–	Demokratiese Party
Eng.	–	English
FW	–	F.W. de Klerck (the State President)
NG	–	Nederduits Gereformeerd (= Dutch Reformed)
NP	–	Nasionale Party
o.s.	–	oneself
prep.	–	preposition(al)
pres.	–	present (tense)
prod.	–	productive
PW	–	P.W. Botha (the former State President)
RSA	–	Republiek van Suid-Afrika/Republic of South Africa
s.o.	–	someone
s.t.	–	something
SA	–	South African
SOV	–	subject object verb
sub.	–	subordinate(-ing)
SVO	–	subject verb object
V ₂	–	(finite) verb second

An asterisk (*) before an Afrikaans word or phrase means ungrammatical/not possible.

Where it is deemed necessary to show which syllable in a given word bears the stress, the vowel of that syllable is in bold type, e.g. *akademikus*, *oseaan*. In phonetic transcriptions a ['] has been inserted prior to the stressed syllable.

1. Pronunciation

Introduction

South Africans do not normally recognise the existence of dialects as such in Afrikaans, but rather slight regional or ethnic variations in speech, particularly in accent, although these variations can also extend to vocabulary and grammatical forms. These days there are ideological objections in some quarters to the term “coloured Afrikaans” (also called Kaaps) with reference to the often highly distinctive speech of many, but not necessarily all, so-called coloureds. As such ethnic variations are not regarded as belonging to standard Afrikaans, they are not discussed here. Regional variations in pronunciation are not uncommon. The pronunciation of the Afrikaans of the former Boer Republics of the Transvaal and the Orange Free State is generally regarded as the standard form of the language but there is no strong social stigma associated with the pronunciation of other regions.

The *Taalkommissie* has not as yet published guidelines for pronunciation as it has for spelling.

Comments on the phonetic transcription

As with the case of the grammar of Afrikaans, there is in my opinion also a discrepancy between how Afrikaans phonologists have traditionally perceived the sounds of their language and the way they are in fact pronounced. The most glaring example of the anomalies involved here is the transcription of the vowels in words like *been* and *boom*, but also in *seun* (see 1.3.1–1.3.3). The phonetic transcription followed here deviates from traditional South African practice only where it is considered necessary to convey to the foreign reader a truer representation of a sound than the existing tradition permits. At the same time I have attempted to avoid resorting to lesser known phonetic symbols and prolific use of diacritic marks so as not to intimidate those readers only superficially acquainted with the International Phonetic Alphabet. A truer transcription of the sounds of Afrikaans is more important in a work that is to be used by people who are not in contact with the living language than those who live in South Africa who are able to relate a traditional phonetic transcription to the language they hear being spoken around them. Many users of this book will presumably never have heard a word of Afrikaans and will be entirely dependent on the transcription offered in this chapter to relay an impression of the way it sounds. To have adhered to the conventions of South African works on Afrikaans phonology would have given a false idea of many of the sounds of the language.

Inventory of the phonemes of Afrikaans

The short vowels

i	y	u	<i>dief</i>	<i>suutjies</i>	<i>boek</i>
	ĩ			<i>kind</i>	
ɛ	æ	ɔ	<i>bed</i>	<i>kus</i>	<i>bok</i>
	a			<i>kat</i>	

The long vowels

i:	y:	u:	<i>mier</i>	<i>muur</i>	<i>boer</i>
ɛ:	æ:	ɔ:	<i>skêr</i>	<i>rûe</i>	<i>sôe</i>
	a:			<i>kaart</i>	

The diphthongs

əi			<i>wei / wy</i>		
œi	œu	oə	<i>huis</i>	<i>koud</i>	<i>brood</i>
	øə			<i>seun</i>	
eə		ai	<i>weet</i>		<i>baie</i>

The double vowels

iu		ui	<i>sneeu</i>		<i>koeie</i>
		o:i			<i>noui</i>
	a:i			<i>draai</i>	

The consonants

p	t	k	<i>pot</i>	<i>tafel</i>	<i>kat</i>
b	d		<i>bom</i>	<i>dak</i>	
f	s	x	<i>Frans / vis</i>	<i>ses</i>	<i>goed</i>
v			fi	<i>water</i>	<i>huis</i>
m	n	ŋ		<i>man</i>	<i>noui</i>
					<i>sing</i>
					<i>lag</i>
					<i>rooi</i>

In the following descriptions of the sounds of Afrikaans (1.1.1–1.5.2.14), the grapheme is given first in italics, followed by a phonetic transcription of that grapheme, followed by examples of words containing that sound plus a phonetic transcription of those words and their meaning. In the phonetic transcriptions the stress in words where the required stress is not obvious is designated by the insertion of ['] before the stressed syllable; outside the phonetic transcriptions stress is indicated by putting the stressed vowel in boldface.

Separate mention is made here and there of important allophonic variants of certain sounds, but the phonetic transcriptions used in this chapter do not necessarily consistently reflect all possible allophones.

1.1. The short vowels

1.1.1. The short vowel *a* [a]

Examples: *dat* [dat] 'that', *kat* [kat] 'cat', *klap* [klap] 'hit', *matte* [matə] 'mats', *plakker* [plakər] 'sticker'.

In the combination *ans*, as in *dans*, *Hans*, and *kans*, *a* is lengthened and nasalised, e.g. [dā:s], [fā:s], [kā:s].¹ This nasalisation is more pronounced in some (upper middle class) speakers than others, but there are also those who do not nasalise at all. There is a parallel nasalisation of *e* and *o* in the same environment (see 1.1.2 and 1.1.5 respectively).

1.1.2. The short vowel *e* [ɛ]

Examples: *bed* [bet] 'bed', *hemp* [fɛmp] 'shirt', *letter* [lɛtər] 'letter', *redding* [rɛdŋ] 'salvation'.

Although the *e* in the examples given differs little from the corresponding sound in English, when the *e* is followed by *r* plus a dental consonant (i.e. *s*, *t*, *d*), the sound is lowered to [æ] and lengthened, e.g. *pers* [pæ:rs] 'purple',² *dertig* [dæ:rtɔx] 'thirty', *perd* [pæ:rt] 'horse'. No circumflex is required in such cases (see 1.2.2). There is a parallel here with *o* (see 1.2.4).

Particularly in the Transvaal and the Free State, when *e* is followed by *k*, *g*, *l* and *r* it is pronounced lower, e.g. *ek* [æk] 'I', *elk* [ælk] 'each', *reg* [ræx] 'right'. The higher sound, i.e. [ɛ], in such words is typical of Cape Afrikaans (see footnote 10). Only in certain words, and it is impossible to give any rule, is [æ] lengthened when followed by *k*, *r* or *rk*; for example, in the verbs *trek* 'to move' and *vertrek* 'to depart' it is pronounced [æ:], but in the corresponding nouns *die Groot Trek* 'the Great Trek' and *vertrek* 'departure; room' it is pronounced [æ], whereas in *werk* 'work', in both the noun and the verb, it is lengthened. In *ver* 'far' it is also long and yet this word is not written with a circumflex (see 1.2.2).

In the combination *-ens*, as in *mens* 'person' and *venster* 'window', *e* is lengthened and nasalised, e.g. [mɛ:s], [fɛ:stər]. This nasalisation is more pronounced in some (upper middle class) speakers than others. There is a parallel nasalisation of *a* and *o* in the same environment (see 1.1.1, and 1.1.5).

¹ Nasalisation is the norm in monosyllabic words like *dans* and *kans*, but it is also not unusual in a common word like *Afrikaans*, pronounced [afɾəkā:s] (although [afɾəka:ns] is also possible), which already contains a long *a*, but in less common words like *Italiaans* it is not usual to nasalise.

² Only in *pers* [pers] 'press' does short [ɛ] contrast phonemically with the long [ɛ:] of *pers* [pɛ:rs] 'purple' (see De Villiers 1987: 63).

1.1.3. The short vowel *i* [i]³

Examples: *bitter* [bītər] 'bitter', *dit* [dīt] 'it', *ding* [dɪŋ] 'thing'.

See 1.2.3 for an example of a lengthened [i].

1.1.4 . The short vowel *ie* [i]

Examples: *donkie* [dɔŋci] 'family', *energie* [ɛnər'xi] 'energy', *piesang* ['pisan] 'banana', *sien* [sin] 'to see', *skiet* [skit] 'to shoot'.

Many loanwords with [i] have been adapted in spelling, e.g. *krieket*, *matriek*, *piekels*, *piekniek*, *pienk*, *vanielje*; not all by any means have been adapted, however (see 1.5.1.3).

When stressed and followed by *r* this sound is lengthened, e.g. *hier* [hi:r] 'here', *kliere* [kli:rə] 'glands'. There is a parallel here with *œ* and *uu*⁴ when followed by *r* (see 1.1.6 and 1.1.8). *Spieël* [spi:i] 'mirror' also contains a long [i].⁸

1.1.5. The short vowel *o* [ɔ]

Examples: *op* [ɔp] 'on', *potte* [pɔtə] 'pots', *romp* [rɔmp] 'skirt', *rot* [rɔt] 'rotten'.

Whereas the majority of Dutchmen pronounce the short *o* in *bok* 'billy goat' like that in *hok* 'pen/hutch', for example, i.e. a more open sound, in Afrikaans only the more closed variety, as pronounced by some Dutch people in *bok*, exists. This sound is distinctly different from the short *o* in English *pot*, *dog* etc., i.e. [ɒ].⁵

³ My use of [i] here, and elsewhere in this book, for stressed *i* in indigenous words is at odds with all South African works on Afrikaans phonology which use [ɔ] for this sound, as well as for that which occurs in unstressed syllables such as in *begin* [bɔ'xiŋ] and *vader* [fa:dər], for example. There is, however, a difference between the two sounds which should, I feel, be reflected in phonetic transcription. The stressed sound is higher, while still being a central vowel, unlike the equivalent vowel in English. Thus where the vowel in English *sit* can be transcribed as [sɪt] (but as [sɪt] in varieties of SA English), that in Afrikaans *sit* is transcribed here as [sɪ̃t], the diacritic mark indicating that it is a more central vowel than the English sound, and the [ɪ̃] indicating that it is a higher vowel than [ɔ]. Where *i* occurs in pre-tonic position (i.e. in syllables prior to the syllable bearing the stress), something which only occurs in Greek/Romance loanwords, I have opted to use [ɔ], an allophone of /i/, in accordance with existing works (see footnote 7).

⁴ Where sounds are represented by such letters in italics, I am employing the (compound) graphemes used to represent those sounds in Afrikaans orthography rather than their phonetic transcriptions.

⁵ The Dutch traditionally transcribe short *o* in *klop*, *op*, *hok* etc. as [ɔ] but so do the South Africans. The sound that occurs in Afrikaans also occurs in certain positions in the Dutch of some people but it is no longer the norm in the west of Holland. The Dutch sound is better transcribed as [ɒ] (i.e. the more open sound) and the symbol [ɔ] is more appropriate for the Afrikaans sound. In other words there has been a levelling out in standard western Dutch in favour of [ɒ] whereas the levelling out has been in the direction of [ɔ] in Afrikaans.

In the combination *ons*, as in *ons* 'us/our' and *spons* 'sponge', *o* is lengthened and nasalised, e.g. [õ:s], [spõ:s]. This nasalisation is more pronounced in some (upper middle class) speakers than others. There is a parallel nasalisation of *a* and *e* in the same environment (see 1.1.1 and 1.1.2 respectively).

1.1.6. The short vowel *œ* [u]

Examples: *boek* [buk] 'book', *koel* [kul] 'cool', *moeder* [mudər] 'mother', *soen* [sun] 'kiss'.

When stressed and followed by *r* this sound is lengthened, e.g. *boer* [bu:r] 'farmer', *voer* [fu:r] 'fodder', but *moeras* [mu'ras] 'swamp' because the *œ* is unstressed. This sound is pronounced somewhat shorter than in Dutch – even when followed by *r* – and is also slightly unrounded; for this reason it is sometimes transcribed as [ɯ]. *Koeël* [ku:l] 'bullet' also contains a long [u:] (see footnote 8).

1.1.7. The short vowel *u* [ɔ]

Examples: *kursus* [kærsəs] 'course', *punt* [pœnt] 'point', *sluk* [slœk] 'to swallow'.

Unrounding of this sound in the direction of [i] by many speakers causes it to fall together with *i* (see 1.1.3), leading to words like *lug* 'air' and *lig* 'light' sounding identical.⁶ Native-speakers believe they still make a distinction between these two sounds but it is doubtful that this is the case in natural speech.

Unlike the combinations *-ans*, *-ens* and *-ons* (see 1.1.1, 1.1.2 and 1.1.5 respectively), the combination *-uns* (e.g. *guns* 'favour') is not usually nasalised.

1.1.8. The short vowel *uu/u* [y]

Examples: *ekskuus* [ek'skys] 'excuse', *nuus* [nys] 'news', *uraan* [y'ra:n] 'uranium'.

When stressed and followed by *r* this sound is lengthened, e.g. *muur* [my:r] 'wall', *puur* [py:r] 'pure'. There is a tendency to unround [y] in the direction of [i] in spoken Afrikaans, with the result that words like *nies* 'to sneeze' and *nuus* 'news', for example, fall together. This also occurs with *eu*, *u* and *ui*⁶ (see 1.1.7, 1.3.2 and 1.3.6 respectively).

⁶ Of the three simple vowels that are frequently unrounded, i.e. [u].[y] and [ɔ]. unrounding of [ɔ] to [i] is the most wide-spread and the one least likely to strike people as non-standard (see unrounding of diphthongs, 1.3.2 and 1.3.6).

1.1.9. Vowels in unstressed syllables

Where *i* and *e* occur in unstressed syllables, they are pronounced as schwa, e.g. *Afrikaans* [afɾə'kɑ:s] but also [afri'kɑ:s], *belangrik* [bə'laŋrək] 'important', *boere* [bu:rə] 'farmers', *dikwels* [dɪkvəls] 'often', *gelukkig* [xə'lækx] 'happy', *onmiddellik* [ɔ'mɪdələk] 'immediately', *kussing* [kʌsəŋ] 'cushion', *vereniging* [fə'reənəxəŋ] 'society'.⁷

The first vowel in the expressions *vanaand* 'this evening', *vandag* 'today', *vanmôre* 'this morning' etc. is a schwa too, i.e. [fə'na:nt], [fən'dax], [fə'mɔ:rə]. In words of foreign origin schwa may also be represented by letters other than *e* and *i*, e.g. *krokodil* [krəkə'di:l] 'crocodile', *kursus* ['kœrsəs] 'course'.

The most usual pronunciation of the indefinite article, written 'n, is [ə] although [ən] is also heard, and not necessarily just before words beginning with a vowel. In the far south western Cape [ɸən] is also very common.

1.2. The long vowels

The vowels written *ie*, *œ*, *uu* are normally pronounced short but when followed by *r* they are pronounced long (see 1.1.4, 1.1.6 and 1.1.8 respectively).

1.2.1. The long vowel *aa/a* [a:]

Examples: *aap* [a:p] 'monkey', *haal* [fi:a:l] 'to fetch', *maan* [ma:n] 'moon', *tafel* [tɑ:fəl] 'table', *vader* [fa:dər] 'father'.

The combination *ae* is also pronounced [a:], e.g. *hael* [fi:a:l] 'hail' (< Dutch *hagel*),⁸ *nael* [na:l] 'nail' (< Dutch *nagel*), *dae* [da:] 'days' (< Dutch *dagen*), *lae* [la:] 'layers' (< Dutch *lagen*); [da:ʰə] and [la:ʰə] are also heard.

In just a few given words containing *aa/a*, the vowel is pronounced short, i.e. as [a], e.g. *aambeeld* 'anvil', *aarbei* 'strawberry', *haak/hakie* 'hook/bracket', whereas in *hamer* 'hammer' both long and short variants are heard. In very colloquial Afrikaans the vowel in *laat* 'to let', *slaat* 'to hit' is also pronounced short.

Very common, particularly in the Transvaal it is widely believed, is a higher, more rounded pronunciation of *aa* (even [ɔ:] in very extreme cases).⁹ It seems

⁷ Other than in the word *Afrikaans*, these unstressed *i*'s all occur post-tonically and are phonetically transcribed as [ə], not as [i], as advised under footnote 3 where unstressed *i* in loanwords is dealt with.

⁸ There is a parallel between words like *hael* 'hail', *spieël* 'mirror' and *koeël* 'bullet' in that the *el* strictly speaking belongs to a second syllable (< Dutch *hagel*, *spiegel*, *kogel*), but the schwa has been absorbed by the first vowel. Likewise in *swaer* (< Dutch *zwager* 'brother-in-law') and *waens* (< Dutch *wagens* 'wagons').

⁹ If one wants to parody a Transvaler, one uses this sound, whereas the countryside of the Western Cape is parodied by using the uvular *r* and raising *œ* and *oo* to [i] and [u], e.g. *lees* [lis] 'to read', *brood* [brut] 'bread'.

that this sound might be spreading across the rest of the country, particularly among young people. But even in the Cape *aa* is slightly higher and more rounded than the equivalent sound in Dutch, i.e. *aa* could be represented by [a] in Afrikaans but [a:] in Dutch; nevertheless I have used [a:] in this book to represent the Afrikaans sound to keep the transcriptions as simple as possible.

See [ã:s] under 1.1.1.

1.2.2. The long vowel ê [ɛ:]

Examples: *hê* [fi:ɛ] 'to have', *lê* [li:ɛ] 'to lay/lie', *sê* [sɛ:] 'to say'.

The letter *ê* is most commonly found before *r*, which lowers the sound to [æ], e.g. *militêr* [mɔlə'tæ:r] 'military', *skêr* [skæ:r] 'scissors', *wêreld* ['væ:rəlt] 'world'. There is a parallel here with short *e* before *r* (see 1.1.2).

Sometimes colloquially used loanwords from English which contain a short or long [æ] in that language, are written *ê* in Afrikaans and are pronounced more or less as in colloquial South African English, e.g. *pêl* [pæl] 'pal', *grênd* [græ:nt] 'grand'.

See [ã:s] under 1.1.2.

1.2.3. The long vowel î [i:]

Example: *wîe* [vi:(h)ə] 'wedges'.

This sound occurs only in this word.

1.2.4. The long vowel ô [ɔ:]

Examples: *môre* [mɔ:rə] 'morning', *trôe* [trɔ:(h)ə] 'troughs'.

This sound occurs in just a few words.

Words containing *o* followed by *r* plus a dental consonant (i.e. *s*, *t*, *d*), automatically lengthen the vowel to [ɔ:] and thus a circumflex is not necessary, e.g. *bord* [bɔ:rt] 'plate', *wors* [vɔ:rs] 'sausage'. There is a parallel here with *e* (see 1.2.2).

See [õ:s] under 1.1.5.

1.2.5. The long vowel û [ɑ:]

Examples: *brûe* [bræ:(h)ə] 'bridges', *rûe* [ræ:(h)ə] 'backs'.

This sound occurs in very few words.

1.3. The diphthongs

As mentioned in the introduction to 1.0, certain vowels which have been traditionally regarded as long vowels, are in fact diphthongs. There is not the slightest doubt that the the first three sounds given below are most definitely broken in Afrikaans³⁰ and that to transcribe them as [e:], [ø:] and [o:], as is so often done in Afrikaans linguistic works, is simply incorrect. With respect to this breaking there is thus a consistency in the pronunciation of *ee*, *eu* and *oo*.

Afrikaans works call only *ei*/*y*, *ou* and *ui* “the real diphthongs” (see 1.3.9 for “the false diphthongs”).

1.3.1. The diphthong *ee/e* [eə]

Examples: *been* [beən] ‘leg’, *beter* [beətər] ‘better’, *eet* [eət] ‘to eat’.

This sound might also be transcribed as [e'] if one chose to see the second element as a glide.

Although the double *e* in words like *reël* and *reën* (< Dutch *regel*, *regen*) is historically distinct from that in the above words, the presence of schwa in the unstressed endings has given rise to the same diphthong occurring in such words, i.e. [reəl], [reən].

A few words end in unstressed *ee*, which is also broken to [eə], but in *dominee* ‘minister’ the pronounced [i] also commonly occurs, ['doəmni]. Compare loanwords that end in stressed *ee*: *trofee* [tru'feə] ‘trophy’, *moskee* [mɔs'keə] ‘mosque’. Also *attaché* [ata'ʃeə].

1.3.2. The diphthong *eu* [øə]

Examples: *heuning* [høənɪŋ] ‘honey’, *seun* [søən] ‘son’, *reuk* [røək] ‘smell’.

This sound might also be transcribed as [ø'] if one chose to see the second element as a glide.

In addition to applying this breaking or off-glide, there is a slight tendency

³⁰ The only exception to this is in the Boland where *ee* and *oo* are not broken but raised to [i:] and [u:] respectively. See 1.1.2 for the raising of the vowel in *ek*, which is also typical of the Boland. De Villiers (1987: 94) comments that this so-called *Bolandse verhoging* is no longer as widespread in the Western Cape as it was, as a result of large scale urbanisation, and that it has become stigmatised. But it is still commonly found throughout the Western Cape and its periphery; that periphery consists of Namaqualand, the Overberg and the Little Karoo. In many speakers throughout South Africa these long vowels are commonly realised as [iə] and [uə]. This explains why Du Plessis (1987: 1–2), when giving an approximation of the Afrikaans sounds in English to assist English-speaking students, compares these two sounds to the vowels in English “deer” and “tour”. De Villiers (1976: 56–7) comments that Afrikaans [e] and [o] – realised in fact as [eə] and [oə] (BCD) – are closer to cardinal [i] and [u] than in Dutch, German or French. It is certainly true that the pronunciations [iə] and [uə] are exceedingly common and are considered standard Afrikaans.

to unround *eu*, a feature this sound shares with *ui* and *uu* (see 1.3.6 and 1.1.8 respectively); the unrounding of *eu* can cause it to fall together with *ee* (i.e. [eə]) in many speakers, resulting in words like *seun* and *seën* ‘blessing’ falling together.

1.3.3. The diphthong *oo/o* [oɔ]

Examples: *brood* [broɔt] ‘bread’, *oog* [oɔx] ‘eye’, *rose* [roɔsə] ‘roses’, *so* [soɔ] ‘so’.

This sound might also be transcribed as [oʔ] if one chose to see the second element as a glide (see 1.3.5 for an anglicistic pronunciation of some so-called long o’s).

1.3.4. The diphthong *ei/y* [ɛi]

Examples: *bereid* [bɛrɛit] ‘prepared’, *eie* [ɛiʔ] ‘own’, *lei* [ləi] ‘to lead’, *apartheid* [aˈpartʰɛit, aˈpartɛit]; *myne* [mɛinɛ] ‘mines’, *ly* [ləi] ‘to suffer’, *smyt* [smɛit] ‘to chuck’.

This sound was written in two different ways in Dutch for etymological reasons, although in that language too they have fallen together. Afrikaans preserves the Dutch spelling distinction here.

1.3.5. The diphthong *ou* [œu]

Examples: *goud* [xœut] ‘gold’, *hou* [ɦœu] ‘to hold’, *ouer* [œuɔr] ‘older’.

Speakers of Dutch will find the difference between *ou* and *ui* quite subtle except that with a degree of unrounding applied, the latter sound becomes quite distinct from the former (see 1.3.6). *Ou* is commonly also transcribed [ou] in some Afrikaans linguistic works. Native-speakers perceive this sound to be similar to a so-called long *o* in English; Van der Merwe (1982: 133) says, for example, that Afrikaans *motor* ‘car’ should not be pronounced as “mouter” but as “mooter”. *Robot* ‘traffic light’, *Benoni* and *Gordonia* (region in the northern Cape), for example, are also commonly pronounced as in English, i.e. as [rœubɔt], [bœnœuni] and [gœrˈdœunia] instead of [roɔbɔt], [bœnoœni] and [gœrˈdoœnia]; the same applies to trade names like *Toyota* [tœuˈjœuta] instead of [toˈjoœta]. Compare *kosjer/kousjer* ‘kosher’ and *kroukie* ‘croquet’, where the assimilated spelling with *ou* indicates that the vowel is as in English.

1.3.6. The diphthong *ui* [œi]

Examples: *huis* [ɦœis] ‘house’, *lui* [lœi] ‘lazy’, *vuil* [fœil] ‘dirty’.

Afrikaans linguists usually transcribe this sound as [œy], as is Dutch *ui*, but there is a subtle difference between the two languages in the way this sound is pronounced. There is a definite tendency in Afrikaans to unround the second element of the diphthong, pronouncing it [œi]. The tendency to unround can extend to the first element too, i.e. [ɔi]; to do this too strongly is considered non-standard, as it is with *uu* (see 1.1.8). Such extreme unrounding causes a falling together with *ei/y* (see 1.3.4), leading to words like *huis* 'house' and *hys* 'to lift' sounding identical.

1.3.7. The diphthong *ai* [ai]

Examples: *aia* [aia] 'non-white nurse-maid', *baie* [baie] 'much/very', *fraiing* [fraiɪŋ] 'fringe', *kaia* [kaia] 'native dwelling'.

Ai occurs only sporadically, mainly in a few very old loanwords. This sound also occurs in certain diminutives (see 1.3.9.1).

1.3.8. The diphthong *oi* [ɔi]

Examples: *going* [χɔiŋ] 'hessian', *toiings* [tɔiŋs] 'tatters'.

This diphthong occurs in very few indigenous words. It also occurs in certain diminutives (see 1.3.9.1) and otherwise in words of English origin (see 1.5.1.9).

1.3.9. The false diphthongs

As mentioned under 1.3, Afrikaans works normally regard the language as having only three "real diphthongs", but I see it as certainly possessing six (i.e. 1.3.1–1.3.6). In addition to these "real diphthongs" there are two categories of "false diphthong": a) those that arise when words containing certain vowels are diminutised, best called allophonic diphthongs (see 1.3.9.1), b) those that are the result of two separate vowels standing side by side (see 1.3.9.2).

1.3.9.1. Diphthongisation in diminutives

When monosyllabic nouns containing *a/aa*, *an*, *e/ee*, *en*, *i*, *in*, *o/oo*, *on*, *oe*, *u* or *un* end in *-djie* or *-tjie* (see 4.2.1), this ending, which contains both a palatal consonant and a high front vowel, i.e. [ci],¹¹ causes the preceding vowel to diphthongise. This is in fact a form of umlauting. For example:

¹¹ It is traditional to transcribe the diminutive ending *-djie/-tjie* with [ci] rather than [ki] although [c] is simply an allophone of /k/ in this combination.

<i>mat</i> – <i>matjie</i> ‘mat’	pronounced [ma:ci] (but <i>ma’tjie</i> [ma:ci])
<i>maat</i> – <i>maatjie</i> ‘mate’	pronounced [ma:ici] (see <i>laaitjie</i> [la:ici]) ¹²
<i>hand</i> – <i>handjie</i> ‘hand’	pronounced [ɦa:ɪɲci]
<i>aand</i> – <i>aandjie</i> ‘evening’	pronounced [a:ɪɲci]
<i>wa</i> – <i>waentjie</i> ‘wagon’	pronounced [va:ɪɲci]
<i>bed</i> – <i>bedjie</i> ‘bed’	pronounced [bɛ:ci]
<i>prent</i> – <i>prentjie</i> ‘picture’	pronounced [pre:ɲci]
<i>pit</i> – <i>pitjie</i> ‘seed, pip’	pronounced [pʰi:ci] ¹³
<i>kind</i> – <i>kindjie</i> ‘child’	pronounced [kɪ:ɲci] ¹³
<i>pot</i> – <i>potjie</i> ‘pot’	pronounced [pɔ:ci]
<i>poot</i> – <i>pootjie</i> ‘paw’	pronounced [po:ci] (see <i>fooitjie</i> [fo:ci])
<i>hond</i> – <i>hondjie</i> ‘dog’	pronounced [ɦɔ:ɲci]
<i>oond</i> – <i>oondjie</i> ‘oven’	pronounced [o:ɲci]
<i>voet</i> – <i>voetjie</i> ‘foot’	pronounced [fu:ci]
<i>put</i> – <i>putjie</i> ‘well’	pronounced [pʰæ:ci]
<i>punt</i> – <i>puntjie</i> ‘point’	pronounced [pʰæ:ɲci] ¹⁴

Sometimes the [i] of the diphthong is transcribed as [j].

The vowels *ie* and *uu* are not affected by a subsequent [ci], as they are already palatal, e.g.

<i>riet</i> – <i>rietjie</i> ‘reed’	pronounced [ri:ci]
<i>muur</i> – <i>muurtjie</i> ‘wall’	pronounced [my:ci]

Nor is there any change to a vowel preceding *l* or *r* + *tjie* / *djie*, e.g.

<i>nael</i> – <i>naeltjie</i> ‘nail’	pronounced [na:ci]
<i>hart</i> – <i>hartjie</i> ‘heart’	pronounced [ɦa:ci]
<i>perd</i> – <i>perdjie</i> ‘horse’	pronounced [pæ:ci]
<i>veld</i> – <i>veldjie</i> ‘field’	pronounced [felci]
<i>beeld</i> – <i>beeldjie</i> ‘picture’	pronounced [bɛ:ci]

Nor are the following diphthongs in the root syllable affected, the last two already containing an [i]:

<i>see</i> – <i>seetjie</i> ‘sea’	pronounced [se:ci]
<i>neut</i> – <i>neutjie</i> ‘nut’	pronounced [nø:ci]
<i>boud</i> – <i>boudjie</i> ‘buttock’	pronounced [bœ:ci]
<i>by</i> – <i>bytjie</i> ‘bee’	pronounced [bœ:ci]
<i>skuit</i> – <i>skuitjie</i> ‘boat’	pronounced [skœ:ci]

¹² Note that because of the diphthongisation that occurs when *-djie* / *-tjie* are added to nouns in *-aad* / *-aat*, there is no distinction in the vowel of words like *baadjie* ‘coat’ and *baaitjie* ‘bay’.

¹³ For the sake of consistency I have transcribed the resulting diphthong here as [i:] but it in practice falls together with *y*, which is transcribed as [ɔi] – compare *snyttjie* [snɔ:ci] ‘slice’ and *wyntjie* [vɔ:ɲci] ‘wine’.

¹⁴ For the sake of consistency with the other diminutive forms given here, the sound in this word has been transcribed as [æi], which gives the impression that this allophonic diphthong is the same as the real diphthong *ui* (see *skuitjie* further down the list), which is not exactly true as there is a subtle difference in the pronunciation of the first element of the diphthong; it is even possible to find the two sounds contrasting phonemically, e.g. *puintjie* ‘rubble’ / *puntjie* ‘point’. Suffice it to say here that there is a “virtual” falling together of the two sounds.

Nor does diphthongisation occur when the root ends in *k*:

bak – *bakkie* ‘bowl’ pronounced [baci]¹⁵
sok – *sokkie* ‘sock’ pronounced [sɔci]

1.3.9.2. The long diphthongs or double vowels

The following “long diphthongs” arose when historically long vowels were followed by another vowel, either /i/ or /u/; they are thus often regarded as double vowels rather than as diphthongs.

1.3.9.2.1. The long diphthong *aai* [a:i]

Examples: *draai* [dra:i] ‘to turn’, *maai* [ma:i] ‘to mow’, *paai* [pa:iə] ‘roads’.

1.3.9.2.2. The long diphthong *ooi* [o:i]

Examples: *kooi* [ko:i] ‘bed’, *nooiens* [no:iəns] ‘girls’, *rooi* [ro:i] ‘red’.

1.3.9.2.3. The long diphthong *oei* [ui]

Examples: *groei* [xru:i] ‘to grow’, *koeie* [ku:iə] ‘cows’, *poeier* [pu:iər] ‘powder’, *sproei* [sprui] ‘to spray’.

1.3.9.2.4. The long diphthong *eeu* [iu]

Examples: *eeu* [iu] ‘century’, *leeu* [liu] ‘lion’, *meeue* [miuə] ‘seagulls’. The last example could also be transcribed as [miu^wə] showing the bilabial glide that one automatically applies.

This sound is often transcribed as [eu], a pronunciation which does occur, but [iu] is more common.

1.3.9.2.5. The long diphthong *ieu* [iu]

Examples: *hernieu* [fiɛr'niu] ‘to renew’, *Nieu-Seeland* [niu'seələnt] ‘New Zealand’.

This spelling occurs in only a couple of words under Dutch influence.

¹⁵ The diminutive of words ending in *k* like *bakkie* is often rendered [baki], with [k], but this transcription is more phonologically than phonetically based (see footnote 11).

1.4. The consonants

The consonant sounds below are dealt with alphabetically under the graphemes by which they are represented according to the rules of Afrikaans orthography.

1.4.1. The consonant *b* [b]

Examples: *bal* [bal] 'ball', *boot* [boət] 'boat', *ribbe* [ribə] 'ribs'.

Word finally, and when such words are compounded, *b* is devoiced to [p], e.g. *rib* [rip] 'rib', *web* [vɛp] 'web', *robkoei* [rɔpkui] 'female seal'.

1.4.2. The consonant *d* [d]

Examples: *deur* [døər] 'door', *dit* [dīt] 'it', *modder* [mɔdər] 'mud'.

Word finally, and when such words are compounded, *d* is devoiced to [t], e.g. *bed* [bet] 'bed', *dood* [doət] 'dead', *broodmes* [broəmes] 'bread-knife'. In compounds where the *d* is no longer final, it is nevertheless also devoiced, e.g. [xə'sontəit]. The diminutive ending *-djie*, like *-tjie*, is pronounced [ci] (see 1.3.9.1).

1.4.3. The consonant *f* [f]

Examples: *fee* [feə] 'fairy', *lief* [lif] 'dear'.

Intervocally in certain contexts *f* is voiced to [v] and written *w* (see *w* and *v*).

1.4.4. The consonant *g* [x]

Examples: *goor* [xoər] 'dingy', *lag* [lax] 'to laugh', *kaggel* [kaxəl] 'fireplace'.

The phonemic norm is /x/ but the more palatal allophone [ç] may be heard before the front vowels *ee* and *ie*, as in *geel* [çeəl] 'yellow' and *giet* [çit] 'to pour', for example. In the combination short vowel + *r* + *g* + ə, the *g* is usually pronounced as a voiced stop, e.g. *berg* [bærx] 'mountain', but *berge* [bærgə] 'mountains'; *burger* [bærgər] 'citizen'; *sorg* [sɔrx] 'care' and *versorging* [fər'sɔrxəŋ] 'caring', but *sorge* [sɔrgə] 'cares'. In the speech of some even *g* in this position is pronounced [x], e.g. both *versorger* 'provider' and *burgemeester* 'lord mayor' occur with either [x] or [g]. There is one word in which *g* in the combination short vowel + *l* + *g* + ə is pronounced as a stop: *opvolger* ['ɔpfɔlxər] 'successor' and *gevolg* [xə'fɔlx] 'consequence', but *gevolge* [xə'fɔlgə]. *Belge* [bɛlxə] 'Belgians' is also pronounced [bɛlgə] by some, but *wilgeboom* 'willow-tree' is always pronounced with a [x], for example.

Intervocally after long vowels and diphthongs, Dutch *g* [x] has been syncopated in Afrikaans except in a few isolated words that preserve the situation as it is in Dutch, e.g. *bespiegeling* ‘speculation’, compare *spieël* ‘mirror’ (< Dutch *spiegel*), *betoger* / *betoging* ‘demonstrator/demonstration’, *die Tygerberg* (a suburban area of Cape Town), and numerous present participles formed from verbs ending in *g* such as *stygend* ‘rising’ (< *styg* ‘to rise’) and *hygend* ‘gasp’ (< *hyg* ‘to gasp’) – compare *swygend* ‘in silence’ (< *swyg* ‘to be silent’). In all these cases *g* is pronounced [x]. But in *nege* ‘nine’ and its derivatives one has a choice between [neəxə] and [neəgə], with the former being more common.¹⁶ In archaic, dialectal or humorous/ironical speech intervocalic *g* appears in a few other isolated words too and is pronounced [g], e.g. *eige* [ɔigə] = *eie* ‘own’, *hoge* [ɦoəgə] = *hoë* ‘high’, *oge* [oəgə] = *oë* ‘eyes’, *rugge* [rəgə] = *rûe* ‘backs’.

1.4.5. The consonant *h* [ɦ]

Examples: *hael* [ɦa:l] ‘hail’, *hond* [ɦɔnt] ‘dog’, *hy* [ɦɔi] ‘he’.

Afrikaans is unusual among European languages in having a glottal murmured (also called voiced) *h*,¹⁷ but when the previous syllable ends in a consonant, it is common for a liaison between it and the word or syllable beginning with *h* to be applied, resulting in the dropping of *h* altogether; this occurs both within and between words, e.g. *verlatenheid* [fərla:tənɦeɪt] ‘desolation’, *Waar werk hy?* [va:r vɛrkɦi] ‘Where does he work?’, *moet gedoen het* [mut xə'dunɦet] ‘must have done’.

Words beginning with *h* followed by *e*, *ee* or *eu* are very commonly pronounced [jɛ], [jɛə] and [jœə] respectively in natural speech, e.g. *help* [jɛlp] ‘to help’, *hele* [jɛlə] ‘whole’, *Heunis* [jœnɦəs] (a surname).

1.4.6. The consonant *j* [j]

Examples: *jaar* [ja:r] ‘year’, *juk* [jɔk] ‘yoke’, *ji* [jɔi] ‘you’.

In indigenous words *j* represents a semi-vowel as does *y* in English.

1.4.7. The consonant *k* [k]

Examples: *kat* [kat] ‘cat’, *knie* [kni] ‘knee’, *lok* [lɔk] ‘to entice’, *plakker* [plakɔr] ‘sticker’.

This sound is not aspirated, unlike /k/ in English ‘cat, kitten’ etc. The more

¹⁶ The variant *neën*, with syncope, is also commonly found in the derived numerals *neëntien* ‘nineteen’ and *neëntig* ‘ninety’, but not on its own.

¹⁷ A similar sound is sometimes heard in English “behaviour” and “manhood”.

palatal allophone [ç] occurs before the high vowels *ie* and *uu* as in *kies* [cis] ‘to choose’ and *kuur* [cy:r] ‘cure’, for example, as well as in diminutives ending in *-djie* and *-tjie*, e.g. *oondjie* [oi:nci] ‘oven’, *vuurtjie* [fy:rçi] ‘fire’ (see 1.3.9.1).

1.4.8. The consonant *l* [l]

Examples: *laat* [la:t] ‘late’, *mal* [mal] ‘stupid’, *smaller* [smalər] ‘narrower’.

Generally speaking Afrikaans *l* is “darker” than in English, particularly at the end of a syllable.

1.4.9. The consonant *m* [m]

Examples: *bom* [bɔm] ‘bomb’, *lammers* [lamərs] ‘lambs’, *maal* [ma:l] ‘to grind’.

There is no difference in the way *m* is pronounced in Afrikaans and English.

1.4.10. The consonant *n* [n]

Examples: *dunner* [dænr] ‘thinner’, *nael* [na:l] ‘nail’, *toon* [to:n] ‘toe’.

There is no difference in the way *n* is pronounced in Afrikaans and English.

Ng, which occurs only finally and medially, as in English, is always pronounced [ŋ] in both positions, *lang* [laŋ] ‘long’, *langer* [laŋr] ‘longer’.

1.4.11. The consonant *p* [p]

Examples: *aap* [a:p] ‘monkey’, *koppe* [kɔpə] ‘heads’, *pop* [pɔp] ‘doll’.

This sound is not aspirated, unlike *p* in English.

1.4.12. The consonant *r* [r]

Examples: *rot* [rɔt] ‘rat’, *raar* [ra:r] ‘queer’, *verder* [fɛ:rdər] ‘further’.

R is trilled in Afrikaans. In various areas of the Cape uvular *r*, both [ʀ] and [ʁ], occurs and in the north is regarded as a shibboleth of a “Capie” (see footnote 9). It is called *gebryde r*, e.g. *Hy bry, want hy kom van Malmesbury se wêreld af* ‘He has a uvular *r* because he comes from the Malmesbury area’.

1.4.13. The consonant s [s]

Examples: *mossie* [mɔsi] 'sparrow', *roos* [roʊs] 'rose', *sent* [sent] 'cent'.

1.4.14. The consonant t [t]

Examples: *beter* [bɛtər] 'better', *pot* [pɔt] 'pot', *tent* [tent] 'tent'.

This sound is not aspirated, unlike *t* in English. The diminutive ending *-tjie*, like *-djie*, is pronounced [ci] (see 1.3.9.1).

1.4.15. The consonant v [f]

Examples: *halveer* [ɦal'fɛər] 'to halve', *koevert* [ku'fɛrt] 'envelope', *provinsie* [pru'finsi], *November* [nu'fɛnbər], *vader* [fa:dər] 'father', *van* [fan] 'from'.

F and *v* represent the same sound in Afrikaans, the distinction being the result of their separate etymological origins in Dutch. In initial position *v* is much more common in Afrikaans spelling than *f*.

1.4.16. The consonant w [v]

Examples: *nuwer* [ny:vər] 'newer', *riwwe* [rīvə] 'reefs', *waarskuwing* ['va:rskyvəŋ] 'warning', *wat* [vat] 'what'.

After consonants (i.e. after *d*, *k*, *s* and *t*) *w* is pronounced bilabially in standard Afrikaans, i.e. as [w], e.g. *dwaal* [dwa:l] 'to roam', *kwaad* [kwa:t] 'angry', *twee* [tweə] 'two', *swak* [swak] 'weak'. It is typical of the areas mentioned in footnote 10 to retain the [v] pronounced in this position.

1.5. The phonology of international loanwords

In the many loanwords used in Afrikaans, most of which are from English but many of which Afrikaans has inherited via Dutch from French, certain phonemes occur which do not occur in indigenous words; such sounds are called *randfoneme* 'peripheral phonemes'. Because of the Afrikaans speaker's intimate knowledge of English, many such loanwords preserve their English phonemes, rather than being assimilated to the sound system of Afrikaans. In other cases, despite the spelling of loanwords having been adapted to Afrikaans, the phonology of these words still clearly betrays English influence.

1.5.1. Vowels and diphthongs

1.5.1.1. The vowel *e* [i:]

Examples: *Indonesië* [əndɔ'ni:siə]¹⁸, *Jesus* [ji:səs], *media* [mi:diə], *Rhodesië* [ru'di:siə], *senior* ['si:nior], *Venesië* [və'ni:siə] 'Venice'.

The stressed *e* in these words is pronounced [i:], despite appearances.

1.5.1.2. The vowel *e* [ɛ]/[e]

Examples: *deposito* [də'pɔsɪtu] 'deposit', *energie* [ɛnər'xi], *federaal* [fɛdər'a:l], *telefoon* [tɛlə'foən]; but *predikant* [predəkant], *regionaal* [rexiu'na:l].

Where *e* occurs in an historically unstressed position in foreign words, and the rules of Afrikaans orthography (see 2.3) imply that it should be pronounced long, in many words it is in fact pronounced short, as in English.¹⁹ There is a parallel here with *o* (see 1.5.1.4); in both cases the stress in such words is on a later syllable.

1.5.1.3. The vowel *i* [i]

Examples: *artikel* [ar'tikəl], *familie* [fa'mili], *Indië* [indiə], *Italië* [i'ta:liə], *televisie* [tɛlə'visi], *titel* [titəl], *visueel* [viʒy'eəl].

In some words of foreign origin stressed *i* is pronounced [i], not [i:], which is the case in indigenous words (see 1.1.3), although [i:] also occurs in some words which have thereby been assimilated, e.g. *Indië* [ɪndiə], *Italië* [i'ta:liə]; it is impossible to give rules for where both variants are possible.

1.5.1.4. The vowel *o* [ɔ]/[o] or [u]

Examples: *opposisie* [ɔpu'sisi], but *polisie* [po'lisi], *produk* [pro'duk].

Where *o* occurs in an historically unstressed position in foreign words, and the rules of Afrikaans orthography (see 2.3) imply that it should be pronounced long, it is in fact pronounced short, as in English (see footnote 19). There is a parallel here with *e* (see 1.5.1.2); in both cases the stress in such words is on a later or earlier syllable, thus producing a shortening of the vowel in unstressed position. Many speakers pronounce such pretonic *o*'s as [u], e.g. *posisie* [pu'sisi].

¹⁸ It may be argued that there are grounds for transcribing the ending *-ië* as [i'ɔ].

¹⁹ Whether this is the result of English influence or the result of internal mechanisms, has been the topic of some debate; there is considerable evidence to suggest the latter but the former may have been a contributing factor in some cases (see Ponelis 1986 for a detailed analysis of the intricacies of unchecked *e* and *o* in unstressed position).

totaal [tu'ta:l], *trofee* [tru'feə]; this tendency is related to the phenomenon described under 1.5.1.5; thus *pomelo* 'grapefruit' can be pronounced either [pɔ'meəlu] or [pu'meəlu], the latter being more common.

1.5.1.5. The vowel *o* [u]

Examples: *eggo* [ɛxu], *pikkolo* ['pikulu], *radio* [ra:diu], *risiko* ['risiku], *Theo* [tiu], *video* [vidiu], *zero* [zɛəru].

Only foreign words end in unstressed *o*; such *o*'s are raised to [u], as are *o*'s in other unstressed syllables that follow the stressed syllable, as illustrated by *pikkolo* (see also *outomaties*, 1.5.1.8). It is also very common to hear such final *o*'s being realised as [œu], under the influence of English, e.g. *Christo* [krɪstœu], *kilo* [kilœu], *video* [vidiœu]. This is consistently the case with direct loans from English like *judo* and *mango*. See 1.3.5 for an example of this sound in stressed position.

1.5.1.6. The vowel *u* [ju]

Examples: *dokumentasie* [dɔkju'men'ta:si] or [dɔkymen'ta:si], *eventueel* [iventju'eəl] or [iventjy'eəl], *monument* [mɔnju'ment] or [mɔny'ment], *museum* [mju'zi:ɛm], *situasie* [sitju'a:si], *visueel* [viʒju'eəl].

Words containing a *u* with cognate forms in English where the *u* is pronounced [ju], are most usually pronounced [ju] in Afrikaans too, whether English really is the source of those words in Afrikaans or not.²⁰

1.5.1.7. The vowel *u* [a]²¹

Examples: *budjie* [bɑdʒi] 'budgie', *klub* [klɑb], *rubber* [rɑbər].

Despite the fact that these two English loanwords have been assimilated in spelling, they have not been phonologically assimilated at all,²² although the pronounced [klɑb] also occurs for the latter; note also the final [b] in *klub* where Afrikaans phonology would demand [p].

²⁰ Because English is the Afrikaans speaker's window on the world, he sees many of the French loanwords inherited through Dutch, cognate forms of which also exist in English, as English loanwords. Such words are very widely erroneously regarded as Anglicisms and thus as words to be avoided.

²¹ This is the sound which in works on English phonetics is traditionally transcribed with [ʌ], but which is in fact identical to Afrikaans [a].

²² Another such example is *kollege* [kɔlədʒ].

1.5.1.8. The diphthong *au* [œu]

Examples: *Aucamp* [œukamp] (an Afrikaans surname), *Australië* [œust'ra:liə].

Many assimilated loanwords with *au* in the language of origin are spelt *ou*, which is pronounced like *ou* in indigenous words (see 1.3.5), e.g. *koukus* [kœukəs], *outomaties* [œutu'ma:tis]. But some words are still spelt *au* which is also pronounced [œu].

1.5.1.9. The diphthong *oi* [ɔi]

Examples: *boikot* [ˈbɔikɔt], *toilet* [tɔi'let].²³

Oi in English loanwords is pronounced [ɔi], a sound which otherwise only occurs sporadically in Afrikaans (see 1.3.8 and 1.3.9).

1.5.2. Consonants

1.5.2.1. The consonant *c* [s]

Examples: *akademici* [akadeɔmi'si] (< singular *akademikus* 'academics').

C does not occur in indigenous Afrikaans words. In loanwords [k] is always spelt *k* (e.g. *kafee* 'cafe') and [s] is spelt *s* (e.g. *sinies* 'cynical'). *Akademici* and *Macedonië* are two of only very few examples of *c* being used instead of *s*. The *c* in surnames is pronounced [s] or [k] depending on whether it is followed by a front or back vowel, e.g. *Cilliers* [səl'jɛə], *Coetzee* [kut'sɛə].

1.5.2.2. The consonant *ch* [x]

Examples: *chaos* [xɑ:ɔs], *chemikalieë* [xemi'ka:liə] 'chemicals', *christen* [xri:stən] 'Christian'.

The fricative [x] is spelt *g* in indigenous words and *ch* only in certain loanwords.

1.5.2.3. The consonant *ch* [ʃ]

Examples: *chauvinisties* [ʃœuvə'nistis], *China* [ʃina]²⁴ (also spelt *Sjina*), *chirurg* [ʃi'rærx] 'surgeon'.

There are just a few loanwords which are spelt *ch* and pronounced [ʃ] in

²³ Despite the French stress on the final syllable of this word, the pronunciation of the *oi* follows English practice not the French, i.e. [wa].

²⁴ Only in *Chili/Chileen/Chileens* is *ch* pronounced [tʃ] (see 1.5.2.11).

their language of origin which retain that spelling and pronunciation in Afrikaans. In most cases such words are spelt *sj* (see 1.5.2.10).

1.5.2.4. The consonant *ch* [k]

Examples: *cholesterol* [kɔ'lestərɔl], *synchroniseer* [sɔnkrɔnə'seər].

In those few loanwords in which *ch* in the source language is pronounced [k] and which are still spelt *ch* in Afrikaans, the original pronounced is preserved.

1.5.2.5. The consonant *g* [ʒ]

Examples: *Genève* [ʒə'nɛ:f], *genre* [ʒā:rə].

Some loanwords from French in which *g* is pronounced [ʒ] preserve that sound in Afrikaans, but there are others which have been assimilated into Afrikaans where the *g* is pronounced [x], e.g. *ingenieur*, *redigeer*, *regie*. In even older loanwords from French which still contained this sound in Dutch, the *g* has become [s] and is written *s*, e.g. *bagasie* (< Dutch *bagage*), *passasier* (< Dutch *passagier*). Also in the surname *Le Grange* [lɔxransi].

1.5.2.6. The consonant *g* [g]

Examples: *bogger* [bɔgər] 'bugger', *gala*, [ga:la], *grênd* [græ:nt] 'grand'.

There are many unassimilated, or only partially assimilated, English loanwords in common use in spoken Afrikaans which preserve the English pronunciation of *g* as [g]. *Paraguay*, *Uruguay* and *Uganda* and their derivatives are all pronounced with [g].

1.5.2.7. The consonant *gh* [g]

Examples: *ghitaar* [gi'ta:r] 'guitar' (also spelt and pronounced *kitaar*), *ghoeroe* [guru] 'guru', *gholf* [gɔlf] 'golf', *ghries* [gris] 'grease'.

In some loanwords that enjoy official recognition, [g] is written *gh* to distinguish it from [x].

1.5.2.8. The consonant *j* [dʒ]

Examples: *budjie* [baɔʒi], *jellie* [dʒeli], *junior* [dʒuniər] – also [jyniər].²⁶

²⁶ Strictly speaking the spelling rules of Afrikaans require a [dʒ] to be rendered by *dj* (compare *tj* for [tʃ]), but this is done in only very few foreign words, e.g. *Djakarta*, *djihad* 'holy war' (Arabic *jihad*). Note that in the diminutive of words ending in *d*, to which *-jie* is added, the combination *-djie* is pronounced like *-tjie*, i.e. as [ci], e.g. *tydjie* [tɔci] 'a little while'.

In a few loanwords from English *j* is pronounced [dʒ], but there is no consistency here, e.g. *jokkie* [jɔci].

1.5.2.9. The consonant *ps* [ps] or [s]

Examples: *psigies* [psixis] or [sixis] ‘psychic’, but only *psalm* [pɔsələm].

Words of Greek origin beginning with *ps* are usually pronounced [ps] but some speakers simplify the cluster to [s], which is considered standard Afrikaans. If the cluster is not simplified in *psalm*, it is broken up by a svara-bhakti vowel.

1.5.2.10. The consonant *sj* [ʃ]

Examples: *sjampanje* [ʃam'pənʒə], *sjarmant* [ʃar'mant], *sjiek* [ʃik].

In 1.5.2.3 a few words are given that retain a *ch* spelling for the /ʃ/ of the source language but it is far more common for this foreign phoneme to be written *sj*.

1.5.2.11. The consonant *tj* [tʃ]

Examples: *tjank* [tʃaŋk] ‘to howl’, *tjap* [tʃap] ‘stamp’, *tjek* [tʃek] ‘cheque’, *tjello* [tʃelʉ] ‘cello’, *tjop* [tʃɔp] ‘chop’.

Assimilated loanwords which contain [tʃ] in the source language are written *tj* in Afrikaans orthography, the only exception being *Chili*. Note *blatjang* [ˈblatʃaŋ] ‘chutney’ with [tʃ]. *Tj* in diminutive endings is pronounced [ç] (see 1.3.9.1).

1.5.2.12. The consonant *v* [v]

Examples: *vakuum* [va'kym], *variasie* [vari'a:si] ‘variation’, *Venesië* [vɔ'nisiə] ‘Venice’, *Venezuela* [vɛnɔs'wɛ:la], *Venda* [vɛnda], *video* [ˈvidiʉ], *via* [via], *visueel* [viʒu'eəl]; also *televisie* [tɛlə'visi].

Many words of foreign origin that begin with *v*, and which have cognate forms in English, retain the pronounced [v], although *variasie*, *Venesië* and *televisie* and many other such words are heard with [f] too. The intervocalic *v* in the Afrikaans surnames *Grové* and *Viviers* is pronounced [v], as is the initial *v* in the second name, whereas that in *De Villiers* is pronounced [f] (see 1.6.1).

1.5.2.13. The consonant *v/w* [v]

Examples: *individu/indiwidu* [əndəvə'dy], *revolusie/rewolusie* [rəvə'lysi], *universiteit* [yniversi'teit].

Afrikaans spelling has not been completely consistent in its assimilation of loanwords with an intervocalic *v*; the first two examples illustrate where either spelling is permissible, but even when spelt with a *v*, it is pronounced [v]. Many other loanwords only have *w*, e.g. *aktiwiteit* (but *aktivis*), *Reserwebank*, *Serwië* (see 2.9).

1.5.2.14. The consonant *z* [z]

Examples: *Zambië* [zambiə], *Zoeloe* [zulu].

/z/ is not really a phoneme in Afrikaans nor is *z* an indigenous grapheme. Most loanwords with [z] in the language of origin are spelt *s* in Afrikaans, e.g. *sero*, *son*. Nevertheless the sound still occurs in many international loanwords and even if written *s*, is still often pronounced [z], e.g. *asalea* [aza:lia], *museum*, *sero/zero* [zeəru].

Where *z* occurs in names that have retained their Dutch spelling, it is pronounced [s], e.g. *Van Zyl* [fan'səil], *Muizenberg* ['mæisənberx].

1.6. Pronunciation of Afrikaans names

Only those names whose pronunciation is not necessarily obvious from the spelling are given here.

1.6.1. Surnames

a) Many Afrikaans surnames are of French Huguenot origin. Generally speaking one can say that these names are still pronounced as in French with certain concessions to assimilation having been made, e.g.

Barnard ['barnart]

Blignau(l)t ['blixnæut] or ['blinæu]

Cilliers [səl'jeə]

Coetzee [kut'seə] but *Coetzer* ['kutsər]

De Villiers [dəfəl'jeə]* The [də] is very often omitted.

Du Plessis [dyplə'si]

Du Preez [də'preə]

* Nevertheless the pronunciation [də'viljərs] is very common, not only in the mouths of English-speaking South Africans. Note, however, that only one pronunciation of *Celliers* and *Viviers* is possible.

Du Toit [də'to:i]
Fouché [fu'ʃeə]
Fourie [fu'ri]
Grové [xru'veə]
Joubert [ju'bæ:r]
Labuschagne [labus'kaxnə]²⁶
Le Grange [lə'xransi]
Le Roux [lə'ru:]
Malan [ma'lan]; [ma'laŋ] is also often heard.
Malherbe [mal'fɛrbə]
Marais [ma're:]
Meintjes [mɛiŋcis]
Naudé [nəu'deə]
Nortje [nɔr'keə]
Pienaar ['pi:nɑ:r] (< *Pinard*)
Terblanche [tər'bla:n]
Theron [tə'rɔn] or [trɔn]
Viljoen [fəl'jun] (< *Villon*)
Visagie [fə'sa:xi], less commonly also [fə'sa:si]
Viviers [vɔvə'ʃeə]

b) Many names of Dutch origin are still spelt as in Dutch but they have long since been phonologically assimilated into Afrikaans, e.g.

De Jager [dəja:r] or [dəja:xər]
Schoeman [skuman]
Schutte [skœtə]²⁷
Van der Merwe [vanə'mervə] (with an assimilated *d*, see 1.9.4)
Van Tonder [fan'tɔnər]
Van Zyl [fan'sɔil]

The surname *Smuts* is normally pronounced [smœts], as is to be expected, but curiously enough *Jan Smuts* the statesman, but not normally the airport in Johannesburg named after him, is very often pronounced in its anglicised form, i.e. as [jansmats]. Consequently some Afrikaans speakers named *Smuts* have adopted this pronunciation of their name. [smœts] versus [smats] seems to reflect the pre-war division of South African political loyalties between the *Natte* (Nationalist Party, supported by Afrikaans speakers) and the *Sappe* (South Africa Party, which enjoyed both English and Afrikaans support).

c) Some Afrikaans surnames are of German origin:

Hauptfleisch [fioəflis] or [fɪuflis] or with [j], an Afrikaans assimilation

²⁶ The anglicised *Labuschagnes* pronounce their name [læbuʃɔin].

²⁷ Although *sch* is pronounced [sk], *ch* is pronounced [x], e.g. *Engelbrecht* [ɛŋəlbɹɛxt].

Botha [boəta]

Hough [fɪæʊx] (< *Hauch*)

Kruger/*Krüger* [kryjər], but *Krige* [krixə] and see *De Jager* above.

Laubscher/*Loubser* [læʊpʃər]

Schuster [ʃustər]

d) *Fagan*, although English in origin, is now an Afrikaans surname and is pronounced as in English.

See 4.5.1 for other details concerning personal names.

1.6.2. Christian names

André [ˈandrəi]

Etienne as in French but with the stress on first syllable.

Francois [ˈfranswa] and written without a cedilla.

Jean Pierre [anˈpi:r]

Johan is stressed on the last syllable.

Deon [diən]

Leon [liən]

Schalk [skalk]

Theo [tiu]

1.7. Pronunciation of South African and foreign place names (see 4.5.3)

1.8. Insertion of svarabhakti vowels to break up consonant clusters

Clusters formed from *l* or *r* plus *m* or *n* (i.e. liquid plus nasal) – but *lm* and *rm* are by far the most common – are broken up in spoken Afrikaans by the insertion of a schwa, e.g. *elumboog* [eləmbœʊx] ‘elbow’, *film* [fɪləm], *skelm* [skələm] ‘rogue’, *Wilhelm* [vəlˈheləm]; *arm* [arəm] ‘arm, poor’, *storm* [stœrəm] ‘storm’; *psalm* [pəsələm] ‘psalm’ contains two svarabhakti vowels; *erns* [erəns] ‘serious’, *modern* [muˈdœrən] ‘modern’,²⁹ *toorn* [to:rən] ‘anger’. It is not heard between *lk* (e.g. *melk*) and *rk* (e.g. *kerk*) as it is in Dutch.

²⁹ In many derivatives and inflected forms of these words the svarabhakti vowel is omitted when another syllable follows, e.g. ‘n *moderne gebou* [ə mudœrənə gœbœu] ‘a modern building’, *toorn* [to:rən] ‘angry’ (see De Villiers 1987: 88 for further details).

1.9. Assimilation

Assimilation occurs in many instances in natural spoken Afrikaans.

1.9.1. Assimilation of *d* in the combination *nde*

When a short vowel is followed by *nd*, it is very common for the *d* to be assimilated to the *n*, e.g. *eenders* [eənərs] ‘of the same kind’ (also spelt *eners*), *hande* [hənə] ‘hands’, *honde* [hənə] ‘dogs’, *n ronde bal* [ə rənə bal] ‘a round ball’, *wonderlik* [vɔnərlək] ‘wonderful’. This deletion of *d* is virtually always applied in the following frequently used words and derivatives thereof: *ander* ‘other’, *hoender* ‘chicken’, *honderd* ‘hundred’, *kinders* ‘children’, *onder* ‘under’, *skinder* ‘gossip’, *sonder* ‘without’, *standerd* ‘standard (school)’ and *wonder* ‘wonder’.

The assimilation is not applied when the word is pronounced slowly and deliberately or when an emphasis is applied, e.g. *Dit was wónderlik* [vɔndərlək] ‘It was wonderful’, *Ek waardeer dit in die besónder* [bə’sɔndər] ‘I appreciate that in particular’.

There are certain words in which the assimilation is seldom applied, e.g. it is not usually applied in *bande* ‘tyres’, although it is often applied in *hande* ‘hands’, but isn’t ever in *handel* ‘trade, to deal’ and its derivatives *behandel* ‘to deal with’, *onderhandel* ‘to negotiate’ (i.e. [ɔnər’fiandəl]); it isn’t in *monde* ‘mouths’ and *wonde* ‘wound’, but it can be in *sonde* ‘sin’; it isn’t in *bundel* ‘collection’, but is usually in *bondel* ‘bundle’. This assimilation seems to be lexically bound and it is therefore impossible to give a rule – one must simply follow native-speakers. Assimilation can go hand in hand with a slight lengthening of the vowel, i.e. *sonde* [sɔ:nə], *donder* [dɔ:nər] ‘to bash’.

1.9.2. Rhotacism of *d*

In the plural of *perd* [pæ:rt] ‘horse’, the *d* is usually assimilated to the *r* in colloquial speech, i.e. *perde* [pæ:rə]. In very colloquial speech intervocalic [d] after a short vowel is rhotacised,³⁰ e.g. *middag* [mɪrax] ‘afternoon’, *middel* [mɪrəl] ‘middle’, *padde* [para] ‘frog’. Also *wat die* [vari] ‘what the...’.

1.9.3. Assimilation of consonants to a preceding *l*

When a short vowel is followed by *l* plus another consonant, that consonant is commonly assimilated to the *l* in colloquial speech, e.g. *dieselle* < *dieselfde* ‘the

³⁰ Compare the same development in colloquial English *blerry* < *bloody* (Afrikaans *blerrie/bleddie*).

same', *kallers* < *kalwers* 'calves' and *wille* < *wilde* 'wild' (inflected). Note the reverse in *sukke* < *sulke* 'such'.

1.9.4. Assimilation of the definite article and the negative particle *nie*

The definite article *die* and the negative particle *nie* are often assimilated to the final consonant of preceding words; in the case of *die* this is commonly the case when the article follows a preposition, e.g. *deurie* < *deur die*, *innie* < *in die*, *oppie* < *op die*, *mettie* / *meddie* < *met die*, *vorie* < *voor die*. Also *allie pad* < *al die pad*, *Vannermerwe* < *Van der Merwe*. *Daardie* 'that' and *hierdie* 'this' are commonly pronounced *darie* and *hierie*, but the former is also often shortened by assimilation to *daai*.

Nie in a negated sentence is often assimilated to the final consonant of the preceding verb, particularly in the case of auxiliary verbs, e.g. *sallie* < *sal nie*, *willie* < *wil nie*, *wetie* < *weet nie* (see 13.17).

1.9.5. Assimilation of word final *t*

In colloquial speech a word final *t* is often assimilated to the initial *d* of the next word, e.g. *Wat dan?* [va'dan] 'What then?', *Ons laat dit net daar* [nɛ'da:r] 'We'll leave it right there', *Vergeet dit* [fɔ'geɛdɪt] 'Forget it'.

1.9.6. Assimilation of *d* in adjectival past participles

Inflected adjectives formed from past participles which for historical reasons end in either *-te* or *-de* (see 6.4.1), are pronounced as they are spelt except for the combinations *-fde*, *-gde* and *-sde* where the *d* is affected by the preceding unvoiced consonant, thereby devoicing the *d* in these endings, e.g. *gekerfde* 'carved', *vertraagde* 'delayed', *opgeblaasde* 'inflated'.

1.10. Stress

In the analysis of Afrikaans stress patterns given below, the stressed vowel is given in bold type.

1.10.1. Stress in indigenous words (i.e. those of Germanic but non-English origin)

In words of Germanic origin the stress is on the first syllable although there are many exceptions to this in certain derived forms (illustrated later), e.g. *doek* 'cloth', *handdoek* 'towel', *badhanddoek* 'bath towel'; *kennis* 'knowledge', *kennisgee* 'to give notice', *kennisgewing* 'notice', *kennisgewingbord* 'notice-board'; *burgemeester* 'lord mayor', *platteland* 'country-side', *stadsraad* 'town council'. It can be said of compounds like *badhanddoek* and *kennisgewing* that the first syllable of the second element of the compound bears a secondary stress, i.e. *badhanddoek*, *kennisgewing*; similarly in *padkafee* 'road cafe', where the loan simplex *kafee* bears the stress on the final syllable.

There are very few exceptions to the above rule in non-derived (i.e. compound) Germanic words, e.g. *volstruis* 'ostrich', *ondergrond* 'underground'.

1.10.1.1. Derived words of Germanic origin that do not take the stress on the first syllable

There are a number of suffixes (some foreign, but most indigenous) and prefixes which, when added to words, cause the stress to shift to a syllable other than the first.

1.10.1.1.1. Stressed suffixes

1) Feminine agents formed by the addition of the endings *-es* and *-in* always stress the ending, e.g. *onderwyser* 'teacher' > *onderwyseres* 'female teacher', *leser* 'reader' > *leseres* 'female reader', *riend* 'friend' > *riendin* 'girl/ female friend', *koning* 'king' > *koningin* 'queen'³¹ (see 4.3).

2) Derived nouns ending in *-y*, *-ery* and *-erny* can take one of two stresses:

a) they take the stress on the final syllable when they refer to objects, e.g. *bakkery* 'bakery', *diamantslypery* 'diamond cutting factory', *lekkerny* 'titbit', *maatskappy* 'company', *skildery* 'painting', *slawerny* 'slavery', *stoetery* 'stud farm', *uitgewery* 'publishing house'.

In a word like *diamantslypery*, where the simplex *diamant* is stressed on the second syllable, *diamant* can be said to bear a secondary stress.

b) nouns derived from verbs indicating the action of those verbs take the stress on the verbal stem, e.g. *bakkery* 'baking', *skildery* 'painting'.

The former group is finite but the latter is productive, with potentially any verb being able to provide such a derivative, e.g. *bakleiry* 'fighting', *rokery* 'smoking', *spelery* 'playing-around', *trekkery* 'moving-house'. They also occur in

³¹ Pronounced [kɔnə'jɪn] or [kɔnə'xɪn] < *koning* ['kɔnəŋ].

compounds, e.g. *naamgeeëry* 'name calling', *moddergooiery* 'mud-slinging' and can occur with or without the prefix *ge-*, e.g. *(ge)praterij* 'talking' (see 15.2.2.1).

1.10.1.1.2. Unstressed prefixes

1) The verbal prefixes *be-*, *er-*, *ge-*, *her-*, *ont-* and *ver-*,³² which also occur in nouns derived from such verbs, are never stressed, e.g. *bedreig* 'to threaten', *bedreiging* 'threat'; *erken* 'to recognise', *erkenning* 'recognition'; *genees* 'to cure', *geneesheer* 'doctor'; *herinner* 'to remind', *herinnering* 'recollection'; *ontmoet* 'to meet', *ontmoeting* 'meeting'; *verwag* 'to expect', *verwagend* 'expecting', *verwagting* 'expectation'.

2) The prepositions *aan*, *agter*, *deur*, *om*, *onder*, *oor* and *voor* also function as unstressed verbal prefixes and occur in other words derived from those verbs, e.g. *omskryf* 'to paraphrase', *omskrywing* 'paraphrase' (see 8.15.2.1).

The same prefixes, plus many more, are stressed in other verbs (see 8.15.1.1). Whether such prefixes are stressed or not is ultimately connected with whether they function as separable or inseparable prefixes.

3) The adverbs *mis*, *vol* and *weer* also occur as unstressed verbal prefixes and occur in other words derived from those verbs, e.g. *mislei* 'to mislead'; *voltooi* 'to complete', *voltooing* 'completion'; *weerklink* 'to resound' (see 8.15.2.2).

All three words also occur as stressed separable prefixes (see 8.15.1.2).

4) See 8.15.2.4 for examples of stressed inseparable verbal prefixes.

1.10.1.1.3. Stress in adjectives ending in *-ig*

There are many compound adjectives formed by the addition of a bisyllabic ending which ends in *-ig*, some of which are still productive (see group 1 below). Unless otherwise stated, all such adjectives take the stress on the root of the ending, i.e. on the penultimate syllable. Those adjectives consisting of a noun/adjective + noun + *-ig* take the stress on the noun in the middle, i.e. the penultimate syllable (see group 2 below).

1) *-aardig*, *-haftig*, *-kleurig*, *-kundig*, *-matig*, *-talig*, *-tallig*, *-vaardig*, *-vallig*, *-waardig*, e.g. *kwaadaardig* 'malignant', *heldhaftig* 'heroic', *rooskleurig* 'rosy', *deskundig* 'expert', *middelmatig* 'moderate', *Engelstalig*³³ 'English-speaking', *voltallig* 'complete', *wisselvallig* 'unpredictable', *hulpvaardig* 'helpful', *betreurenswaardig* 'regrettable'.

Adjectives in *-vormig* don't usually stress the ending, e.g. *koepelvormig*

³² The vowel in all these prefixes, with the exception of *ont-* of course, is pronounced [ə].

³³ In turn nouns can be derived from such adjectives and they too preserve this stress, e.g. *Engelstalige(s)* 'English-speaking person(s)'.

'cupola shaped', *ovaalvormig* 'oval shaped', but a derivative of long standing like *eenwormig* 'uniform' does (compare derivatives in *-agtig* in group 4 below).

There are occasions when there is a distinction in meaning depending on which syllable carries the stress, e.g. *liggevoelig* 'sensitive to light', *liggevoelig* 'touchy', *rooskleurig* 'rose coloured', *rooskleurig* 'rosy, promising' (see colours under 6.10.1). In such cases stressing the stem preserves the literal meaning, as these examples illustrate.

2) The following endings occur in only one word, or in very few at the most (list not complete): *agterdogtig* 'suspicious', *breedvoerig* 'detailed', *denkbeeldig* 'imaginary', *eenparig* 'unanimous', *eiesinnig* 'headstrong', *gelyktydig* 'simultaneous', *gewelddadig* 'violent', *hardlywig* 'constipated', *hardnekkig* 'stubborn', *kieskeurig* 'choosy', *kleinsierig* 'touchy', *koelbloedig* 'cold-blooded', *langdradig* 'long-winded', *langwerpig* 'oblong', *lewenskragtig* 'vigorous', *medepligtig* 'accessary', *moedswillig* 'petulant', *noodlottig* 'fatal', *noodwendig* 'necessary', *nuuskierig* 'curious', *onderhewig* 'subject', *oorbodig* 'superfluous', *rampspoedig* 'catastrophic', *selfsugtig* 'selfish', *seshoekig* 'hexagonal', *stelselmatig* 'systematic', *swartgallig* 'melancholy', *veelrassig* 'multiracial', *viervoetig* 'four-footed', *vroegetydig* 'premature', *vrygewig* 'generous', *wantrouig* 'distrustful', *wispelturig* 'fickle'.

3) The ending *-ig* can be added to nouns to derive adjectives from them. In so doing it attracts the stress towards it, resulting in the stress of the adjectives being on a different syllable than in the noun from which they are derived,³⁴ e.g. *aandag* 'attention' > *aandagtig* 'attentive'; *eenvoud* 'simplicity' > *eenvoudig* 'simple'; *nadeel* 'disadvantage' > *nadelig* 'disadvantageous', *oppervlakte* 'surface' > *oppervlakkig* 'superficial'; *opstand* 'rebellion' > *opstandig* 'rebellious'.

This stress pattern certainly applies to long standing derivatives but is not always applied to those of more recent coinage, e.g. *eenlettergrepig* 'monosyllabic', 'n *sewentienjarige* 'a seventeen-year-old' (see *-agtig* in group 4 below where the same applies).

4) Stress in adjectives ending in *-agtig* (literally '-like'), an extremely common ending, varies: those of long standing (group a) stress the ending, but those of more recent creation (group b) commonly stress the root:³⁵

- a) *senuweeagtig* 'nervous', *skouspelagtig* 'spectacular', *vergeetagtig* 'forgetful'.
 b) *bobbejaanagtig* 'baboon-like', *boomagtig* 'tree-like', but *katagtig* 'cat-like'.³⁶

³⁴ This concept is not unknown in English either, e.g. *photograph* > *photographic*.

³⁵ The full story of where to stress words in *-agtig* is a good deal more complex than this (see Claassens 1987), but this is a reasonably reliable rule of thumb advocated by De Villiers (1987: 161).

³⁶ The examples given here under a) show that where forms have become completely lexicalised and are no longer regarded literally, the stress has moved onto the ending; the reverse is the case with the examples under b).

A small number of established adjectives occur with both stress patterns: *bergagtig* / *bergagtig*, *kinderagtig* / *kinderagtig*.

This is still very much a productive ending and if used productively the root should bear the stress, not the ending, e.g. *Hy het 'n Botha-agtige houding* 'He has a Botha-like attitude'.

1.10.1.1.4. Stress in adjectives ending in *-baar* or *-lik*

Derived adjectives ending in *-baar* or *-lik* normally stress the root of the word, but there are long-standing derivatives where the ending has drawn the stress towards it, as in the case of *-agtig* (see 1.10.1.1.3), e.g. *aantoonbaar* 'identifiable' (< *aantoon* 'to prove'), *lewensvatbaar* 'viable' (*onafwendbaar* 'inevitable' (< *afwend* 'to avert'), *onuitroeibaar* 'indestructible' (< *uitroei* 'to eradicate'), *onuitvoerbaar* 'impracticable' (< *uitvoer* 'to carry out'), *onvoorstelbaar* 'unimaginable' (< *jou voorstel* 'to imagine'), *toepasbaar* 'applicable' (< *toepas* 'to apply'); *hartstogtelik* 'passionate' (< *hartstog* 'passion'), *onuitputlik* 'inexhaustible' (< *uitput* 'to exhaust'), *ordentlik* 'decent' (< *order* 'order'), *toeganklik* 'accessible' (< *toegang* 'access'), *vyandelik* 'hostile' (< *vyand* 'enemy').³⁷

1.10.1.1.5. Stress in adjectives formed from compound present participles

Adjectives can be formed from compound present participles (see 8.17 and 15.3.2); these are of two types: a) those formed from separable verbs whose prefix is a preposition or adverb, and b) those in which the first part of the compound is a noun or adverb, for example:

a) *aangrypend* 'gripping', (*on*)*oplettend* '(un)observant', *uitmuntend* 'excellent', *uitputtend* 'exhausting', *uitstekend* 'excellent', *wantrouend* 'distrustful'. In the corresponding verbs the prefix is stressed, i.e. *aangryp*, *oplet*, *wantrou* (see 8.15.1.1–2).

b) *Afrikaansspreekend* 'Afrikaans-speaking', *angswekkend* 'fearsome', *asemrowend* 'breath-taking', *doeltreffend* 'efficient', *indrukwekkend* 'impressive', *wetgewend* 'legislative', *veeleisend* 'demanding', *voortdurend* 'continually'. Such adjectives are ultimately transformations of *Hy spreek*³⁸ *Afrikaans*, *Dit wek ang*, *Hy eis veel*, *Dit duur voort* etc. where the stress is borne by the object or adverb that qualifies the verb; thus a shift in stress is applied when such adjectives are derived from these structures. Those formed from adverbs, like the last two examples, are not nearly as common as those formed from nouns.

³⁷ *Vyandig* also exists.

³⁸ Otherwise more usually expressed as *Hy praat Afrikaans*.

1.10.2. Stress in loanwords

1.10.2.1. Loanwords that take the stress on the final syllable

1.10.2.1.1. Shift in the stress of certain bisyllabic loanwords

Historically the stress in bisyllabic loanwords of the following kind (i.e. those that are also English) was on the last syllable, but transition to initial stress is taking place, although purists oppose it, e.g. *aspek*, *distrik*, *konflik*, *konsep*, *kontak*, *konteks*, *kontrak*, *kontras* and *projek*. Nevertheless gradations of acceptability and frequency are detectable in certain of these words – for example, *konteks* is unusual and in *impak*, *insek* and *instink* only initial stress occurs. Presumably because *resep* (plural *resepte*) ‘recipe’ does not exist in English in this form, it is found only with this stress pattern. But most importantly, there still seems to be a preference for second syllable stress when these words add *-te* in the plural, although first syllable stress does occur in such cases, e.g. *aspekte*, *distrikte*, *kontraste* etc. (see 1.10.2.3 for another stress pattern that is being affected by English).³⁹

1.10.2.1.2. Stressed endings in loanwords

Loanwords (all adjectives or nouns) with the following endings take the stress on the ending (NB: the ending is not necessarily the final syllable as a further syllable is added when such words are inflected, i.e. when adjectives take *e* or nouns take an *e* in the plural):

-aal	<i>generaal</i> , <i>ideaal</i> , <i>materiaal</i> , <i>spesiaal</i> , <i>tarantaal</i> (see 1.10.2.3)
-aan	<i>bobbejaan</i> , <i>likkewaan</i> , <i>meridiaan</i>
-aans	<i>Afrikaans</i> , <i>Italiaan(s)</i> , <i>kosmopolitaans</i>
-aar	<i>altaar</i> , <i>Hongaar</i> , <i>kitaar</i>
-aard	<i>Spanjaard</i> , <i>standaard</i> (but <i>standerd</i>)
-aat	<i>demokraat</i> , <i>diplomaat</i> , <i>klimaat</i> , <i>magistraat</i> , <i>sertifikaat</i>
-am	<i>program</i> , <i>monogram</i> (see 1.10.2.3)
-ant	<i>konsultant</i> , <i>luitenant</i> , <i>predikant</i> , <i>sersant</i>
-at	<i>debat</i> , <i>patat</i>
-ee	<i>kafee</i> , <i>orgidee</i>
-eel	<i>eventueel</i> , <i>fluweel</i> , <i>kasteel</i> , <i>sambreel</i> , <i>tafereel</i> , <i>toneel</i>
-eem	<i>probleem</i> , <i>sisteen</i>
-een	<i>fenomeen</i> , <i>Roemeen(s)</i>

³⁹ It is debatable whether these shifts in stress pattern are simply the result of contact with English or whether there is not some internal mechanism at work – possibly reinforced by English – in much the same way as must have occurred at an earlier date in the development of English.

-eer ⁴⁰	<i>ignoreer, korrigeer, motiveer, parkeer</i>
-ees	<i>Chinees, Japannees, Taiwannees</i>
-eet	<i>atleet, planeet</i>
-ein	<i>fontein, kaptein, porselein, Romein(s)</i>
-ek	<i>argitek, aspek, projek, subjek</i> (see 1.10.2.1.1)
-el ⁴¹	<i>kolonel, naturel, rebel</i>
-ent	<i>assistent, element, monument, also kliënt, pasiënt</i>
-êr	<i>militêr, primêr, sekondêr</i>
-es	<i>ekses, proses, sukses</i>
-et	<i>ballet, etiket, kasset, pakket, palet, toilet</i>
-eur	<i>prokureur, terreur</i>
-eus	<i>luuksueus, nerveus, offisieus</i>
-eut	<i>fisioterapeut</i>
-ieel ⁴²	<i>finansieel, seremonieel</i>
-ief ⁴²	<i>argief, eksklusief, primitief, sensitief</i>
-iek	<i>fabriek, gimnastiek, musiek, politiek, republiek</i>
-iel	<i>negrofiel, merkantiel, viriel</i>
-iem	<i>intiem, maritiem, sinoniem</i>
-ien / ine	<i>nektarien, sardien, vitamien / vitamine</i>
-ier	<i>offisier, passasier</i>
-iet	<i>muskiet, rekwisiet</i>
-o	<i>buro, nivo, plato</i> ⁴³
-oen	<i>fatsoen, garnisoen, katoen</i>
-on	<i>balkon, bataljon, kokon, plafon</i>
-oof	<i>filosoof</i>
-oog	<i>etimoloog, sinoloog, sosioloog</i>
-ooi	<i>allooi, pleidooi, toernooi</i>
-ool	<i>Kreool(s), riool, simbool, viool</i>
-oom	<i>idoom, kondoom, simptoom</i>
-oon	<i>allofoon, mikrofoon</i>
-oor	<i>kantoor, majoor</i>
-teek	<i>apteek, biblioteek, diskoteek</i>
-teit	<i>elektrisiteit, universiteit</i>
-u	<i>individu, menu</i>
-uum	<i>kostuum, postuum</i>

⁴⁰ Nominal derivatives of this very common verbal ending also take the stress on the *ee*, e.g. *motivering, parkering*. This ending has also been applied in a few cases to indigenous roots, e.g. *halveer* 'to halve', *waardeer* 'to appreciate'. One needs to be able to distinguish between *regering* 'government' (< *regeer* 'to govern') and *foltering* 'torture' (< *folter* 'to torture').

⁴¹ Here one needs to distinguish between loanwords in *-el*, which stress the ending, and indigenous words which stress the root, e.g. *libel* 'dragon-fly', *lepel* 'spoon'.

⁴² Note the change in spelling of adjectives in *-ieel* and *-ief* when inflected: *finansiële, seremoniële; eksklusiewe, primitiewe, sensitiewe*.

⁴³ Only those words derived from French loans in *-eau*; therefore not *foto, deposito*, for example.

-uur	<i>natuur, temperatuur</i>
-uus	<i>ekskuus, konfuus, rekluus</i>
-uut	<i>dispuut, prostituut, statuut</i>
-y	<i>battery, galery, party</i>
-yn	<i>asyn, dosyn, kony, kosyn, gordyn, pikkewyn; Algeryn, Argentyn, Filistyn, Palestyn</i>
-ys	<i>anys, paradys, Parys, patrys</i>

In addition to the above endings which generally speaking are applied to a series of words, there are several other isolated cases of stressed endings used in loanwords, e.g. *flamink* 'flamingo', *kapok* 'snow', *jolyt* 'jollity', *kovert* 'envelope', *losies*⁴ 'lodgings', *marmot* 'guinea pig', *olyf* 'olive', *permit* 'permit', *resep* 'recipe', *terras* 'terrace', *tabak* 'tobacco'.

1.10.2.1.3. Loanwords ending in stressed *-ie*

Some loanwords in *-ie* stress the final syllable (i.e. all end in *-y* in English except *ensiklopedie* and *kompromie*), e.g. *amnestie* (also *amnestie*), *anargie*, *burokrasie*, *demokrasie*, *ekonomie*, *energie*, *ensiklopedie*, *geologie*, *kompromie*, *masjinerie*, *simpatie*, *strategie*. Several others stress the penultimate syllable (see 1.10.2.2.1). Note: *histerektomie* fits into neither group and is stressed as in English.

1.10.2.1.4. Agent nouns ending in *-is*

Agents in *-is* (plural *-iste*), take the stress on the *i*, e.g. *adventis(te)*, *alkoholis(te)*, *individualis(te)*, *joernalis(te)*, *motoris(te)*, *rassis(te)*. Where such words have a cognate form in *-isme*, the *i* also bears the stress, e.g. *individualisme*, *joernalisme*, *rassisme*. There are often further derivatives of loanwords in *-isme* ending in *-ies*, where the *i* still retains the stress, e.g. *kommunisties*, *rassisties*.

1.10.2.1.5. Agent nouns ending in *-ikus*

There are many nouns denoting agents derived from the Latin ending *-ikus* in the singular, but *-ici* (pronounced [isi]) in the plural. Such nouns are stressed in one of two ways, i.e. *akademikus* or *akademici*, *akademici* or *akademici*. The latter stress pattern is more common although not historically correct, e.g. *agnostikus/agnostici*, *fisikus/fisici*, *musikus/musici*, *politikus/politici*, *tegnikus/tegnici*.

⁴ But the very common adjectival ending *-ies* (= English *-ic(al)*) is not stressed.

1.10.2.2 Loanwords that take the stress on the penultimate syllable

1.10.2.2.1. Loanwords ending in unstressed *-ie*

Some loanwords in *-ie* stress the penultimate syllable. This *-ie* ending corresponds with various endings in English, including *-y* like the stressed *-ie* ending; all nouns that end in *-sion*/*-tion* or *-age* in English that end in *-sie* or *-asie* respectively in Afrikaans, take the stress on the penultimate syllable, for example:

- 1) those with various endings in English: *bakterie*, *chemie*, *konferensie*, *histerie*, *indoktrinasië*, *kolonie*, *kontroversie*, *nostalgie*, *orgie*, *rebellie*, *seremonie*, *unie*;
- 2) those that end in *-sion*/*-tion* in English: *advertensie*, *aksie*, *demonstrasie*, *kompetisie*, *kwessie*, *opposisie*, *polisie*, *posisie*, *reünie*, *televisie*;
- 3) those that end in *-age* in French/English: *bagasie*, *boskasie*, *dierasie*, *menasie*, *murasie*, *plantasie*, *sabotasie*.

There are many other nouns ending in *-ie* that stress the final syllable, and nearly all of these correspond to English words in *-y* (as do a few in group 1 above) (see 1.10.2.1.3).

1.10.2.2.2. Other endings where the penultimate syllable is stressed

Words with the following endings stress the penultimate syllable:

- 1) *-aris*/*-aresse*, e.g. *sekretaris* (plural *sekretarisse*), *sekretaresse* (plural *sekretarisses*).
- 2) *-ator*, e.g. *katalisator* (plural *katalisators*), *kommentator* (plural *kommentators* or *kommentatore*).
- 3) *-abel*, e.g. *formidabel*, *konstabel*, *rendabel*.
- 4) *-ye*, which is suffixed to the name of a few countries, e.g. *Hongarye*, *Mantsjoerye*, *Tjeggo-Slowakye*, *Turkye*.

1.10.2.3. Loanwords that take the stress on the third last syllable

- 1) *-ika* (= English *-ics*), e.g. *dinamika*, *elektronika*, *estetika*, *meganika*.
- 2) *laboratorium*, *katalogus*, *sillabus*.
- 3) The tendency to apply the Germanic first syllable stress to Romance loanwords of more than two syllables that originally had penultimate or final syllable stress, is not nearly as strong as in English but it does seem to be gaining ground, much to the disgust of purists who insist, for example, on *minister* where *minister* is now more commonly heard; likewise with *hospitaal*, *mikroskoop*, *telefoon*, *telegram*. The stress pattern is lexically bound and is impossible at this stage to give rules that the non-native can apply (see 1.10.2.1).

1.10.3. Indicating stress in writing

If it is ever necessary in writing to indicate that a particular syllable is stressed, this is done by means of an acute (see spelling 2.5.3).

When giving a special emphasis to the past tense of verbs consisting of *het* + a past participle, either the *het* or the root of the participle can be stressed, depending on the connotation; it is on *het* if one is emphasising the fact that the action is past, but on the participle if one is emphasising the action expressed by that particular verb, e.g. *Ek hét sy naam vroeër geweet, maar kan dit nie meer onthou nie* 'I **knew** (= **did** know) his name once, but I can't remember it any more', *Ek het vir hom gebél, nie geskryf nie* 'I **rang** him, I didn't write to him'.

Suggested reading

Coetzee (1985). This book was written for use by undergraduates. It is very lucid, terse and cheap.

De Villiers (1987). This is a thoroughly revised version of De Villiers' book (revised by Ponelis) which has long been considered a classic (first edition 1958). It goes into considerably more detail, particularly on variant pronunciations, than does Coetzee's book.

Le Roux and Pienaar (1945). This book, which has been republished several times since 1945, is the only pronunciation dictionary for Afrikaans. It is in great need of revision as it is very much rooted in a Dutch dominated past. J. Combrink of the University of Stellenbosch was working on a new pronunciation dictionary while this book was being prepared.

2. Spelling

2.1. The alphabet¹

a – <i>a</i>	g – <i>gee</i>	m – <i>em</i>	s – <i>es</i>	y – <i>y</i>
b – <i>bee</i>	h – <i>ha</i>	n – <i>en</i>	t – <i>tee</i>	z – <i>zet</i>
c – <i>see</i>	i – <i>ie</i>	o – <i>o</i>	u – <i>u</i>	
d – <i>dee</i>	j – <i>jee</i>	p – <i>pee</i>	v – <i>fee</i>	
e – <i>ee</i>	k – <i>ka</i>	q – <i>ku</i>	w – <i>wee</i>	
f – <i>ef</i>	l – <i>el</i>	r – <i>er</i>	x – <i>eks</i>	

The above names of the letters should be pronounced as if they are Afrikaans words, noting the following:

bee, see, ee, etc. are pronounced with a broken vowel, i.e. [eə]

a is pronounced [a:]

o is pronounced [oə]

u is pronounced [y]

y is pronounced [əi]

When spelling a word aloud, the following terms are used:

peer – *pee ee ee er* or *pee dubbel ee er*

wie – *wee ie ee met 'n kappie op die ie*

hoër – *ha o ee er met kolletjies /'n deelteken op die ee*

reën – *er ee ee en met kolletjies /'n deelteken op die tweede ee*

Naudé – *en a u dee met 'n (skuins) strepie /'n aksentstrepie /'n klem op die ee*

These diacritics are discussed under 2.5.

The following letters are rarely used in Afrikaans orthography:

C outside the combination *ch* is very rare, e.g. *akademici* 'academics', *Africana*, *Macedonië*. The [k] sound in indigenous words is spelt *k*, and loanwords with *c* in the original language are spelt either *k* or *s* depending on the sound for which the *c* stands in the original language, e.g. *klub* 'club', *sent* 'cent'.

Q is virtually non-existent in Afrikaans, loanwords with *qu* being spelt *kw*, e.g. *kwaliteit* 'quality'.

X is as rare as *q*, occurring in only very few obscure loanwords. Non-Greek loanwords with an *x* in the language of origin, are spelt *ks*, e.g. *ekskuus* 'excuse'. Exception *Xhosa*, pronounced [k|lɔsa], where [|] represents a click.

Y represents the diphthong [əi] and is not used to represent the consonant or semi-vowel [j]. Loanwords in which the vowel was written *y* in the language of origin are spelt with an *i* in Afrikaans, e.g. *tipe* 'type'. The sound in English *year* is represented by *j* in Afrikaans, e.g. *jaar* 'year'.

Z is almost as scarce as *q* and *x* in Afrikaans. Loanwords with *z* in the language of origin are usually spelt *s* in Afrikaans, which includes the many Dutch words with *z*, e.g. *osoon* 'ozone', *sink* 'zinc', *ses* 'six' (< Dutch *zes*), *huise* 'houses' (< Dutch *huizen*).

¹ See 4.1.6.11 for the plural of these letters and 4.2.1.1 for their diminutive forms.

Afrikaans spelling of loanwords is discussed in more detail under 2.10.

When looking up a word bearing an accent in a dictionary, it will be found immediately after the same letter without the accent, i.e. *appèl* 'appeal' follows *appel* 'apple'.

2.2. The Afrikaanse Woordelys en Spelreëls

The generally accepted authority on the official spelling of Afrikaans is the *Afrikaanse woordelys en spelreëls* (first published 1917) which was compiled by, and is periodically revised by, the *Taalkommissie* of the *Suid-Afrikaanse Akademie vir Wetenskap en Kuns*. The latest thoroughly revised edition, the eighth, appeared in 1991. The AWS, as it is referred to in Afrikaans linguistic circles, states on page 11 that its three guiding principles are as follows:

- 1) the phonological system of Standard Afrikaans
- 2) the principle of congruency (*gelykvormigheid*)
- 3) tradition (which is another way of saying that certain principles of Dutch spelling are still observed, which was actually stated in the 7th edition but the wording has since been changed).

2.2.1. Alternative forms (*wisselvorme*)

Because of the degree of arbitrariness inherent in the first principle, the AWS (p. 12) recognises many *wisselvorme* 'alternative forms', e.g. *aartappel* / *ertappel* 'potato', *liever* / *liewers* 'rather', *môre* / *more* 'morning', *oral* / *orals* 'everywhere'. Such *wisselvorme* are often distributed geographically and amount in effect to dialectal variants where the number of users of each form makes it impossible at this stage to opt for one over the other as the standard form, but in many cases such a decision has already been made, e.g. *oral[s]* not *oralste[r]* 'everywhere' and *probeer* not *perbeer* 'to try', although *oralste[r]* and *perbeer* are still often heard, if never written, and thus they are not in the AWS.

There are quite a number of assimilated English loanwords for which alternative spellings exist, e.g. *resies* / *reisies* 'races', *bogger* / *bokker* 'bugger', *nonsens* / *nonsies* 'nonsense'.

2.2.2. Remnants of the etymological spelling of Dutch

2.2.2.1. *f* and *v*

Although both *f* and *v* in initial position are pronounced [f], a distinction between the two is made in Afrikaans spelling in line with the distinction made in Dutch where there are historical reasons for doing so, e.g. *vader* [fa:dər] 'father', *vleis* [fløis] 'meat', but *fees* [feəs] 'festival', *flou* [fløu] 'insipid'.²

² For historical reasons one will find that the vast majority of indigenous Germanic words in Dutch/Afrikaans are spelt with a *v*, whereas loanwords are spelt with an *f*.

2.2.2.2. *ei* and *y*

Because the sounds *ei* and *y* fell together historically in Dutch but a distinction is still made in Dutch spelling, the same distinction is made in Afrikaans,³ e.g. *leier* [lɛi'ər] 'leader', *lyer* [lɛi'ər] 'sufferer'.

2.2.2.3. *au* and *ou*

The distinction made in Dutch spelling between *au* and *ou*, one of the very few other instances where Dutch spelling is not phonemic, has not been preserved in Afrikaans – in Afrikaans the latter prevails, e.g. *gou* 'soon' (< Dutch *gauw*), *blou* 'blue' (< Dutch *blauw*), *mou* 'sleeve' (< Dutch *mouw*), *restourant* 'restaurant' (< Dutch *restaurant*), *sout* 'salt' (< Dutch *zout*) (see 2.2.3).

2.2.2.4. *-tjie*

The most common diminutive ending in Afrikaans is *-tjie* (see 4.2.1). It is pronounced [ci], which is found in Dutch as *-tje* (pronounced [tjə]), which in turn is derived from a palatalisation of the older *-ke(n)* (pronounced [cən]). The palatalisation of [c] to [tj] had apparently not yet taken place in the dialect from which standard Afrikaans received its diminutive, but the *tj* of standard Dutch spelling was retained in Afrikaans although it bears no relation to the sound for which it stands in Afrikaans orthography. The [tj] pronunciation does, however, occur in Kaaps.

2.2.3. Archaic Dutch spelling in place and personal names

Many names preserve a double vowel in open syllables where in non-proper nouns the spelling rules (AWS, p. 17) now require that the vowel be written singly (see 2.4.1), e.g. *Groote Schuur*, *Van den Heever*, *Van Vuuren*, *Vereeniging*, *Verhoolen*.

The spellings *ey*, *ij*, *ooy*, and *uy*, are archaic for *ei*, *y*, *ooi* and *ui* respectively, e.g. *Steyn*, *Strijdom*, *Booyesen*, *Tuynhuys*.

A(a)u(w), *au* and *ouw* are archaic for *ou*, e.g. *Blaauwberg*, *Naauwpoort*; *Aucamp*, *Naudé*; *Gouws*, *Louw* (see 2.2.2.3).

Doornfontein and *Oudtshoorn* contain the Dutch sequence of phonemes *oorn* which contains a svarabhakti vowel, e.g. [ʔutsfio:rən].⁴

C is archaic for [s] or [k], depending on the following vowel, e.g. *Cilliers*, *Coetzee* respectively (see 1.6.1).

Some names end in *-dt*, which is simply pronounced [t], e.g. *Roodt*, *Van Wyngaardt*, and in the compound noun *Oudtshoorn*.

³ Note that in Afrikaans *y* is regarded as a *y*, not as an *ij* as in Dutch, and thus it follows *x* in dictionaries, catalogues, telephone books etc.

⁴ The cognate forms of these words as lexical items are *doring* 'thorn' and *horing* 'horn', and in fact the pronunciation [ʔutsfio:rɔi] is heard in practice.

Gh is archaic for *g*, e.g. *Myburgh*.

The Dutch spelling *sch* (pronounced [sk]) still occurs in many names but is pronounced as [sk], as in Afrikaans words that are now spelt *sk* where in Dutch they were/are spelt *sch*, e.g. *Schalk*, *Schutte*. Word finally or medially the Dutch spelling *sch* also still occurs where it is pronounced [s], e.g. *Boschendal*, *Franschhoek*, *Rondebosch*, *Stellenbosch*.

Final *t*'s, which have been apocopated in Afrikaans but are preserved in Dutch spellings, are frequently dropped in speech in familiar names, e.g. *Avondrust*, *Oranjezicht*, *Heerengracht*.

Th is archaic for *t*, e.g. *Neethling*, *Botha*, *Theo*, *Thys*.

Some names retain a completely Dutch spelling of the diminutive ending, i.e. *-tje* instead of the Afrikaans *-tjie*, but this too is pronounced [ci], e.g. *Meintjeskop* [mɔinciskɔp], *Plaatje* [pla:ici], *Zwartkopjes* [swartkɔpis]. Exception *Nortje* [nɔr'keə].

Some personal and place names retain a Dutch *v* (pronounced [v] in Dutch) in intervocalic position where that sound is now written *w* in Afrikaans. Where *v* still occurs in place names, a spelling pronunciation is applied and *v* is pronounced [f], e.g. *Van den Heever*, *Bakoven*, *Langenhoven*, *Louwen*, *Overberg*.

Many names still contain a *z* where an *s* otherwise occurs in Afrikaans. Depending on how commonplace the name is, the *z* is either still pronounced as [z], e.g. *Zoutspruit*, ([zɔutsprɔeit], not a common name, or as [s], e.g. *Van Zyl* [fan'sɔil], *Zomerlust* ['sɔəmɔrlɔs]. The latter is the name of a Cape wine estate, many of which have preserved Dutch spellings.

2.2.4. The principle of congruency (*die beginsel van gelykvormigheid*)

This rule, which is also integral to the spelling of Dutch, refers to all words derived from the same basic root preserving the same spelling, even if the rules of Afrikaans/Dutch phonology dictate that certain forms are pronounced differently in other phonetic environments, e.g. *rob* 'seal' is written with a *b*, although it is pronounced [p] (see 1.4.1), and not as **rop* because of *robbe* 'seals'; *hand* is written with a *d*, although it is pronounced [t] (see 1.4.2), and not as **hant* because of *hande* 'hands', *handig* 'handy' etc. But there are a few isolated exceptions to this principle in Afrikaans, unlike in Dutch, e.g. *aarde* 'earth' and *aardbewing* 'earth-quake', but *aartappel* 'potato'.

2.3. Syllabification

The rules for hyphenating words in Afrikaans are quite different from those prevailing in English. In English they are partially determined by sound, but also by meaning, and can relate to the morphological structure of a word, e.g. *par-ti-tion-ing*. If this were an Afrikaans word it could only be hyphenated as follows: **par-ti-tio-ning*; the rule states that each new syllable begin with a consonant, regardless of the sense of the constituent parts, e.g. *ver-de-ling*, although this word is formed from the root *deel* plus a prefix *ver-* and a suffix *-ing*. This means that open syllables, e.g. *de-* in the example given, end in a

vowel, which is of relevance to the spelling rules of the language: in *deel* 'part' the long vowel is written with two letters (*ee*), because it stands in a closed syllable, i.e. one that ends in a consonant, whereas in *dele* 'parts' the long vowel stands in an open syllable (*de-le*) and in open syllables long vowels are written with only one letter (see 2.4.1). The vowel in *rot* 'rat' is short and stands in a closed syllable; in the plural, *rotte*, the fact that the vowel is short is reflected in the doubling of the following consonant, giving rise to *rot-te* when the word is syllabified (see 2.4.2). Further examples of syllabification: *fees-te* 'festivity', *per-de* 'horses', *waarde* 'value', *waar-de-ring* 'appreciation'.

See also final comment under 2.5.1.2.

2.4. Spelling changes in derived forms

Certain vowel and consonant letters are either doubled or written singly depending on whether the syllables concerned are open or closed; to understand the rationale behind this spelling system, one needs to understand this distinction between open and closed syllables, and that distinction is based on rules of syllabification that are different in Afrikaans from English (see 2.3).

2.4.1. Long vowels in open and closed syllables⁵

In a closed syllable *aa*, *ee*, *oo* and *uu* are written but in an open syllable the vowels are written singly, e.g. *aap/ape* 'monkey/monkeys', *been/bene* 'leg/legs',⁶ *boom/bome* 'tree/trees', *muur/mure* 'wall/walls'. These changes occur when pluralising nouns, as the above examples illustrate, or when inflecting adjectives (e.g. *goedkoop/goedkope* 'cheap'), or in derivatives of nouns, adjectives and verbs whenever the vowel concerned finds itself in an open syllable, e.g. *laag* 'low', *verlagings* 'lowering'; *hoop* 'to hope', *Dis te hope* 'It's to be hoped'. This spelling rule explains the long vowels in *na* [na:] 'after/to', *baba* [ba:ba:] 'baby', *so* [so:] 'so', *nivo* [ni'vo:] 'niveau' and *sku* [sky:] 'shy' are written with one letter, but the long vowels in *see* [se:] 'sea' and *tee* [te:] 'tea' etc. require two letters to distinguish them from [ə], e.g. *se* [sə] (possessive particle), *te* [tə] 'to'.

The spelling of other historically long vowels and diphthongs is not affected in inflected and derived words, e.g. *neus/neuse* 'nose/noses', *briek/brieke* 'brake/brakes', *reis/reise* 'trip/trips', *voet/voete* 'foot/feet', *muis/muise* 'mouse/mice', *vyl/vyle* 'file/files'.

⁵ Where I refer to long vowels in this chapter, the reference is not to whether the vowels are now pronounced long or short in accordance with the rules given in chapter 1, but rather to the spellings *aa*, *ee*, *eu*, *ie*, *oo*, *uu* (and the historical diphthongs *ei*, *ou* and *y*) which indicate etymological length (i.e. "historically long vowels"). The vowels *ie*, *oe* and *uu* in particular are pronounced short, except before *r*, but are historically long, as their spelling implies.

⁶ *Twee/tweede/tweeling* 'two/second/twin' is the only exception to this rule; here the principle of congruency (2.2.4) has been applied because this is also the convention in Dutch with regard to this word alone.

2.4.2. Short vowels in closed syllables

Short vowels are always written singly, e.g. *kat* 'cat', *bed* 'bed', *rot* 'rat', *put* 'well'. Whenever nouns containing a short vowel are pluralised or diminutised, or adjectives are inflected, or derivatives of nouns, adjectives and verbs are formed and the root vowel finds itself followed by another syllable, the following consonant must be doubled to keep the vowel in a closed syllable, e.g. *kat*/*katte* 'cat/cats', *stuk*/*stukkies* 'piece/little piece', *gek*/*gekke* 'mad', *krul*/*krulling* 'curl/curling'. Compare *skrap*/*skrapping* 'to scrap/scraping' and *skraap*/*skraping* 'to scrape/scraping'. There are no geminated consonants in the pronunciation of Afrikaans – the doubling of consonants only serves to indicate the length of the preceding vowel.

2.4.3. *f* > *w* and *f* > *ww* after long and short vowels respectively

When a word containing a long vowel or diphthong and ending in *f* acquires another syllable, the *f* is voiced (i.e. [f] > [v]) and is written *w* to reflect this change in pronunciation,⁷ e.g. *slaaf*/*slawe*/*slawerny* 'slave/slaves/slavery', *doof*/*dowe* 'deaf', *lief*/*lieuwe* 'dear'. Note that *slawe* and *dowe* illustrate a combination of this rule and that given under 2.4.1. The combinations *-lf* and *-rf* are also affected, e.g. *wolf*/*wolwe* 'wolf/wolves', *erf*/*erwe* 'plot (of ground)/plots'. Compare English *roof*/*rooves*, *wolf*/*wolves*.

In accordance with the rule given under 2.4.2, when a word containing a short vowel ending in *f* has a syllable added, the consonant is voiced and doubled, i.e. *draf*/*drawwer* 'to jog/jogger', *stof*/*stowwe* 'material/materials', *laf*/*lawwe* 'cowardly', *dof*/*dowwe*/*dowwerig* 'dull/dullish'.

2.4.4. Syncope of intervocalic *d* after long vowels in open syllables

Adjectives that contain a long vowel or diphthong ending in *d*, drop the *d* when an inflectional *e* (i.e. a schwa) is added, e.g. *breed*/*breë* 'wide',⁸ *koud*/*koue* 'cold', *wyd*/*wye* 'wide'. In the case of a few very common adjectives the intervocalic *d* is not completely syncopated but vocalised to *i* (pronounced [j]), *dood*/*dooië* 'dead', *goed*/*goeie* 'good' (see 6.1.2.1).

This syncope or vocalisation of *d* only applies when *d* occurs intervocalically before schwa,⁹ not before other vowels, e.g. *verbreding* 'widening', *doding* 'slaying'. Syncope of *d* in this position is ultimately the explanation for a couplet like *bloed* 'blood' (< Dutch *bloed*) and *bloei* 'to bleed' (< Dutch *bloeden*).

⁷ This rule explains the relationship between *kloof* 'gap' on the one hand and *kloue* 'gaps', *klower* 'cleaver' and *klowing* 'cleavage' on the other, but it does not account for the change not applying to diminutives, e.g. *klofie* (see 4.2.1.f).

⁸ *Breë* is written with only two e's as the first is regarded quite consistently as standing in an open syllable; this is at odds with the way long *ee* is written in an open syllable in Auslaut (see *see* 'sea' under 2.4.1).

⁹ There are exceptions even here, but where syncope or vocalisation have not been applied one is normally dealing with an accepted Hollandism, e.g. *dodelik* 'deadly', *opstaan uit die dode* 'to rise from the dead'; biblical expressions in particular abound with such Hollandisms.

Some common nouns that contain a long vowel or diphthong ending in *d*, drop the *d* when a plural *e* (i.e. a schwa) is added, e.g. *kruid/kruie* 'herb/herbs', *tyd/tye* 'time/times'. Unlike adjectives, there are many nouns where *d* is preserved, e.g. *brood/broede* 'loaf/loaves', *hoed/hoede* 'hat/hats', *woud/woude* 'wood/woods'.

One should note the limited number of common nouns ending in *d* with a short vowel in the singular but a long vowel in the plural, whose *d* undergoes syncope or vocalisation in the plural, e.g. *pad/paaie* 'road/roads' (see plurals 2.2.8).

2.4.5. Syncope of intervocalic *g* after long vowels in open syllables

Adjectives and nouns that contain a long vowel or diphthong ending in *g*, drop the *g* when an inflectional *e* (i.e. a schwa) is added,¹⁰ e.g. *hoog/hoë/hoër* 'high/higher', *laag/lae/laer* 'low/lower', *moeg/moeë/moeër* 'tired/more tired', *maag/mae* 'stomach/stomachs', *kroeg/kroeë* 'pub/pubs'.

There are no exceptions to the syncope of *g*, unlike that of *d* (see 2.4.4).

2.4.6. Return of apocopated sounds in compounds

2.4.6.1. Return of historically final *n* after schwa in compounds

Because final *n* after schwa in Dutch (i.e. *-en*) was apocopated in Afrikaans,¹¹ but often returns in compounds where the *-en* is no longer word final, apparent anomalies like the following occur: *buite* 'outside' (< Dutch *buiten*) and *buiteland* 'abroad' but *buitengewoon* 'extraordinary', *eie* 'own' (< Dutch *eigen*) but *eienskap* 'quality, attribute'.

This phenomenon also occurs when adjectives derived from the past participles of historically strong verbs are inflected or occur in compounds where the apocopated final *n* of the original Dutch form returns, e.g. *verworwe* 'acquired' but *die verworwene* 'the acquired (one)' and *verworwenheid* 'acquisition' (see 6.4.3 and 15.1.3).

2.4.6.2. Return of historically final *d* and *t* in derived forms

Where *d* and *t* occurred historically in word final position after a voiceless consonant, they were apocopated in Afrikaans, but return in many derived forms where the consonant is no longer in final position. This occurs in the following cases:

¹⁰ There are many words in which syncope of *g* has been applied in the transition from Dutch to Afrikaans but from a synchronic point of view, and without a knowledge of Dutch, this is not obvious, e.g. *genoë* 'satisfaction' (< Dutch *genoegen*), *vermoë* 'ability' (< Dutch *vermogen*). It does explain, however, the relationship between cognate words with and without *g*, e.g. *genoegsaam* 'satisfactory'; *verkry* 'to acquire' (< Dutch *verkrijgen*), *verkreë* 'acquired' (< Dutch *verkrege*), *verkryging* 'acquisition' (< Dutch *verkrijging*).

¹¹ Nevertheless there are exceptions to this, e.g. *tussen* 'between', *buite* 'outside' but *buiten* 'except, besides'.

1) in the plural of nouns ending in *-f, g* and *s*, e.g. *hoof/hoofde* 'head', *nag/nagte* 'night', *kas/kaste* 'cupboard' (see 4.1.3).

2) in the inflection of adjectives, e.g. *sag/sagte/sagter* 'soft/softer', *vas/vaste/vaster* 'firm' (see 6.1).

3) when adjectives derived from the past participles of historically weak verbs are inflected or nominalised, e.g. *verslaaf/verslaafde* 'addicted/addict', *verkramp/verkrampste* 'narrow-minded/narrow-minded person'; also in other nominal derivatives of such words, e.g. *verslaafdheid* 'addiction', *verkramptheid* 'narrow-mindedness' (see 6.4.1 and 15.1.2).

4) in certain standard expressions incorporating an infinitive which historically ended in *-ten*, but which lost this cluster due to apocope in Afrikaans, *-te* returns when preceded by the preposition *te*, e.g. *soos te verwagte was* 'as was to be expected' (< Afrikaans *verwag* < Dutch *verwachten*), *tot ruste kom* 'to settle down' (< Afrikaans *rus* < Dutch *rusten*) (see 8.16.1.5).

2.4.7. Medial *s* in compound words

When two words are compounded to form a new word and where the latter begins in *s*, the medial *s* commonly inserted (see 15.2.1.1) in such compounds is omitted as only one *s* can be heard, e.g. *stad + saal* > *stadsaal* 'town hall', compare *stad + raad* > *stadsraad* 'town council'. Where the first word ends in *s* and the second begins with *s*, two *s*'s are written, e.g. *beessterte* 'cows' tails'.

2.5. The use of diacritic marks in Afrikaans orthography

2.5.1. Use of the diæresis (*deelteken, dotjies, kolletjies, umlaut*)¹²

2.5.1.1. Use of the diæresis to separate syllables

When two vowels that belong to separate syllables stand side by side and could be read as a digraph, a diæresis is placed on the second vowel to show that it forms part of a new syllable. This occurs in indigenous words where two vowels that were historically separated by a *g* are now contiguous due to syncope of the *g* (see 2.4.5), e.g. *oog/oë* 'eye/eyes' (< Dutch *oog/ogen*); thus *reën* 'rain' (< Dutch *regen*) contrasts with *leen* 'to lend' (< Dutch *leen*), although because of the breaking of the long *e* in *leen*, the vowel in these two words is identical, i.e. [reən] and [leən]. In the combination *o + ë* the diæresis not only serves to indicate the difference in pronunciation between it and *oe*, but also aids the eye in keeping homographs apart, e.g. *hoë* [hioë] 'high' (< Dutch *hoge*), *hoe* [hiu] 'how' (< Dutch *hoe*). It is not necessary to use a diæresis in *laer* 'lower' (< Dutch *lager*) or *nael* 'nail' (< Dutch *nagel*), for example, because *ae* does not otherwise exist as a digraph for a sound, unlike *oe*;¹³ nevertheless, in loanwords

¹² The official name of a diæresis is *deelteken* but the other terms are common in informal contexts.

¹³ Distinction in pronunciation between words like *sael* 'saddle' (< Dutch *zadel*) and *saal* 'room' (< Dutch *zaal*) and *swaer* 'brother-in-law' (< Dutch *zwager*) and *swaar* 'heavy' (< Dutch *zwaar*) is more imagined because of the spelling, than real.

like *aërogram* it is required (see 2.5.1.4). The same applies to the combinations *ea* and *eo*, e.g. *geamuseerd* ‘amused’, *geoes* ‘harvested’ and *geoktrooieerd* ‘chartered’, but *geïnteresseerd* ‘interested’ and *geüniformeerd* ‘uniformed’ do require a diacritic mark to indicate that one is not dealing with the sounds *ei* and *eu* (see 2.5.1.2). The plural of *individu*, *individue* ‘individuals’, does not require a diæresis on the *e* either for the same reason. In a few words of foreign origin the diæresis is used on *ai* to indicate that these letters are pronounced as two separate sounds and not as a diphthong, e.g. *Kairo* ‘Cairo’, *die Oekraïne* ‘the Ukraine’; compare *kaia* ‘native shack’ and *baie* ‘very, much’ which contain a diphthong.

Note that nouns ending in stressed *-ie* simply add *ë* to form their plural while those ending in *-ee* add a diæresis to the second *e*, e.g. *knie*/*knieë* ‘knee’, *melodie*/*melodieë* ‘tune’, *see*/*seeë* ‘sea’, *trofee*/*trofeeë* ‘trophy’.

2.5.1.2. Use of the diæresis after the verbal prefixes *be-* and *ge-*

When the unstressed verbal prefixes *be-* and *ge-* are affixed to verbs beginning with *e*, *i* or *u*, a diæresis is added to the first vowel of the verb, e.g. *indruck* ‘impression’ – *beïndruck* ‘to impress’; *eis* ‘to demand’ – *geëis* ‘demanded’, *urineer* ‘to urinate’ – *geürineer* ‘urinated’, but *uit* ‘to utter’ – *geuit* ‘uttered’ as *ui* is a digraph. The diacritic is dropped if such words are hyphenated at the end of a line and the prefix stays behind on the previous line, e.g. *be-indruck*, *ge-eis*.

2.5.1.3. Omission of the diæresis in compounds formed from unbound morphemes

The diæresis is not used when two unbound morphemes (i.e. independent words) come together in a compound; in such cases a hyphen is used, e.g. *toe-eien* ‘to appropriate’, *eeue-oud* ‘centuries old’, (see 2.7.8), nor is it applied to an *a*, e.g. *na-aap* ‘to mimic’ (< Dutch *naäpen*), *sebra-agtig* ‘zebra-like’; but the latest version of the AWS (p. 33) now permits the use of either a diæresis or a hyphen with the adjectival ending *agtig*, i.e. also *sebraächtig*.

2.5.1.4. Use of the diæresis in international loanwords

Diæreses are common in international loanwords where letter combinations occur which have other values in indigenous words; here too they indicate that the adjacent vowels belong to separate syllables, e.g. *aërogram*, *diet*/*diëte* ‘diet/diets’, *elektrisiën* ‘electrician’, *finansiëel*/*finansiële* ‘financial’, *intuïtief* ‘intuitive’, *irreëel*/*irreële* ‘unreal’ (uninflected/inflected), *kafëien*/*kafëine* ‘caffeine’, *koördineerder* ‘coordinator’, *Mattheüs* ‘Matthew (Gospel)’, *paranoïes* ‘paranoid’, *pasiënt* ‘patient’, *Sjiïties* ‘Shi’ite’. In a word like *reünie* ‘reunion’, formed from a monosyllabic prefix of classical origin, the alternative spelling *re-unie* is also recognised by the AWS.

2.5.1.5. Use of the diæresis to indicate syncope of intervocalic *d*

In far fewer cases, as indicated in 2.4.4, a diæresis is put on an *e* when an intervocalic *d* has dropped out, e.g. *breed* / *breë* 'wide' (< Dutch *breed* / *brede*).

2.5.1.6. Cognate variants with and without a diæresis

In a couple of isolated cases cognate forms which have undergone syncope of intervocalic *g* exist side by side, the one form being written with a diæresis and the other without: *reën* / *reent* 'rain' (noun and verb), *reël* 'rule' / *gereeld* 'regular', *teë* / *teen* 'against' (see 8.15.1.1). The distinction in spelling between *reën* (< Dutch *regen*) and *teen* (< Dutch *tegen*) reflects one of the few inconsistencies in Afrikaans orthography, as these differences in spelling are not reflected in pronunciation.

2.5.2. Use of the circumflex (*kappie*)

The circumflex is most commonly used on the letter *e* but can occur on an *i*, *o* and *u* in certain very limited cases. All vowels bearing a circumflex are pronounced long; for the exact phonetic values of *ê*, *î*, *ô* and *û* (see 1.2.2–1.2.5).

2.5.2.1. Use of the circumflex on the letter *e*

The circumflex is applied to an *e* in the following cases:

1) to the three monosyllabic verbs *hê* 'to have', *lê* 'to lay/lie' and *sê* 'to say', as well as the derivative *lêer* 'folder, file'.

2) to several common words containing [æ:] followed by *r*, e.g. *blêr* 'to bleat', *bêre* 'to store', *êrens* / *nêrens* 'some-/nowhere', *kêrel* 'chap', *pêrel* 'pearl', *skêr* 'scissors', *wêreld* 'world' (list not complete). In these words [æ:] stands in an open syllable – or potentially in an open syllable, as in the plural of *skêr* (i.e. *skêre*), and thus an accent is required.

Note: No circumflex is required on *e* before *r + d/s/t* although it is pronounced [æ:] in that position, because in such cases the vowel stands in a closed syllable, e.g. *dertig* 'thirty', *kombers* 'blanket', *perd* 'horse', *pers* 'purple', *stert* 'tail', *werd* 'worth'; also *ver* 'far' – compare *skêr* above (see 1.1.2).

3) The French ending *-aire* (= English *-ary*) in loanwords is written *-êr*, e.g. *militêr* 'military', *sekondêr* 'secondary'. Also *affêre* 'affair'.

4) Some very colloquial English loanwords containing the sound [æ] (both long and short) are written *ê* in Afrikaans, if in fact they are written at all, e.g. *blêrie* 'blerry', emphatic form of *blêrie*, *grênd* 'grand', *pêl* 'pal'. Use of the diacritic in such cases is not always consistent (e.g. *blêrie*, *pel*), as such words have no official sanction, but when it is used, it is often a reflection of the writer's awareness that the sound is slightly longer than in indigenous words like *wend* 'to turn' and *hel* 'hell', for example.

5) See 2.5.2.2 note 1.

2.5.2.2. Use of the circumflex on the letters *i*, *o* and *u*

The circumflex is applied to an *i*, *ô* and *û* in the following cases:

- 1) in the plural formation of the following words, which undergo a compensatory lengthening when the intervocalic *g* of the plural is syncopated:¹⁴ *wig* > *wie* 'wedge', *sog* > *sôe* 'sow', *trog* > *trôe* 'trough', *brug* > *brûe* 'bridge', *rug* > *rûe* 'back', *eg* > *êe* 'harrow' (see 4.1.2.10). The circumflex is not otherwise found on *i* and *u*.
- 2) The circumflex occasionally occurs on the letter *o* in cases other than the aforementioned plurals: *môre* 'morning', less frequently also written *more*; *sôre* 'the/to care' is an uncommon variant of *sorg*; *bôgom* 'the/to bark' (of baboons), a case of onomatopœia, as is *blêr* 'to bleat' mentioned above.
- 3) It is also applied to *o* to render the English [ɔ:] in a few commonly used colloquial loanwords, which are in fact seldom written, e.g. *ôrrait* 'all right', *boggerôl* 'bugger all'. When English words containing a [ɔ:] are used for humorous effect it may also be used, e.g. *bôls* 'balls'. Use of the diacritic in such cases is not always consistent, however, e.g. *boggerôl* where *boggerol* would suffice.
- 4) In the swearword *donner(se)* (< *donder* 'thunder'), the vowel is often lengthened when the word is emphasised, presumably as a compensation for the loss of the *d*; this can be rendered in writing as *dônner(se)* but it is a word which is altogether seldom written.

2.5.3. Use of the acute and grave accents (*akuutteken, gravisteken, aksentstrepies/tekens*)

The acute (´) and grave (`) accents are used a) for emphasis, b) for distinguishing homographs, c) in a few conjunctions and interjections and d) in a few words and names of French origin.

- 1) By far the most common use of these accents is to indicate stress where in English we might underline a word or print it in bold type. In such cases an acute is used in Afrikaans, e.g. *Hulle gaan nóg 'n baba hê* 'They are going to have **another** baby', *Dis té mooi* 'It's really beautiful' (SA English **too** beautiful), *Die lewe moet gelééf word* 'Life has to be **lived**', *Was hy siek? Nie net wás nie, hy is nog siek* 'Was he sick? Not only **was** he sick, he **is** still sick' (see 1.10.3).

An acute is not placed on an *i* when the *i* forms part of a digraph, but it is when only an *i* occurs in the word, e.g. *dié, húil, sién*, but *dit is*.

- 2) There are several word couplets which look the same but are stressed differently. If ambiguity is likely, the abnormally stressed syllable takes an accent, e.g. *verspring* 'to jump, shift' versus *vérspring* 'to do the long jump'. *Na* can mean 'to' or 'after' and in the latter meaning is always written *ná*,¹⁵ as is *appèl* 'appeal', to distinguish it from *appel* 'apple'. *Die* can mean either 'the' or 'this/that' and in the latter meaning is always written *dié*, but with this meaning it is also stressed in speech to express the required meaning, e.g. *dié week* 'this week'.

- 3) The conjunctions (*èn*)...*èn* 'both...and', *òf*...*òf* 'either...or' and *nòg*...*nòg*

¹⁴ *Hê, lê* and *sê* above are also examples of an historical compensatory lengthening.

¹⁵ I can find no mention of a rule that states that the accent must be used on *na* meaning 'after', but common practice would seem to have deemed it necessary.

'neither...nor' are always written with accents, but they are also uttered with a certain stress in speech, e.g. *Dit kom voor onder gekleurdes en blankes* 'This occurs amongst both coloureds and whites' (see 9.3). The eighth edition of the AWS now advocates using acutes on these conjunctions, but the above is the dominant practice at the moment.

The interjection *nê?* 'isn't it?', pronounced [nɛ], takes a grave accent, reflecting the short vowel in the word.

4) There are several common surnames of Huguenot origin that end in *é* (pronounced [ɛə]), e.g. *Naudé, Fouché* – compare *Coetzee, Maree*, whose endings are also pronounced [ɛə] (see 4.5.1.2). Elevated French loanwords like *etage* 'storey' and *etalage* 'shop window' have dispensed with the acute accent on the first syllable and *café*, for example, has been assimilated in both pronunciation and spelling to *kafee*. Others, like *crèche* and *attaché*, for example, are still considered foreign enough to be written as in French.

2.6. Use of the apostrophe (*afkappingsteken, apostroof*)

The way the apostrophe is used in Afrikaans bears little resemblance to its use in English. To begin with it is not used to show possession, a function which is rendered by *se*, e.g. *Hugo se boek* 'Hugo's book' (see 4.4.1). It is used in the following instances in Afrikaans:

1) Nouns ending in *i, o* and *u* (i.e. nearly all loanwords) take 's in the plural to indicate that the preceding vowel is pronounced as it is in the singular, e.g. *taxi's, radio's, balju's* 'bailiffs' (see plurals 4.1.1.2). Note that nouns ending in *a* take no apostrophe, e.g. *babas* 'babies' unless they end in stressed *a*, e.g. *ma's* 'mothers' and *pa's* 'fathers' (see 4.1.1.1).

2) Those nouns mentioned under 1) which take 's in the plural, also take an apostrophe when the diminutive ending is added, e.g. *taxi'tjie, radio'tjie, balju'tjie, ma'tjie, pa'tjie* (see 4.2.1).

3) In the names of the letters of the alphabet an apostrophe also precedes the plural and diminutive endings, e.g. *a's, f'e* etc. (see 4.1.6.11); *a'tjie, f'ie, m'tjie* (see 4.2.1.1).

4) There are certain common contractions of two words, similar to English *you've* and *don't*, which are written with an apostrophe, e.g. *jy't* (< *jy het*), *hy's* (< *hy is*), *hier's* (< *hier is*), *daar's* (< *daar is*), *jy's mal* (< *jy is*), *toe't* (< *toe het*); these contractions are considered colloquial and will only be found in informal contexts or those trying to render natural speech, i.e. advertisements, cartoons etc.

Dutch *het* 'it/the', a word that has not survived in Afrikaans, occurs in its abbreviated form, *t*, in several standard expressions, e.g. *as't ware* 'as it were', *aan't lees* 'reading' (see 8.3.2), *om't ewe* 'all the same'.

Note that the following common contractions are written without an apostrophe: *dis* = *dit is* 'it/this/that is', *moenie* = *moet nie* 'must not' (see 13.11), *nes* = *net soos* 'just as'.

5) The pronoun *geen* 'no, not any' is commonly written *g'n*, pronounced [xɪn] and in certain senses only *g'n* can be used (see 13.5); despite appearances, it can even be stressed, e.g. *Ek het al gesê, ek het g'n geld nie* 'I've already said I

haven't got **any** money'. The possessive pronoun *syn[e]* (literally 'his') is now always written *s'n[e]*, pronounced [sɪn(ə)], in certain cases (see 4.4.2 and 5.1.2).

The possessive particle *s'n* is always written in this way (see 4.4.2).

The indefinite article is also always written 'n (and pronounced either [ə] or [ən]) (see 1.1.9).

2.7. Use of the hyphen¹⁶ (*koppelteken*)

There is great inconsistency in the use of the hyphen in Afrikaans, despite the fact that the AWS gives reasonably clear guidelines for its use. Undoubtedly South Africans' acquaintance with English has contributed to the confusion as it can hardly be claimed that English has an enviable convention when it comes to the use of hyphens with compound nouns, for example. Afrikaans officially follows the Dutch and German convention of writing compound nouns as one word, regardless of the number of component parts and the resulting length of the word, e.g. *fynproewerkookkuns* (< *fyn* + *proewer* + *kook* + *kuns* – fine + taster + cooking + art = 'gourmet cuisine'). Nevertheless such words are often regarded by writers of Afrikaans as being too long and difficult for the eye to dissect quickly and thus forms like *fynproewer-kookkuns* and *opvoedkunde-verslaggewer* 'education reporter' are not uncommon.¹⁷

The trouble with such deviations from the rule is where does one draw the line? And then in turn, where does one draw the line between the use of hyphens and writing component parts of a compound noun as separate words? Forms like *hakke kroeg* 'heel bar', *karavaan-park* 'caravan park' and even *besigheids ure* 'business hours', where there is a medial sound present (see 15.2.1.1), are not at all uncommon, but should not be copied – the rule for the formation of such compounds is so simple it does not need to be deviated from, i.e. wherever practicable, write compounds as one word without a hyphen.

Some of the the new recommendations in the eighth edition of the AWS with regard to the use of hyphens may well now clash with existing conventions, but the wording is generally speaking also such that it gives the writer reasonable freedom to write what least disturbs his eye.

2.7.1. Where use of the hyphen is compulsory

The question automatically arises as to when it is not practicable to use a hyphen. A hyphen is used when the first part of a compound ends, and the second begins, with the same vowel, e.g. *wa-as* 'wagon axle', *landbou-unie* 'agricultural union', *neue-effek* 'side effect'; for another category see 2.5.1.3. It is also used when the two vowels are different but by standing side by side could give the impression of standing for a different sound, e.g. *sewe-uur* 'seven o'clock'. Nevertheless it is commonly used between vowels that can't necessarily

¹⁶ Hyphenation to fit part of a word onto a line, as opposed to compulsory hyphenation, is dealt with under syllabification (see 2.3).

¹⁷ But the AWS (p. 36) says that less common combinations and words which by virtue of their length make reading difficult, may be hyphenated.

be confused, but simply because without a hyphen the effect is optically strange, e.g. *kamera-oog* 'camera's eye' not **kameraoog*, *druive-oes/druive-asyn* 'grape harvest/vinegar', but there should be no objection to *druiveoes/druiveasyn*. Sometimes the length of the compound, combined with the proximity of the vowels, is difficult for the eye to interpret efficiently, e.g. *verkleurmannetjie-oë* 'chameleon eyes'. The combination *ea* doesn't seem to worry people, thus *môreaand* 'tomorrow evening', not *môre-aand*, although one is quite likely to see the latter. In *marineoffisier* 'naval officer' and *radioaktief* 'radio-active' the combinations *eo* and *oa*, apart from not otherwise occurring in indigenous words, are not difficult for the eye to interpret and thus a hyphen is superfluous. Nevertheless, although there is no formal justification for it, hyphens are commonly inserted in compounds where one, or both, of the elements is a loanword, e.g. *sielkunde-student* 'psychology student', *boikot-aksie* 'boycott action', *migraine-aanvalle* 'migraine attacks' (see footnote 17).

2.7.2. Optional use of the hyphen after proper nouns in official names

In accordance with a recent revision to the AWS, compounds in which the first element is a proper noun can now be written in five ways, i.e. *Tygerberghospitaal*, *Tygerberg hospitaal*, *Tygerberg Hospitaal*, *Tygerberg-Hospitaal* and *Tygerberg-hospitaal*; previously the first option had been the recommended one. Such compounds are extremely common and as they usually stand beside the English equivalent on signs, and the English is invariably written as two words, the resulting confusion in the minds of Afrikaans speakers became so great that the *Taalkommissie* had to cede to common practice, i.e. anything goes. Practical problems like the following can now be solved simply, although it remains to be seen if the *Taalkommissie's* recommendations are followed: *Autobank Centre /-sentrum*, *Bloem Street /-straat* may now be written *Autobank Centre /sentrum* and *Bloem Street /straat*.

2.7.3. Use of the hyphen in geographic names incorporating points of the compass

Geographic regions and derivatives thereof incorporating points of the compass are always hyphenated, e.g. *Suid-Afrika*, *Suid-Afrikaners*, *Suid-Afrikaans*; *Suidwes-Kaapland*; *Beaufort-Wes*, *Somerset-Oos*.

2.7.4. Use of the hyphen in compound nouns formed from phrases

Compound nouns formed from phrases have all their component parts hyphenated, e.g. *'n-wag-'n-bietjie-boom* 'a wait-a-bit-tree' (a thorn tree), *'n bring-en-braai-partytjie* 'a bring-your-own barbecue', *'n uit-die-pad-dorpie* 'an out of the way town', *'n twaalf-maande-waarborg* 'a twelve month guarantee'. Compound adjectival phrases are usually hyphenated but there is great inconsistency, e.g. *'n drie-dag-oud /-oue kuiken* 'a three day old chicken'.

Sewentiende-eeus / 17de-eeus etc. (< *die sewentiende eeu*) 'seventeenth century' are hyphenated.

2.7.5. Use of the hyphen with the names of offices and after certain prefixes

The AWS now recommends that offices like *adjunkminister* and *assistentsekretaresse* be written without a hyphen (formerly hyphenated), the only exceptions being those ending in *generaal*, e.g. *direkteur-generaal*, and *sekretaris-penningmeester* and *skriba-kassier*, as well as military ranks, e.g. *sersant-majoor*. It remains to be seen whether the new recommendation, because of its inconsistency, will be adhered to. Similarly words starting with *anti-*, *nie-* 'non-', *oud-* 'ex-', *pro-*, *ultra-*, *vise-* 'vice' etc., e.g. *anti-Suid-Afrikaans* 'anti South African', *nie-rassig* 'non-racial', *oud-leerling* 'ex-student', *oud-president* 'ex-president', *pro-Engels* 'pro-English', which were previously always hyphenated, can now be written without a hyphen if the eye permits it, thus *nierassig* and *oudpresident* but *anti-Russies* and *anti-apartheid*. Once again it remains to be seen whether this practice will be followed because of the lack of consistency compared with the recommendations of the 7th edition of the AWS.

2.7.6. Use of the hyphen with reduplicated forms

Reduplicated forms are always hyphenated, e.g. *nou-nou* 'soon', *kort-kort* 'quickly', *plek-plek* 'here and there' (see 15.7).

2.7.7. Use of the hyphen with compounds in *-hulle*

Compounds in *-hulle* are hyphenated, e.g. *Gawie-hulle* 'Gawie and co.', *my suster-hulle* 'my sister and her family' (see 5.1.1.3.8).

2.7.8. Use of the hyphen in compound prepositions

In compound prepositions like *bo-op*, *bo-aan*, *bo-oor*, *binne-in*, *buite-om*, *midde-in* (see 11.11) the AWS has opted for a hyphen, rather than a diæresis (see 2.5.1.1),¹⁸ to keep the vowels of the separate syllables apart. Prepositions ending in a vowel that are prefixed to verbs beginning in a vowel also require a hyphen, e.g. *na-aap* 'to mimic', *toe-eien* 'to appropriate'.

¹⁸ What all the words described here under the use of the hyphen have in common is that they are compounds and not derivatives, unlike *geïnteresseerd* etc. which solve the problem of adjacent vowels by using a diæresis (see 2.5.1.1).

2.7.9. Use of the hyphen in certain adverbial expressions formed from a noun + preposition or a preposition + noun

There are several adverbial expressions in Afrikaans formed from a noun + preposition or a preposition + noun which have been lexicalised and are written with a hyphen, e.g. *uit-aseem* 'out of breath', *bek-af* 'down in the dumps', *end-uit* 'to the very end', *oop-/toe-oë* 'with open/closed eyes' (see 15.4.1). The revised AWS now recommends writing these expressions as one word where the eye permits. Where such expressions relate to time or direction, no hyphen is used, e.g. *berg op* 'uphill', *jaar in jaar uit* 'year in year out'.

2.7.10. Use of the hyphen to distinguish compound nouns

Very occasionally a hyphen is used to indicate that one is dealing with a compound, not one word, e.g. *dop-ertjie* 'green pea', *ru-olie* 'crude oil', *waarsku-lig* 'warning light', *ver-strekkend* 'far-reaching', as opposed to *verstrekkend* 'issuing'.

2.7.11. Use of the hyphen with numerals

If cardinal or ordinal numerals are ever written, they are usually hyphenated as follows, but the hyphens may be omitted: cardinals – *een-en-twintig* '21', *n honderd-en-twee* '102', *eenhonderd* '100', *tweeënduisend driehonderd vyf-en-sestig* '2365'; ordinals – *een-en-dertigste* '31st', *tweehonderd drie-en-sestigste* '263rd', *vierhonderd-en-tiende* '410th' (see 14.0).

2.7.12. Use of the hyphen when listing words that share an element of a compound

When listing two or more compound words that share either the first or the second element of the compound, unnecessary repetition is avoided by replacing the recurring element by a hyphen, e.g. *skaap- en beesvelle* 'sheep and cattle skins', *op- en aflaai* 'picking up and dropping off', *skaapvelle en -sterte* 'sheep skins and tails' *op die hoek van Eloff- en Bloemstraat* 'on the corner of Eloff and Bloem Streets'. Sometimes a noun and an adjective share the second element, leading to the following: *kuns- en algemene sensuur* 'art and general censure'; compare *wetenskaplike en nywerheidsnavorsing* 'scientific and industrial research', i.e. the reverse phenomenon.

2.8. Capital letters (*hoofletters*)

Months, days and adjectives of nationality are all capitalised, as in English, e.g. *Maart* 'March', *Maandag* 'Monday', *Amerikaans* 'American'.

Titles such as *meneer*, *mevrouw*, *mejuffrou*, *dokter*, *eerwaarde* 'reverend' and *generaal*, as well as their abbreviations *mnr*, *mev*, *mej*, *dr*, *eerw* and *genl* are all

written with small letters when a name follows, except on an envelope,¹⁹ e.g. *meneer/mnr. Van Rooyen, dokter/dr. De Klerk*; use of the fullstop after such abbreviations is optional but preferred by the AWS (see 4.5.1.2 for the rules concerning capitalisation of *van, de* etc. in surnames). If the surname is not used, titles are capitalised, e.g. *Geagte Dominee* 'Dear Reverend' (in a letter), but *dominee/ds. Steyn. Ma, Pa, Ouma, Oom, Tannie* etc. are treated the same way, e.g. *Wat doen Pa?* 'What are you doing, dad?', *Ek gaan vir ouma Anna kuier* 'I'm going to visit granny Anna'. When words like *oom, meneer, pa, ouma* etc. are used as forms of address (see 5.1.1.2.1), they are commonly capitalised, but this is not necessary, contrary to popular belief.

If a sentence begins with the indefinite article, 'n, the first letter of the following noun is capitalised, e.g. 'n *Verkleurmanneljies* is 'n *lieflike diertjie* 'A chameleon is a dear little animal'.

In Afrikaans one consistently writes *God* 'God', *die Skepper* 'the creator' and *Hy/Hom* 'he/him' and all such words that refer to God with capital letters, e.g. *Die Heer gee en Hy neem* 'The Lord gives and he takes'. The spelling of the possessive form is inconsistent in this respect, i.e. *sy/Sy* 'his'. *Bybel* 'Bible' is also always capitalised, as is *die Woord* 'the Word', *Nagmaal* 'holy communion', *die Beloofde Land* 'the promised land'.

Both the Bantu prefix *K(w)a* in homeland names and the root of the word to which the prefix is added, are capitalised, e.g. *KwaNdebele* (Ndebele homeland), *KaNdwane* (Swazi homeland) (see 4.5.3.2.2, footnote 70).

2.9. Spelling of loanwords

The following illustrates how international loanwords have been adapted to the rules of Afrikaans orthography. Many such words reached Afrikaans via Dutch, having been previously borrowed by Dutch from French, thus their phonology in Afrikaans is often reminiscent of that of their cognates in French, e.g. *militêr* 'military' (< Dutch/French *militaire*). Even words of Latin and Greek derivation that have been borrowed directly into Afrikaans from English, and not via Dutch/French, often bear a certain resemblance to French; they have needed, as it were, to be Frenchified to be able to be assimilated into Afrikaans, e.g. *suspisiesus* 'suspicious' (see "Woorde van vreemde herkoms" in the AWS, p.22–26). A small number of English loanwords that have been in the language for a long time and which neologisms or loan translations have not managed to displace, also occur in the following list, e.g. *sleng, boelie, koukus*.

In the list below a > e, for example, means that where in the language of origin an *a* is written, in Afrikaans an *e* is used:

a > e	<i>sleng, tenk, trem</i>
aire > êr	<i>affêre, militêr, rewolusionêr, sekondêr, tersiêr</i>
au > ou	<i>koukus, outomaties, outoritêr, restourant</i> (also <i>au</i>)
c > k	<i>aksie, akademikus, aspek(te), eksklusief, koördineer</i>

¹⁹ This means, for example, that although an envelope is addressed to *Mnr. J. Steyn*, the letter begins with *Geagte meneer/mnr. Steyn* or *Geagte Meneer*.

c > s ²⁰	<i>aktrise, elektrisiën, finansieel, offisieel, sent, sirkus</i>
cc > ks	<i>aksent, sukses</i>
ch > g ²¹	<i>anargie, argeologies, argief, brongitis, epog, meganisme</i>
ch > s	<i>sampioen</i>
ch > sj ²¹	<i>masjien, sjarmant / sjarme, sjiek</i>
ch > tj	<i>tjek, tjop</i>
ct > k	<i>aspek, effek, kontak</i> (but <i>-kte</i> in the plural, see 4.1.3)
é > ee	<i>kafee, patee</i>
er > øe	<i>ateljee, dinee</i>
g > gh	<i>ghoelasj, ghoeroe, gholf, ghries</i>
g > s	<i>aspersie, bagasie, horlosie, passasier, sabotasie, sersant</i>
gn > nj	<i>manjifiek, sinjaleer, sjampanje</i>
i > ie ²²	<i>flottielje, krieket, matriek, piekels, pienk, sjiek, vanielje</i>
ial > ieel	<i>finansieel, industrieel</i>
ic(al) > ies	<i>outomaties, psigies, sinies, skepties</i>
ide > ied ²³	<i>oksied</i>
ine > ien ²³	<i>masjien, proteten, trampolien, vitamien</i>
ll > lj	<i>flottielje, medalje, miljoen, portefeulje, vanielje</i>
one > oon	<i>mikrofoon, osoon, telefoon</i>
ope > oop	<i>bioskoop, mikroskoop</i>
ou > øe	<i>doeane, goewerneur, joernalis, roetine</i>
qu > kw	<i>ekwivalent, konsekwent, kwaliteit, kwantiteit, kwota</i>
sh > sj	<i>kasjoeneut, sjampanje, sjampoe, sjerrie,</i>
t > s	<i>insinueer, nasionaal, opsioneel, pasiënt</i>
th > t	<i>katoliek, ortodoks, tema, fisioterapeut, teoloog</i>
tion > sie	<i>opposisie, sirkulasie, situasie, stasie</i>
ty > teit	<i>elektrisiteit, objektiviteit, universiteit</i>
u > øe	<i>boeldok, boelie, entoesiasties, poeding</i>
v > w ²⁴	<i>individu, rewolusie, reserwe, rewolwer</i>
x > ks	<i>eksklusief, ekskuus, luuksueus, ortodoks, seks, tekst</i>
y > i	<i>Ciprus, ensiem, ginekoloog, sinies, tipe</i>
y > j	<i>joghurt</i>

²⁰ In the Latin plural ending *-ici* (plural of words in *-kus*) the *c* is pronounced [s]. Also in *Ciprus* 'Cyprus'.

²¹ Only in *technikon* 'technical college', *Christus* and *christelik* is [x] still spelt *ch*. There are quite a number of loanwords where *ch* is still written although it is pronounced [ʃ] or [k], e.g. *chauvinisties, charismaties* (see 1.5.2.2-4).

²² There are many exceptions to this replacement rule; for example *artikel, Indië, juridies*, and *titel* are all spelt *i* although the sound is [ɪ] and not [i], as indeed it is in the words given in the list above (see pronunciation 1.5.1.3).

²³ The AWS also permits *-ide* and *-ine* in such cases.

²⁴ The AWS is somewhat inconsistent with regard to the spelling of loanwords with a *v* in the language of origin, e.g. *individu* or *indiwidu, revolusie* or *rewolusie* but only *universiteit* and only *goewerneur, reserwe* and *rewolwer*. The forms with *v* are vestiges of Dutch spelling, but whether written *w* or *v*, the sound is always pronounced [v].

2.10. Punctuation²⁶

Generally speaking Afrikaans punctuation does not differ greatly from that of English, with the possible exception of certain applications of the comma. The comma is more sparingly used in Afrikaans than in English and where a comma is employed in Afrikaans, its use is determined by grammar, not by intonation, as is often the case in English.

1) Because the finite verb in a subordinate clause stands at the end of that clause, and because the subject and verb in a main clause are inverted when a compound sentence begins with a subordinate clause – two rules which are unknown in English – a comma is inserted between two such clauses to separate the two finite verbs, e.g. *Wanneer jy hom weer sien, stuur vir hom groete* ‘When you see him again, give him my regards’, *Om Zulu so te kan praat, moet jy baie oefen* ‘To be able to speak Zulu like that, you have to practise a lot’ (an example of inversion after an infinitive clause). This rule may be abused in practice, particularly when the sentence is shortish and there can be little chance of confusion, but in the following case, where the finite verb in both clauses is the same, the eye definitely requires it: *Voordat dit begin reën het, het sy al reeds haar reënjas aangetrek* ‘Before it began to rain she had already put on her raincoat’.

Where a participial phrase stands in for a subordinate clause before a main clause, it must be followed by a comma, e.g. *By die huis aangekom, het hy hom vinnig verkleed* ‘Having got home he quickly changed’ (see 12.1.5).

2) It is possibly more common than in English to insert a comma between a main clause and a subordinate clause even when a sentence begins with the main clause and the finite verbs of the two clauses do not end up adjacent to each other as in the previous paragraph, e.g. *Stuur vir hom groete, wanneer jy hom weer sien* ‘Give him my regards when you see him again’. Because the possibility of confusion is far less in this case, the use of a comma here is regarded as optional.

Where the conjunction in question is adverbial (see 9.2), a comma is more consistently applied, e.g. *Hy sal weier om dit te doen, al betaal jy hom so veel* ‘He’ll refuse to do it, even if you pay him that much’, *Sy het te vinnig gery, dus is sy beboet* ‘She was driving too fast therefore she was fined’.

3) No comma is used when an infinitive or past participle in the main clause is inserted before a relative clause, but if they are suspended and inserted after the relative clause (i.e. when the relative clause is imbedded in the main clause) they are separated from the verb(s) of the relative clause by a comma, e.g. *Ek het die boek al gelees wat jy vir my geleen het* > *Ek het die boek wat jy vir my geleen het, al gelees* ‘I have already read the book which you lent me’. The need for such a comma does not arise in English as verbs do not stand at the end of their clause as they do in Afrikaans (see 12.1.4.1).

²⁶ A complete description of Afrikaans punctuation can be found in Van der Merwe (1984).

Suggested reading

Afrikaanse woordelys en spelreëls (1991). Compiled by the *Taalkommissie* of the *Suid-Afrikaanse Akademie vir Wetenskap en Kuns*.

Van der Merwe (1984). A 42-paged booklet which details the use of accents, capital letters, exclamation marks, punctuation etc.

3. Articles

3.1. The definite article

As grammatical gender has died out in Afrikaans, just as it has in English, the definite article for all nouns is *die* 'the'. When emphasised it renders 'this/these' and 'that/those' and is written *dié* (see 5.2).

3.1.1. Inclusion of the definite article

There is a large number of idioms and expressions which insert the definite article where none is required in English.

3.1.1.1. Inclusion of the definite article in certain adverbial expressions

Many adverbial expressions formed from a preposition plus noun require the definite article after the preposition, for example:

a) Expressions of place

- (1) *by die huis / werk*
'at home/work'
- (2) *in die hospitaal*
'in hospital'
- (3) *in die kerk*
'in church'
- (4) *in die stad / op die dorp*
'in town'
- (5) *in die tronk*
'in prison'
- (6) *op (die) straat*
'in the street'
- (7) *in die hel / hemel*
'in hell/heaven'¹
- (8) *na die hel / hemel gaan*
'to hell/heaven'

Several idioms to do with *bed* require the article, e.g.

- (9) *Sy is in die bed.*
'She is in bed.'
- (10) *Sy moet in die bed bly.*
'She has to stay in bed.'
- (11) *uit die bed val*
'to fall out of bed'

¹ One could regard heaven and hell as abstract nouns and classify them under 3.1.12.

- (12) *in die bed kom*
‘to get to bed’
(13) *in die bed lê*
‘to lie into bed’

Note: *na bed gaan* ‘to go to bed’ (without the article).

b) The following expressions are similar to those under a) but don’t denote concrete place:

- (14) *in (die) besonder*
‘in particular’²
(15) *in die geheim*
‘in secret’
(16) *in die moeilikheid*
‘in trouble’
(17) *in die onderwys*
‘in education’
(18) *in die openbaar*
‘in public’
(19) *in / uit die mode*
‘in/out of fashion’
(20) *in die toekoms*
‘in future’

c) Standard expressions and idioms

- (21) *aan (die) bewind kom / wees*
‘to come to power/to be in power’²
(22) *aan die lig kom*
‘to come to light’
(23) *in die niet verdwyn*
‘to fade away’
(24) *op (die) maat van musiek*
‘in tune with the music’²
(25) *tong-in-die-kies*
‘tongue in cheek’
(26) *Sy was die gasvryheid (van)self*
‘She was hospitality itself.’
(27) *Venesië in die klein*
‘Venice in miniature’
(28) *Hy is oor / onder die vyftig*
‘He is over/under 50.’

² The tendency to omit the article here is probably due to contamination from English.

3.1.1.2. Use of the definite article with abstract nouns

The definite article is used before many abstract nouns, e.g.

- (29) *Die lewe is moeilik.*
'Life is difficult.'
- (30) *Ek hou van die natuur*
'I love nature.'
- (31) *Die ervaring bewys dat...*
'Experience proves that...'
- (32) *Die toeval het dit so gewil.*
'Chance willed it so.'
- (33) *Die Voorsienigheid sal vir ons sorg.*
'Providence will take care of us.'
- (34) *Die verligte vleuel van die Afrikanerdom.*
'The enlightened wing of Afrikanerdom.'
- (35) *Die tegnologie het 'n enorme ontwikkeling in die mens se produksievermoë teweeggebring.*
'Technology has sparked off an enormous development in man's productivity.'
- (36) *Dali het die simbool van die surrealisme geword.*
'Dali became the symbol of surrealism.'
- (37) *die hede*
'today' (compare *die verlede* 'the past')
- (38) *van (die) hongerte doodgaan*
'to die of hunger'

3.1.1.3. Use of the definite article with academic disciplines

Certain academic disciplines are preceded by the article, e.g.

- (39) *Hy studeer in die regte / medisyne.*
(high style for *Hy studeer regte / medisyne.*)
'He is studying law/medicine.'
- (40) *Hy doen 'n magistersgraad in die regte / medisyne.*
'He's doing an MA in law/medicine.'
- (41) *Hy is 'n dosent in die sosiologie aan die UWK.*
'He's a lecturer in sociology at the University of the Western Cape.'
- (42) *Hy was die beste honneursstudent in die teologie.*
'He was the best honours student in theology.'
- (43) *R. Botha, wat in die sielkunde gekwalifiseer is, het 'n boek daaroor geskryf.*
'R. Botha, who is qualified in psychology, wrote a book about it.'

3.1.1.4. Use of the definite article with nominalised infinitives in extended phrases

The definite article is always used with nominalised infinitives in extended phrases, e.g.

- (44) *Die braai van gemarineerde hoender is 'n kuns.*
 'Barbecuing marinated chicken is an art' (= the barbecuing of marinated chicken).
- (45) *Die voer van bobbejane is verbode.*
 'Feeding the baboons is prohibited' (= the feeding of baboons).
- (46) *Uit die aard van my amp groet mense my in die verbygaan.*
 'By virtue of my position people greet me in passing' (see 8.16.2).

3.1.1.5. Use of the definite article with the name of South African Airlines

The definite article is used in Afrikaans when referring to South African Airlines (*die Suid-Afrikaanse Lugdiens*). When the abbreviation is used, i.e. *SAL* (pronounced *es a el* not *sal*), the article is optional in speech, e.g.

- (47) *'n Woordvoerder van die SAL het gesê dat ...*
 'A spokesman for SAA said that...'
- (48) *Die SAL gaan 'n nuwe diens instel.*
 'SAA is going to introduce a new service.'

The article is not required with other airlines.

3.1.1.6. Use of the definite article with the names of seasons

The article is always used with the names of seasons where it is often optional in English, e.g.

- (49) *in die lente/somer*
 'in (the) spring, summer' etc.
- (50) *Die winter op die Hoëveld is pragtig.*
 'Winter on the Highveld is fabulous.'

3.1.1.7. Use of the definite article with zodiac signs

The article is used with zodiac signs, e.g.

- (51) *Die Bul is...*
 'Taurus is...'
- (52) *Die Maagd is die sesde teken van die diereriem.*
 'Virgo is the sixth sign of the zodiac.'

3.1.1.8. Use of the definite article with 'all', 'half of' and 'most of'

The English quantifiers 'all', 'half of' and 'most of' usually require the article when rendered into Afrikaans:

a) In certain contexts 'all' is rendered by *die hele*, e.g. *die hele dag / nag* 'all day/night', *die grootste in die hele Afrika* 'the biggest in all Africa' (= the whole of Africa).

Where 'all' is not synonymous with 'the whole' and is rendered by *al* or *alle*, the distinction made in English between 'all' and 'all the' is not relevant in Afrikaans, e.g. *al die Germaanse tale* = *alle Germaanse tale* 'all (the) Germanic languages' (see 5.6).

Note the following optional idiomatic use of the definite article in combination with *al* plus a numeral:

- (53) *Al dertien (die) kinders het na die partytjie gegaan.*
'All thirteen children went to the party.'

The definite article is also used in this way with *albei* 'both', e.g.

- (54) *Ek het albei / al twee (die) boeke gelees.*
'I have read both books' (see 5.6.1, note 1).

b) Traditional grammar demands the definite article with *helfte* and *meeste* but it is now very commonly omitted due to English influence:

- (55) *(Die) helfte van die reservaat is uitgebrand.*
'Half the reserve was burnt out.'
- (56) *(Die) meeste van hulle is...*
'Most of them are...' (see 5.6).

3.1.1.9. Use of the definite article with *die een* 'one'

When *one* is used as an attributive adjective in English, it is rendered by *die een*, e.g.

- (57) *Sien jy hierdie twee bokke? Die een is 'n springbok en die ander 'n rooibok.*
'Do you see these buck? One is a springbok and the other an impala.'
- (58) *Hy het die een sigaret na die ander gerook.*
'He smoked one cigarette after another.'
- (59) *rasisme in die een of ander form*
'racism in one or other form'
- (60) *op die een of ander manier / wyse*
'in one way or another'
- (61) *om die een of ander rede*
'for one or other reason/some reason or other' (see 14.1.1.b)

3.1.1.10. Use of the definite article with certain titles in direct address

The article is always used in the following forms of direct address: *meneer/mevrou die minister/president/voorsitter* 'mister/madam minister/president/chairman'.

3.1.1.11. Use of the definite article with the names of towns, countries and regions when they are qualified by an adjective

When the name of a town, country or region is qualified by an adjective, the definite article is used, e.g.

- (62) *die pragtige Stellenbosch*
'magnificent Stellenbosch'
- (63) *Die arme Holland is weer geteister deur oorstromings.*
'Poor Holland has been struck by floods again.'
- (64) *Ek wil na die mooi Italië teruggaan.*
'I want to go back to beautiful Italy.'
- (65) *die Victoriaanse Engeland*
'Victorian England'

In cases like *Rooi Sjina* 'Red China' and *Nasionalistiese Sjina* 'Nationalist China', where the adjective is seen as part of the name, the article is omitted.

3.1.1.12. Use of the definite article with the names of certain towns

The towns Paarl, Wilderness and the Strand are always preceded by the definite article in Afrikaans, i.e. *die Pêrel*,³ *die Wildernis*, *die Strand*. It is only omitted when they are used in combination with postpositioned *toe* (see 11.10.1), e.g.

- (66) *Ons gaan môre Wildernis toe.*
'We're going to Wilderness tomorrow.'

The names of certain small towns begin with the Dutch definite article *de*, but this is no longer perceived as such; it is regarded as an inseparable part of the name, e.g. *De Aar*, *De Rust*, thus *Ons gaan De Aar toe* 'We're going to De Aar'.

See 4.5.3.2.1 for use of the article with South African provinces.

3.1.1.13. Use of the definite article with the names of certain countries

There are just a few countries that are always preceded by the definite article and a few that are sometimes preceded by it. Generally speaking such cases

³ Although *Paarl* is usually written *Paarl* in Afrikaans too (sometimes as *die Paarl*), it is always pronounced as written here.

correspond with English usage (see the list of countries and nationalities, 4.5.2).

3.1.1.14. Use of the definite article in lieu of a possessive pronoun

Possessive pronouns can be replaced by the definite article before parts of the body when preceded by a preposition, e.g.

- (67) *Hy het 'n moesie op die /sy blad.*
 'He's got a mole on his shoulder' (see 5.1.2.12).

3.1.2. Omission of the definite article

3.1.2.1. Omission of the definite article in certain adverbial expressions of place

Some adverbial expressions of place omit the article where it is required in English, e.g. *aan tafel* 'at the table', *op kantoor* 'at the office'. This is the reverse phenomenon to that given in point 1) under 3.1.1.1.

3.1.2.2. Omission of the definite article in certain prepositional phrases

There are a few standard prepositional phrases consisting of a preposition + noun + preposition where the English equivalents consist of preposition + definite article + noun + preposition (see 3.2.2.4), e.g.

- (68) *in diens van*
 'in the service of'
 (69) *op grond van*
 'on the basis of'
 (70) *op aandrang van*
 'on the instance of'
 (71) *met behulp van*
 'with the help of'

See 11.13 for a more complete list of such phrases.

3.1.2.3. Omission of the definite article in certain adverbial phrases

Several standard adverbial phrases omit the article where it is required in English, e.g.

- (72) *in eerste /laaste instansie*
 'in the first/last instance'
 (73) *met verloop van tyd*
 'in the course of time'

- (74) *op kort termyn*
'in the short term'
- (75) *op gelyke grondslag*
'on the same basis'
- (76) *op gelyke wyse*
'in the same way'
- (77) *Hoe gaan dit met Suid-Afrika op ekonomiese gebied?*
'How's South Africa going in the economic field?'
- (78) *begin / einde verlede maand / jaar*
'at the beginning/end of last month/year'

3.1.2.4. Omission of the definite article with *wyle* 'the late'

The adjective *wyle* renders 'the late' and is not preceded by the definite article, e.g.

- (79) *Hy is die skoonseun van wyle pres. Roosevelt.*
'He is the son-in-law of the late Pres. Roosevelt.'
- (80) *wyle Marilyn*
'the late Marilyn'

3.1.2.5. Omission of the definite article from certain geographical names

Transvaal usually takes the definite article but it is occasionally omitted, e.g.

- (81) *Ons bly in (die) Transvaal?*
'We live in the 'Transvaal' (see 4.5.3.2.1).

'The Cape of Good Hope' is not preceded by the definite article, but it is used where in English the preposition 'of' stands, i.e. *Kaap die Goeie Hoop*.

'The East/West Indies' are rendered by *Wes- / Oos-Indië* without an article.

As 'The Netherlands' is rendered by a singular in Afrikaans, the article is omitted, i.e. *Nederland*.

3.1.2.6. Omission of the definite article in certain expressions in formal written style

Normally limited to formal written style are compounds ending in *genoemde* which are not preceded by the definite article in Afrikaans, e.g.

- (82) *bogenoemde goedere*
'the aforementioned goods'
- (83) *om by eersgenoemde / laasgenoemde te begin...*
'to begin with the former/latter...'
- (84) *Hulle het 'n skoolkamer en 'n melkstal gebou, laasgenoemde met 'n platdak.*
'They built a classroom with a milking shed, the latter with a flat roof.'

In the same formal written style the article can be omitted from 'the author' with reference to oneself, e.g.

- (85) *Uit wat volg, sal blyk dat skrywer hiervan op verskeie punte ander insigte het.*
 'From what follows it is obvious that the author hereof has different opinions in several respects.'

3.1.2.7. Omission of the definite article from 'to play the piano' etc.

'To play/practise the piano, violin' etc. is rendered *klavier, viool etc. speel / oefen*.

3.1.2.8. Omission of the definite article from the expression 'the fact (of the matter) is/remains'

Clauses introduced by 'The fact (of the matter) is/remains' usually omit the article, e.g. *(Die) feit is / bly staan dat* (die optional) but *Tog bly in hierdie geval die feit staan dat...* 'Nevertheless in this case the fact remains that...' (die compulsory).

3.1.2.9. Omission of the definite article before nouns in apposition

A noun standing in apposition to one immediately preceding it, does not require an article in Afrikaans, but it is not incorrect to insert one, e.g.

- (86) *Hy word beskou as die wêreldleier van die Sjiïete, (die) kleinste van die twee takke van die Moslem-geloof.*
 'He is regarded as the world leader of the Shiites, the smallest of the two branches of the Muslim faith.'
- (87) *Mnr. Clive Walker, onder-voorsitter van die Renoster- en Olifantstigting, waarsku dat die swartrenoster bedreig word met uitwissing.*
 'Mr. Clive Walker, (the) vice-chairman of the Rhinoceros and Elephant Foundation, warns that the black rhino is threatened with extinction' (see 3.2.2.3).

3.1.2.10. Omission of the definite article with postpositioned *toe*

In combination with postpositioned *toe* ('to' a place) the definite article is not required, e.g.

- (88) *Ek gaan dokter / dorp / grens / kerk / sitkamer / stad toe.*
 'I'm going to the doctor/to town/the border/church/the lounge-room.' (see 11.10.1).

3.2. The indefinite article

The indefinite article is 'n 'a'. Despite appearances it is pronounced [ə]. The 'n is pronounced in the speech of some people, often but not always depending on the first sound of the following noun (compare English *a/an*). It is safest to stick to [ə], which is the most wide-spread pronunciation, even if the following word begins with a vowel. If a sentence begins with 'n, the first letter of the noun it accompanies is capitalised, e.g.

- (89) 'n *Mens moet deesdae versigtig wees.*
'One has to be careful these days.'

3.2.1. Inclusion of the indefinite article

Unlike the definite article (see 3.1.1), there are no idioms which require the indefinite article where none is required in English.

3.2.2. Omission of the indefinite article

There are a number of idioms and expressions which omit the indefinite article where one is required in English.

3.2.2.1. Omission of the indefinite article with professions and nationalities

When an unqualified noun of profession or nationality occurs after the copula verbs *bly* 'to remain', *wees* 'to be' or *word* 'to become', the indefinite article is occasionally omitted, but it is more usual to insert it and to do so is never wrong; omission is perhaps somewhat more common with professions than with nationalities, e.g.

- (90) *Ek bly / is / word ('n) joernalis / Suid-Afrikaner.*
'I am remaining/am/am becoming a journalist/South African.'
- (91) *Sy is Suid-Afrikaner / Pool van geboorte.*
'She's a South African/Pole by birth' (a standard expression and thus omitted).
- (92) *Joe Slovo is sowel aktivis as ideoloog.*
'Joe Slovo is both an activist and an ideologue.'
- (93) *Hy is in 1982 Robbeneiland toe en is tot vandag toe gevangene.*
'He went to Robben Island in 1962 and is still a prisoner.'
- (94) *'n Vrou kán alleen boer en vrou bly.*
'A woman **can** farm on her own and remain a woman' (where *vrou* takes on the role of a profession).

In the following idiom the article can be omitted:

- (95) *Al wat (’n) boer was het gekom.*
‘Every farmer came’ (see 5.6).

When nouns of profession and nationality are qualified by an adjective, the article is however used, e.g.

- (96) *Hy is ’n uitstekende werktuigkundige.*
‘He’s an excellent mechanic.’

But in the following example the article can be omitted as the adjective and noun are regarded as a compound, the profession being a ‘political writer’, not simply a ‘writer’:

- (97) *Toe was hy nog politieke skrywer van Die Transvaler.*
‘He was then still a political reporter for Die Transvaler.’

The article is also omitted in the idiom *vir onderwyser/dokter etc. leer/swot* ‘to study/become a teacher/doctor’, e.g.

- (98) *Ek leer vir dominee.*
‘I’m studying to become a minister.’

3.2.2.2. Omission of the indefinite article after the prepositions *as* and *sonder*

Use of *’n* after *as* (meaning ‘as’) is optional, but the normal practice is to omit it,⁴ e.g.

- (99) *Hy is (’n) digter maar verdien sy geld as (’n) uitgewer.*
‘He is a poet but earns his money as a publisher’(where it is more usual to include the former [see 3.2.2.1], and omit the latter).
- (100) *Dis ’n belangrike klip in die boumuur van Afrikaans as (’n) taal.*
‘It is an important building block in the wall of Afrikaans as a language.’

As in English it is common to begin a sentence with *As a* (+ profession, function); in such cases it is best to omit the article in Afrikaans, e.g.

- (101) *As joernalis weet ek dat...*
‘As a journalist I know that...’
- (102) *As mens/kind*
‘As a human being/child’
- (103) *Dit help my om as buitestaander na myself te kyk.*
‘This helps me to look at myself as an outsider.’

⁴ It is highly likely that inclusion of the indefinite article in such cases is due to the influence of English.

In combination with certain nouns in set expressions, the indefinite article is also omitted after the preposition *sonder*, e.g.

- (104) *Hy was sonder hoed.*
'He didn't have a hat on.'

3.2.2.3. Omission of the indefinite article before nouns in apposition

A noun standing in apposition to one immediately preceding it does not require an article in Afrikaans, but it is not incorrect to insert one, e.g.

- (105) *Janie Allen, (n) rubriekskryfster van die Sunday Times, het positiewe artikels oor die AWB geskryf.*
'Janie Allen, a Sunday Times columnist has written positive articles about the AWB' (see 3.1.2.9).

3.2.2.4. Omission of the indefinite article from certain prepositional phrases

There are a few standard prepositional phrases consisting of a preposition + noun + preposition where the English equivalents consist of preposition + indefinite article + noun + preposition (see 11.13 and compare 3.1.2.2), e.g. *as (n) gevolg van* 'as a result of' (see 3.2.2.2), *op intieme voet* 'on an intimate footing', *op (n) demokratiese manier / wyse* 'in a democratic way'.

3.2.2.5. Omission of the indefinite article from fixed noun + verb combinations

There are many expressions consisting of a noun and a verb which have become lexicalised to such an extent that the indefinite article which is present in English is not required in Afrikaans, e.g. *fees hou* 'to celebrate' (literally 'to hold a party'), *indaba hou* 'to consult' (literally 'to hold a meeting'), *lid wees van* 'to be a member of', *vrou vat* 'to take a wife', *vuur maak* 'to make a fire', *pyn hê* 'to have a pain', e.g.

- (106) *Ek het pyn in die / my sy.*
'I've got a pain in my side.'

Some such expressions have even fused to form separable verbs, e.g. *perdry* 'to ride a horse' (see 8.15.1.2).

3.2.2.6. Omission of the indefinite article before *honderd* and *duisend*

The indefinite article can be omitted before *honderd* '100' and *duisend* '1000', e.g.

- (107) *Daar is meer as (n) duisend kinders in die skool.*
'There are more than a thousand children in the school' (see 14.1).

3.2.2.7. Omission of the indefinite article from 'a piece' (= each)

In the expression 'a piece' (i.e. each), the article is omitted, e.g.

- (108) *Dié koejawels kos 50 sent stuk.*
'These guavas cost 50 cents a piece.'

4. Nouns

4.1. Pluralisation of nouns

Plural formation in Afrikaans is exceedingly complex. Many of the apparent exceptions and idiosyncrasies are the result of historical factors which can only be fully understood in the light of norms applying in Dutch. There are basically two ways of forming the plural of a noun: a) by the addition of *s*, b) by the addition of *e*. Which of the two endings is required for a given word and the changes to the root vowel or final consonant of some nouns when *e* is added, constitute the main problems, but there is also the difficulty of some nouns having more than one plural form, with or without a resulting change in meaning.

4.1.1. Plurals in *-s*

4.1.1.1. Nouns ending in *a, aar, aard, e, eeu, el, em, en, er, erd, ie, ier, lm* and *rm*

All nouns ending in *a, aar, aard, e, eeu, el, em, en, er, erd, ie, ier, lm* and *rm* add *s* to form the plural. As far as nouns ending in *aar, aard, el, em, en, er, erd* and *ier* are concerned, this rule only applies to derived nouns bearing those endings; it does not apply to nouns where they form part of the root – such nouns have a plural in *e* as they are monosyllabic, unlike the above, e.g. *haar* – *hare* 'hair', *baard* – *baarde* 'beard', *wiel* – *wiele* 'wheel', *kiem* – *kieme* 'germ', *skoene* – *skoene* 'shoe', *boer* – *boere* 'farmer', *perd* – *perde* 'horse', *leer* – *lere* 'ladder', *dier* – *diere* 'animal'.¹

-a: *baba* – *babas* 'baby', *firma* – *firmas* 'firms', *gogga* – *goggas* 'insect', *kamera* – *kameras* 'camera', *padda* – *paddas* 'frog'.

Note that words ending in stressed *a*, like *ma* 'mother' and *pa* 'father', plus derivatives thereof, take apostrophe *s* in the plural, e.g. *pa's*, *skoonma's*, 'mothers-in-law'.

Exceptions: *oumas* 'grandmother', *oupas* 'grandfather'.

-aar: *eienaar* – *eienaars* 'owner', *leeraar* – *leeraars* 'minister' (of religion), *nyweraar* – *nyweraars* 'industrialist', *rekenaar* – *rekenaars* 'computer'.

Exceptions: Several nouns referring to people have both an *-s* and an *-e* plural: *amptenaar* – *amptenare/-aars* 'civil servant', *Egiptenaar* – *Egiptenare/-aars* 'Egyptian', *gyselaar* – *gyselare/-aars* 'hostage', *kunstenaar* – *kunstenare/-aars* 'artist'.

-aard: *dronkaard* – *dronkaards* 'drunkard', *lafaard* – *lafaards* 'coward'.

¹ But *tier* – *tiers* (also *tiere*) 'tiger, leopard' because it is a contraction of **tiger* and thus the *-er* is an ending. The same explanation applies to *saal* – *saals* 'saddle', a contraction of **sadel* (see 4.1.6.4).

-e: *Anglisisme – Anglisismes* ‘Anglicism’, *bydrae – bydraes* ‘contribution’,² *dame – dames* ‘lady’, *getuie – getuies* ‘witness’, *metode – metodes* ‘method’, *perske – perskes* ‘peach’, *ruspe – ruspes* ‘caterpillar’, *sekonde – sekondes* ‘second’, *siekte – siektes* ‘disease’, *tipe – tipes* ‘type’, *verkoue – verkoues* ‘cold’.

Nouns formed from both weak and strong past participles (see 6.4.3) also end in *-e* and thus take *-s* in the plural, e.g. weak: *verslaaf* ‘addicted’ > *die verslaafde(s)* ‘the addict(s)’, strong: *agterbly* ‘to remain behind’ > *die agtergeblewene(s)* ‘he (those) who remained behind’.

-eeu: *leeu – leeus* ‘lion’, *spreeu – spreeus* ‘starling’.

Exception: *eeu – eeue* ‘century’.

-el: *bottel – bottels* ‘bottles’, *nael – naels* ‘nails’, *reël – reëls* ‘rule’,³ *tafel – tafels* ‘tables’, *voël – voëls* ‘birds’.

Exceptions: *engel – engele* ‘angels’, *middel – middele* ‘means’, but *middel – middels* ‘remedies, middles’.

-em: *besem – besems* ‘broom’, *bodem – bodems* ‘bottom’,⁴ *Moslem – Moslems* ‘Muslim’.

-en: *elektrisiën – elektrisiëns* ‘electrician’, *laken – lakens* ‘sheet’, *leuen – leuens* ‘lie’.

Exception: *Christen – Christene* ‘Christian’.

-er: *dogter – dogters* ‘daughter, girl’, *eier – eiers* ‘egg’, *hoender – hoenders* ‘chicken’, *leër – leërs* ‘army’, *lêer – lêers* ‘folder’.

-erd: *dikkerd – dikkerds* ‘fatty’, *luiperd – luiperds* ‘leopard’, *standerd – standerds* ‘standard, grade’.

Exception: *wingerd – wingerde* ‘vineyard’.

-ie: *emosie – emosies* ‘emotions’, *familie – families* ‘family’, *handjie – handjies* ‘little hand’, *storie – stories* ‘story’.

Exceptions: all nouns ending in stressed *-ie* (see 4.1.2.5).

-ier: *juwelier – juweliers* ‘jeweller’, *passasier – passasiers* ‘passenger’.

Exceptions: *offisier – offisiere* ‘officer’, *rivier – riviere* ‘river’, *skarnier – skarniere* ‘hinge’.

-lm: *dwelm – dwelms* ‘drug’, *film – films* ‘film’, *helm – helms* ‘helmet’, *skelm – skelms* ‘scoundrel’.

Nouns ending in *lm*, like those in *rm*, take *s* in the plural because although they appear to be monosyllabic, the presence of a svarabhakti vowel before

² Compare this with *bedrag – bedrae* ‘amount’ under 4.1.2.8.

³ The difference in plural formation between *posseel – posseëls* ‘postage stamp’ and *perseel – persele* ‘premises’, for example, is the result of the *el* of the former forming a separate syllable.

⁴ This word has an alternative form, *boom – bome*.

the nasal means they in fact contain with two syllables and fall together in sound with nouns ending in *-em* (see 1.8).

-rm: *arm* – *arms* ‘arm’, *skerm* – *skerms* ‘screen’, *storm* – *storms* ‘storm’, *swerm* – *swerms* ‘swarm’, *wurm* – *wurms* ‘worm’.

See the note under *lm* above.

4.1.1.2. Foreign nouns ending in *i*, *o* or *u*

Foreign nouns ending in *i*, *o* or *u* take apostrophe *s*, e.g. *taxi* – *taxi's* ‘taxi’, *foto* – *foto's* ‘photo’, *menu* – *menu's* ‘menu’ (see 4.1.1.1 for nouns ending in *a*).

4.1.1.3. Nouns designating certain people

The following nouns, which all refer to people, take *s*: *broer* – *broers* ‘brother’, *bruidegom* – *bruidegoms* ‘bridegroom’, *Hotnot* – *Hotnots* ‘Hottentot’, *maat* – *maats* ‘mates’, *neef* – *neefs* ‘nephew, male cousin’, *oom* – *ooms* ‘uncles’, *seun* – *seuns* ‘son, boy’.

4.1.1.4. Certain foreign nouns

The following foreign nouns take *s*: *bloekom* – *bloekoms* ‘eucalyptus tree’, *enjin* – *enjins* ‘engine’, *fliiek* – *fliieks* ‘film’, *kleim* – *kleims* ‘(gold) claim’, *klub* – *klubs* ‘club’, *kampong* – *kampongs* ‘compound’, *kostuum* – *kostuums* ‘costume’, *piesang* – *piesangs* ‘bananas’, *tjek* – *tjeks* ‘cheque’, *tjop* – *tjops* ‘chop’, *generaal* – *generaals* ‘general’, *kolonel* – *kolonels* ‘colonels’, *luitenant* – *luitenants* ‘lieutenant’, *majoor* – *majoors* ‘major’, *nektarien* – *nektariens* ‘nectarine’, *sardien* – *sardiens* ‘sardine’, *sjebeen* – *sjebeens* ‘shebeen’, *sjef* – *sjefs* ‘chef’, *standerd* – *standerds* ‘(school) standard’, *tenk* – *tenks* ‘tank’, *trem* – *trems* ‘tram’.

Exceptions: *sersant* – *sersante* ‘sergeant’.

Die standerd-eens / *die matrieks* ‘the standard ones, matrices’ (i.e. those in standard 12 at high school) are English inspired plurals.

For loanwords ending in stressed *-on* see 4.1.6.2.

4.1.2. Plurals in *-e*

4.1.2.1. All nouns not covered by the definitions applying to pluralisation in *s*

All nouns not covered by the definitions applying to pluralisation in *s* belong here; this is the larger group, e.g. *battery* – *batterye* ‘battery’, *berg* – *berge* ‘mountain’,⁵ *boek* – *boeke* ‘book’, *hand* – *hande* ‘hand’, *huis* – *huis* ‘house’, *koei* –

⁵ In nouns ending in *rg*, the [x] of the singular becomes a stop when the plural *e* is added, i.e. [bɛrx] > [bɛrgə], but remains *bergie* [bɛrxi] in the diminutive.

koeie 'cow', *kursus* – *kursusse* 'course', *laai* – *laaie* 'drawer', *robot* – *robotte* 'traffic light'. This also includes many loanwords which are stressed on the final syllable, e.g. *biblioteek* – *biblioteke* 'library', *diamant* – *diamante* 'diamond', *fakulteit* – *fakulteite* 'faculty', *gordyn* – *gordyne* 'curtain', *kaset* – *kassette* 'cassette', *kitaar* – *kitare* 'guitar', *klavier* – *klaviere* 'piano', *permit* – *permitte* 'permit', *program* – *programme* 'programme', *restaurant* – *restaurante* 'restaurant', *sigaret* – *sigarete* 'cigarette', *student* – *studente* 'student', *telefoon* – *telefone* 'telephone', *teoloog* – *teoloë* 'theologian', *toernooi* – *toernooie* 'tournament', *wandeling* – *wandelinge* 'stroll, hike' (see 4.1.6.1 for other nouns in *-ing*).

4.1.2.2. Nouns containing a short vowel and ending in a single consonant

Nouns containing a short vowel and ending in a single consonant, double the consonant to preserve a short vowel in a closed syllable; this applies to the consonants *b, k, l, m, n, p, r, s, t*, e.g. *rob* – *robbe* 'seal', *slak* – *slakke* 'snail', *kol* – *kolle* 'spot', *rem* – *remme* 'brake', *pen* – *penne* 'pen', *pop* – *poppe* 'doll', *kar* – *karre* 'car', *mes* – *messe* 'knife', *rot* – *rotte* 'rat'.

The consonant is only doubled if the preceding syllable is stressed,⁶ e.g. *hawik* – *hawike* 'hawk', but *onderwyseres* – *onderwyseresse* 'female teacher', *vriendin* – *vriendinne* 'girlfriend', *model* – *modelle* 'model'. (A noun ending in unstressed *-el* takes *s* in the plural, see 4.1.1.1.)

Nouns containing a short vowel and ending in *f* voice the *f*,⁷ thereby changing it to *w* and doubling it in accordance with the above rule, e.g. *hef* – *hewwe* 'knife handle', *rif* – *riwwe* 'ridge', *stof* – *stowwe* 'dust, fabric'.

The few nouns containing a short vowel that end in *d* and *g* have alternative means of forming their plural (see 4.1.2.8 and 4.1.2.10). Even *bod* 'bid, offer' avoids the doubling of *d* in the plural, by using *botte* (but *bot* exists as an alternative singular form too) (see *aanbod* 4.1.8).

4.1.2.3. Nouns containing the long vowels *aa, ee, oo* and *uu* in a closed syllable

Nouns containing the long vowels *aa, ee, oo* and *uu* in a closed syllable, drop one vowel letter when *-e* is added in accordance with the rules for the spelling of long vowels in open syllables (see 2.4.1), e.g. *haar* – *hare* 'hair', *peer* – *pere* 'pear', *boom* – *bome* 'trees', *muur* – *mure* 'walls'.

4.1.2.4. Nouns containing a long vowel or diphthong and ending in *f*

Nouns containing a long vowel or diphthong and ending in *f*, voice the *f* and

⁶ Note *sirkus* – *sirkusse* / *kursus* – *kursusse* where the *s* is doubled although the stress is on the first syllable.

⁷ Although *f* is voiced in intervocalic position here when followed by [ɔ], this does not occur in the diminutive of these nouns where they are followed by [i], e.g. *heffie*, *riffie*, *siffie* (see 4.2.1.3.iii).

consequently write it as *w*, e.g. *brief* – *briewe* ‘letter’, *duif* – *duiwe* ‘dove, pigeon’, *skyf* – *skywe* ‘disk’. If they contain the long vowels mentioned under c), both spelling changes apply, e.g. *raaf* – *rawe* ‘raven’, *teef* – *tewe* ‘bitch’, *roof* – *rowe* ‘scab’,⁸ *fotograaf* – *fotograuwe* ‘photographer’, *filosoof* – *filosowe* ‘philosopher’.

The rule given in the third paragraph of 4.1.2.2 also applies to nouns ending in *lf* and *rf*, e.g. *wolf* – *wolwe* ‘wolf’, *erf* – *erwe* ‘plot of land’.

4.1.2.5. Nouns ending in stressed *ie*

Nouns ending in stressed *ie* add *ë*, e.g. *industrie* – *industrieë* ‘industry’, *knie* – *knieë* ‘knee’, *melodie* – *melodieë* ‘melody’, *teorie* – *teorieë* ‘theory’. Nouns ending in unstressed *ie* take *s* (see 4.1.1.1).

Exceptions: some words of foreign origin ending in unstressed *-ie*, e.g. *bakterie* – *bakterieë* or *bakteries* ‘bacterium’, *chemikalieë* ‘chemicals’.

4.1.2.6. Loanwords ending in *ee* + a consonant

Loanwords ending in *ee* + a consonant drop one *e* and add a diæresis to the remaining *e* of the root when a plural *e* is added, e.g. *dieet* – *diëte* ‘diet’.

4.1.2.7. Nouns containing a long vowel or diphthong plus *d* or *g*

In nouns containing a long vowel or diphthong followed by a *d* or *g*, the consonant is syncope when the plural *e* is added, e.g. *kruid* – *kruie* ‘herb’,⁹ *tyd* – *tye* ‘time’, *vraag* – *vrae* ‘question’, *oog* – *oë* ‘eye’, *sosioloog* – *sosioloë* ‘sociologist’, *vlieg* – *vlieë* ‘fly’, *voertuig* – *voertuie* ‘vehicle’. There are many exceptions to the syncope of *d* in such cases but there are no exceptions to the syncope of *g*, e.g. *hoed* – *hoede* ‘hat’, *wedstryd* – *wedstryde* ‘match, competition’; nor does this rule apply to nouns with *ou* in the root, e.g. *boud* – *boude* ‘buttock’, *onderhoud* – *onderhoude* ‘interview’.

4.1.2.8. Nouns with a short vowel in the singular but a long vowel in the plural

The following nouns have a short vowel in the singular but a long vowel in the plural. Where the phonology of the words concerned requires that the spelling changes mentioned above be applied, this is done; for example, all those marked

⁸ As with the nouns mentioned in the previous footnote, these too do not voice the *f* in the diminutive, e.g. *rafie*, *tefie*, *rofie* etc.

⁹ There are very few nouns with a long vowel or diphthong that end in *d* and drop that *d* in the plural and not all follow this pattern anyway, e.g. *bruid* – *bruide* ‘bride’, *hoed* – *hoede* ‘hat’. But there are many that end in *g* and there are no exceptions except that one does still occasionally hear the archaisms *dage* ‘days’ and *oge* ‘eyes’, pronounced with a [g], not an [x].

(*) drop their *g* when it would otherwise occur intervocalically after a long vowel before schwa, and those marked (*) drop their *d* under the same circumstances.

bedrag – *bedrae* ‘amount’*

bevel – *bevele* ‘order’

blad – *blaaie* ‘page’^{10*}

dag – *dae* ‘day’

dal – *dale* ‘valley’

gat – *gate*¹¹ ‘hole’

gebed – *gebede* ‘prayer’

gebod – *gebooie* ‘commandment’* (but *potlood*/*potlode* ‘pencil’)

gebrek – *gebreke* ‘lack’

glas – *glase* ‘glass’

god – *gode* ‘god’ (also *afgod*/*afgode* ‘idol’)

hertog – *hertoë* ‘duke’*

hof – *howe* ‘court, courtyard’

meerkat – *meerkaaie* ‘mongoose’¹¹

oorlog – *oorloë* ‘war’*

pad – *paaië* ‘road, path’*

skilpad – *skilpaaië* ‘tortoise, turtle’*

slag – *slae* ‘blow, hit’* (also derivatives, e.g. *omslag* ‘cover’, *verslag* ‘report’)

spel – *spele* ‘game’¹²

staf – *stawe* ‘staff, wand’¹³

vat – *vate* ‘barrel’

verdrag – *verdrae* ‘treaty’*

vlag – *vlae* ‘flag’*

weg – *weë* ‘way’*

As *slag* and *staf* illustrate, if a compound noun is formed from one of the above words, the same change in the plural usually applies.

4.1.2.9. Nouns with a short vowel in the singular but a different long vowel in the plural

The following nouns have a short vowel in the singular and a long vowel in the plural, but it is a different vowel:

gelid – *geledere* ‘rank, file’

¹⁰ *Blaar*/*blare* refers to the ‘leaf/leaves’ of trees. *Blad* (not *blaaie*) can have this meaning too but *blad*/*blaaie* are more commonly limited to the leaves of a book or table, or can also mean ‘shoulder blade/s’, as well as meaning ‘page/s’, ‘pamphlet/s’ (see footnote 35 under 4.2.1.2).

¹¹ *Meerkat* also has a regular plural *meerkatte*. *Meerkaaie* is formed by analogy with like sounding, but etymologically quite different, *pad*. Similarly one also hears the form *gaaië* (< *gat/gate* ‘bottom, bum’), which is used for humorous effect in colloquial speech, as is *gatte*; also *knoopsgaaië* ‘button holes’ for *knoopsgate*. *Gat/gatte* is also used colloquially to refer to an uninviting town, as is English ‘hole’.

¹² Only in *die Olimpiese Spele* ‘Olympic Games’ and *volkspele* ‘folk dances’. Otherwise the plural is *spelle*.

¹³ But *maatstaf* – *maatstawe* or *maatstawwe* ‘criterion’.

lid – *lede* ‘member’¹⁴

skip – *skepe* ‘ship’

smid – *smede* ‘smith’

stad – *stede* ‘city’ (see footnote 29)

There are many abstract nouns formed with the suffix *-heid* (= ‘-ness’). Such nouns, if they allow themselves to be pluralised, go *-hede*, e.g. *vryheid* – *vryhede* ‘freedom’, *waarheid* – *waarhede* ‘truth’.

4.1.2.10. Nouns with a short vowel plus *g* in the singular with a long vowel in the plural

The following small group of nouns, all of which contain a short vowel in the singular and end in *g*, lengthen the vowel and drop the *g* in the plural. The new long vowels all take a circumflex (see 1.2.2–5):

brug – *brûe* ‘bridge’

eg – *êe* ‘harrow’

rug – *rûe* ‘back’¹⁵

sog – *sôe* ‘sow’

trog – *trôe* ‘trough’

wig – *wie* ‘wedge’

4.1.3. Plurals in *-de* and *-te*

This group of nouns is an important subdivision of nouns that form their plural in *-e*. Where historically final [t], spelt *t* or *d*, was preceded by a voiceless consonant, the final dental was apocoped but it returns in derivatives, where it no longer stands in final position. This occurs in under various circumstances in Afrikaans, including the plural formation of nouns (see also 6.4.1 and 15.3.1).

Without a knowledge of Dutch there is no logical explanation for the plural of *kas* ‘cupboard’ being *kaste*, while that of *jas* ‘overcoat’ is *jasse*. Even a knowledge of Dutch is not always a great help as a few nouns that historically ended in *t* do not form their plural in *-te* in Afrikaans, e.g. *kos* – *kosse* ‘food’ (< Dutch *kost*), *kreef* – *krewe* ‘crayfish’ (< Dutch *kreeft*), *wors* – *worse* ‘sausage’ (< Dutch *worst*). On the other hand, several words that did not end in *t* historically, now take *-te* in the plural, but this is generally speaking limited to non-standard speech, e.g. *bus* – *buste* ‘bus’, *jas* – *jaste* ‘overcoat’, *mens* – *menste* ‘person’, *tas* – *taste* ‘bags’. These forms should not be copied but *kies* ‘cheek pouch’ and *lies* ‘loin’, which historically did not end in *t*, have two official plurals, *kiese/liese* and *kieste/lieste*. The following are also very common and are no longer considered non-standard as ‘axle’ – *asse/aste*, *glimlag* ‘smile’ – *glimlagge/glimlagte* and

¹⁴ *Lid/lede* refers to the member(s) of a club, whereas *lidmaat/lidmate* refers to members of a church congregation. *Ledemaat/ledemate* is the most usual word for ‘limb’, but *lid/lede* can have this meaning too; compare English ‘member’. These words are often confused by speakers of Afrikaans.

¹⁵ *Rûens* and *rugge* are archaic in the sense of ‘backs’ but the former is still used to refer to mountains.

tydstip 'point of time' – *tydstippe/tydstipte*.¹⁶ Dictionaries give *hoes/hoeste* 'cough', *mark/markte* 'market' and *vonds/vondste* 'find' but in practice one only hears *hoese*, and *marke* and *vondse* now exist alongside *markte* and *vondste*.

In just a few cases Dutch had/has two separate words, one with a *t* and one without, with the result that the two fall together in the singular in Afrikaans but are distinguishable in the plural, e.g. *gas – gasse* 'gas', *gas – gaste* 'guest'; *kas – kasse* 'socket', *kas – kaste* 'cupboard'; *kus – kusse* 'kiss', *kus – kuste* 'coast'.

Compound nouns in which the following words form the second element, also have a plural in *-de/-te*, but not all possible combinations are given, e.g. *jag – jagte* 'chase, yacht', *klopjag – klopjagte* 'raid, round-up'; *aankoms – aankomste* 'arrival', *byeenkoms – byeenkomste* 'meeting', *ooreenkoms – ooreenkomst* 'agreement'.

-b > -bte

ab – abte 'abbot'

-g > -gde

maag – maagde 'virgin'¹⁷

voog – voogde 'guardian'

smarag – smaragde 'emerald'

-f > -fde

hoof – hoofde 'head'

-f > -fte

drif – drifte 'passion' (but *drif – driuwe* 'ford')

graf – grafte 'grave'

sif – sifte 'sieve' (but more usually *siuwe*)

tydskrif – tydskrifte 'magazine' (also numerous derivatives in *-skrif*)

-g > -gte

aanklag – aanklagte 'accusation, charge' (compare *klag* below)

aanleg – aanlegte 'design, layout, installation' (also *aanlêe*)

berig – berigte 'report'

deug – deugde 'virtue'

drag – dragte 'costume'

gedig – gedigte 'poem'

gedrog – gedrogte 'monster'

gehug – gehugte 'hamlet'

gereg – geregte 'course, dish'

gerug – gerugte 'rumour'

gesig – gesigte 'face'

geveg – gevegte 'fight'

gewig – gewigte 'weight'

¹⁶ Such alternative forms are the result of analogies where memory of the historically correct form has faded.

¹⁷ *Maag* 'stomach', which is historically also *maag*, goes *mae*.

jag – *jagte* ‘chase, hunt’
klag – *klagte* ‘complaint’ (but also *klagte* – *klagtes*, see 4.1.6.10)¹⁸
krag – *kragte* ‘power’
lig – *ligte* ‘light’
lyfwag – *lyfwagte* ‘body-guard’
mag – *magte* ‘power’
nag – *nagte* ‘night’
plig – *pligte* ‘duty’
skag – *skagte* ‘shaft’
tog – *togte* ‘journey’
vlug – *vlugte* ‘flight’
vonds – *vondste* ‘find’
vrag – *vragte* ‘load’
vrug – *vrugte* ‘fruit’

-k > -kte¹⁹

argitek – *argitekte* ‘architect’
aspek – *aspekte* ‘aspect’
distrik – *distrikte* ‘district’
insek – *insekte* ‘insect’
katarak – *katarakte* ‘cataracts’
konflik – *konflikte* ‘conflict’
kontak – *kontakte* ‘contact’
kontrak – *kontrakte* ‘contract’
mark – *markte* ‘market’ (also *marke*)
objek – *objekte* ‘object’
produk – *produkte* ‘product’
projek – *projekte* ‘project’
subjek – *subjekte* ‘subject’

-p > -pte

amp – *ampte* ‘office, post’
konsep – *konsepte* ‘concept’
manuskrip – *manuskripte* ‘manuscript’
resep – *resepte* ‘recipe’
Hemp – *hemde* ‘shirt’ is an isolated exception.²⁰

-s > -ste

aankoms – *aankomste* ‘arrival’
ambag – *ambagte* ‘trade, craft’
bees – *beeste* ‘cow’
bors – *borste* ‘breast’
diens – *dienste* ‘service’

¹⁸ Like *klagte* ‘complaint’, *koste/onkoste* ‘costs, expenses’ are officially both singular and plural but commonly take an *s* too. The two words are synonymous.

¹⁹ These words are all of foreign origin and traditionally take the stress on the final syllable. There is, however, a growing tendency to stress them as in English (see 1.10.2.1.1).

²⁰ Another such isolated example is the common English loanword *belt*, plural *belde*.

entoesias – entoesiaste ‘enthusiast’
fees – feeste ‘party’
gas – gaste ‘guest’
gees – geeste ‘ghost, spirit’
guns – gunste ‘favour’
kamas – kamaste ‘legging’
kas – kaste ‘cupboard’
kies – kieste ‘cheek pocket’
kis – kiste ‘box, chest’
kontras – kontraste ‘contrast’
kuns – kunste ‘art’
kus – kuste ‘coast’
landdros – landdroste ‘magistrate’
las – laste ‘load’
lies – lieste ‘loin’
lys – lyste ‘list’
oes – oeste ‘harvest’
onlus – onluste ‘riot’
orkes – orkeste ‘orchestra’
pos – poste ‘post, position’
res – reste ‘remnant’
teks – tekste ‘text’
twis – twiste ‘quarrel’
vuus – vuiste ‘fist’

All words of the sort *aktivis – aktiviste* ‘activist’, *kommunis – kommuniste* ‘communist’ and *terroris – terroriste* ‘terrorist’, with the stress on *-is(te)*, belong here too.

All the above words that take *-de* or *-te* in the plural also take those endings when they are the final element in compound nouns, e.g. *opdrag – opdragte* ‘instruction, order’.

4.1.4. Plurals in *-ens*

bad – baddens ‘bath’
bed – beddens ‘bed’
gevoel – gevoelens ‘feeling’
hoed – hoedens ‘hat’ (more common is *hoede*)
jong – jongens ‘boy’²¹
mied – miedens ‘pile, stack’ (also *miede* and *miet – miete*)
nooi / nôi – nooiens / nôiens ‘girl’
ou – ouens ‘chap, bloke’ (also *ous*)
rug – rûens ‘hills’ (see *rûe* 4.1.2.10)
voorneme – voornemens ‘intention, resolution’
vrou – vrouens ‘woman’ (see 4.1.6.6)

²¹ *Jong / jongens*, outside the compound *kwajong / -jongens* ‘naughty boy’, does not commonly mean ‘boys’, in which sense *seun(s)* is more usual. But *jong* is frequently used for male servants of any age, as indeed ‘boy’ was in colonial days, e.g. *die tuinjong* ‘the garden boy’.

vul – *vullens* ‘foal’ (also *vulle*)

wa – *waens* ‘wagons’

The following all end in *e* because they historically ended in *en* but the *n* was syncopated; the *n* returns in the plural, which puts these nouns in a sense in the same category as those ending in *en* that take *s* (see 4.1.1.1).

genoeë – *genoeëns* ‘delight’

gegewe – *gegewens* ‘detail’

gewete – *gewetens* ‘consciences’

hawe – *hawens* ‘harbour’

kwajong – *kwajongens* ‘mischievous boy, imp’

lewe – *lewens* ‘life’ (also *lewes*)

meule – *meulens* ‘mill’ (also *meules* and *meul* – *meule*)

sewe – *sewens* ‘seven’ (also *sewes*, but only *nege* – *neges* ‘nine’)

verlange – *verlangens* ‘longing’

vermoë – *vermoëns* ‘ability’

vermoede – *vermoedens* ‘suspicion, supposition’

wese – *wesens* ‘being’

4.1.5. Plurals in *-ers*²² and *-ere*

goed – *goeters* ‘odds and ends, things’²²

kalf – *kalwers* ‘calf’ (commonly pronounced [kalərs])

kind – *kinders* ‘child’

klip – *klippers* ‘stone’ (colloquially *klippe*, see footnote 37 under 4.2.1.2)

lam – *lammers* ‘lamb’

maat – *maters* ‘mate’ (also *maats*; *maters* is now considered archaic)

All these words also have alternative diminutive forms in *-ertjies* (see 4.2.1.2).

been – *beendere* ‘bone’

gemoed – *gemoedere* ‘mind’

goed – *goedere* ‘goods’

lied – *liedere* ‘song’

volk – *volkere* ‘people, nation’

These plurals are rather formal. *Beendere* is only used with reference to human bones, e.g. *die beendere van die geraamte* ‘the bones of the skeleton’, but even in this meaning *bene* is more usual.

Goedere, mentioned above, is a more official sounding word than *goeters*; one’s own chattels are *goeters* but the expression ‘to pay in kind’, for example, is *in goedere betaal*.

Liedere, although the only possible plural of *lied*, is more usually replaced by the diminutive plural, *liedjies*, in everyday language. *Liedere* sounds rather solemn, even religious.

²² The words *eier* ‘egg’ and *hoender* ‘chicken’ were historically *ei* and *hoen* and took this irregular plural ending. In Afrikaans they now simply belong to the category of nouns in *-er* that take an *s* plural ending. But note the expression *vir ’n appel en ’n ei* ‘(to buy something) for a song’, where the historical singular has been preserved.

²³ In colloquial Afrikaans a singular form *goeter* ‘whats-it, gadget’ occurs.

Volkere 'peoples' (i.e. peoples of the world) is a formal variant of the more usual *volke*, e.g. *die Verenigde Volke(re)* 'United Nations'.

4.1.6. Nouns with both an *-e* and an *-s* plural

4.1.6.1. Nouns ending in *-ing*

The most important category of nouns where either an *-e* or an *-s* plural is possible are those ending in *-ing* (but not those in *-(e)ling*, see 4.1.2.1). Such nouns belong historically to two separate groups, something which only becomes evident in the plural: i) those with the historically feminine ending *-ing* (often denoting abstracts), which is by far the larger of the two groups, ii) those that did not historically end in *-ing* at all or whose *-ing* is of foreign origin and thus also unrelated to the above historically feminine ending.

Theoretically all nouns in i) can take either ending, the former being more frequent in formal spoken or written style. In practice, however, several of these nouns are never found with an *-s* plural, because they belong by definition to higher style:

Nouns belonging to group i)

aanwysing – *aanwysings* 'instruction'

beloning – *belonings* 'reward'

besitting – *besittings* 'possession'

bestelling – *bestellings* 'order'

ervaring – *ervaringe* 'experience'

herinnering – *herinneringe* 'memory'

lesing – *lesings* 'lecture'

oorweging – *oorwegings* 'consideration'

regering – *regerings* 'government'

tekening – *tekeninge* / *-s* 'drawing'

verplichting – *verplichtinge* 'obligation'

Leiding 'pipes, lines' although also ending historically in *-ing*, only takes an *s* in the plural, whereas *Vlaming* 'Fleming', a word ending in a non-feminine ending, can only take *-e*.

Nouns belonging to group ii)

bedding – *beddings* 'flower/river bed'

doring – *dorings* 'thorn'

fraaiing – *fraaiings* 'fringe, frill'

horing – *horings* 'horn'

kastaiing – *kastaiings* 'chestnut'

ketting – *kettings* 'chain'

koning – *konings* 'king'

piering – *pierings* 'saucer'

sening – *senings* 'sinew, tendon'

staking – *stakings* 'strike'

Wiking – *Wikings* 'Vikings'

NB: *pluings* and *toiings*, both meaning 'rags, tatters' are always used in the plural.

4.1.6.2. Nouns ending in stressed *-on*

All nouns ending in stressed *-on* (i.e. French loanwords) can take *e* or *s*, but the former is more usual, e.g. *balkon* – *balkonne*/*balkons* 'balcony', *perron* – *perronne*/*perrons* 'railway platform', *plafon* – *plafonne*/*plafons* 'ceiling'.

4.1.6.3. Nouns ending in stressed *-ee*

Nouns ending in stressed *-ee* go *-eë* in the plural, but if unstressed they go *-ees*:

<i>fee</i> – <i>feë</i> 'fairy'	<i>dominee</i> – <i>dominees</i> 'ministers'
<i>idee</i> – <i>ideë</i> 'idea' (also <i>idees</i>)	<i>senuwee</i> – <i>senuwees</i> 'nerves'
<i>see</i> – <i>seë</i> 'sea'	<i>skaduwee</i> – <i>skaduwees</i> 'shadow'
<i>trofee</i> – <i>trofeë</i> 'trophy'	

But *kafee* – *kafees* 'café' although the ending is stressed.

4.1.6.4. Homonyms with separate plural forms

Maat 'mate'/*maat* 'measure' and *saal* 'room'/*saal* 'saddle', which are historically separate words, have different plurals: *maats*/*mate*, *sale*/*saals* (see footnote 1).

4.1.6.5. Archaic plural ending of certain nouns ending in *-el* and *-er*

Although *hemel* 'heaven', *letter* 'letter', *vader* 'father' and *wonder* 'wonder' normally take *s* in the plural, as all other nouns ending in *el* and *er* do, these three words have an archaic plural form in *e* which is used in certain formal contexts; *hemele* and *vadere* occur most frequently in religious contexts, *die Fakulteit Lettere en Wysbegeerte* 'the Faculty of Arts'.

4.1.6.6. Compound nouns ending in *-man* and *-vrou*

The nouns *man* and *vrou* can form their plural in two ways, each with a separate connotation.

Most compound nouns formed from *-man* form their plural in *-manne*: *Noorman* – *Noormanne* 'Norseman, Viking'²⁴, *polisieman* – *polisiemanne* (colloquially also *polisman[ne]*), but *Engelsman* – *Engelse* 'Englishman, English(men)'²⁵ and *Fransman* – *Franse* 'Frenchman, French(men)'.

²⁴ Note: *Normandiër(s)* 'Norman(s)', adjective *Normandies*.

²⁵ *Engelsman*/*Engelse* is also applied to English-speaking South Africans.

Some compounds in *-man* can form their plural either in *-manne* or *-lui* 'people':

landsman – *landsmanne*, *-lui* 'countryman'²⁶

seeman – *seemanne*, *-lui* 'sailor'

sakeman – *sakemanne*, *-lui* 'businessman'

Besigheidsman 'businessman', a common Anglicism, can take *-manne* or *-mense* 'people', whereas *Boesman* 'Bushman' takes an *-s*, *Boemans*.

Outside the above compound nouns where *manne* is consistently used as the plural of *man*, the plural of the simplex *man* is usually *mans*. In addition, *mans* means 'males' and is used on public toilets, as is *here*²⁷ 'gentlemen', in which case its female counterpart is usually *dames* (seldom *vroue* and even less *vrouens*). *Manne* is used by men themselves to refer to the 'guys', and has a macho ring to it, e.g.

- (109) *Na die rugbywedstryd was die manne lekker moeg.*
'After the rugby match the men had had it.'

But there are other contexts where it can be the required form, e.g. *die Drie Wyse Manne* 'the Three Wise Men'.

The plural of *man* 'husband' is *mans*, whereas that of *vrou* 'wife' is usually *vrouens*, thus also *huisvrouens* 'housewives', but *huisvroue* is also possible. The difference between *vrouens* and *vroue* has to do with status, the latter being higher and thus required in compounds like the following *die Huisvroueliga* 'the Housewives' League', *sakevroue* 'business women', *beroepsvroue* 'professional women', *straatvroue* 'street-walkers' (an elevated euphemism), but *gasvroue/-ens* 'hostesses' and *wasvrouens* 'washer women'. The formality of the situation can also determine which form is used, e.g. *Moslem-vroue* 'Muslim women' in a lecture or writing, *Moslem-vrouens* in natural speech. The plural of *Mevrou* 'lady', when used in direct speech, is *Mevroue* or *Mevrouens*.

It is not necessary to pluralise *man* after a numeral where it means 'souls', e.g.

- (110) *Meer as 16 man het vir Botha gestem.*
'More than 16 people voted for Botha.'
- (111) *Die groep was tien man sterk.*
'There were ten in that group.'

4.1.6.7. Plural of *rib* 'rib'

The noun *rib* 'rib' has both a plural in *-e*, *ribbe*, and one in *-es*, *ribbes*, with the letter being more common.

²⁶ *Landsman* and *seeman* also have a plural in *-liede* 'people' but this is now considered archaic.

²⁷ God is usually referred to as *die Here/Heer* (literally 'the Lord') where the *-e* ending of the former is not a plural ending but a vestige of the weak nominal declension.

4.1.6.8. Dual plurals of *kern* 'nucleus, kernel' and *tier* 'tiger, leopard'

The nouns *kern* 'nucleus, kernel' and *tier* 'tiger, leopard' have both a plural in *-e* and one in *-s*: *kerne/kerns*, *tiere/tiers*. *Kerne* is more formal and scientific than *kerns*.

4.1.6.9. Foreign nouns with dual plural forms

Foreign nouns with both an *-e* and an *-s* plural:

hotel – *hotelle* / *hotels* 'hotel'

Hottentot – *Hottentotte* / *Hottentots* (also *Hotnot* – *Hotnots*) 'Hottentot'

pêl – *pêlle* / *pêls* 'pals' (only used in speech, not usually written)

sambreel – *sambrele* / *sambreels* 'umbrella'

vorm – *vorms* / *vorme* 'form, shape' ('paper forms' = *vorms* only)

direkteur – *direkteure* / *direkteurs* 'director, manager'. There are several other such nouns in *-eur*.

lektor – *lektore* / *lektors* 'lecturer'

professor – *professore* / *professors* 'professor'

But *motor* – *motors* 'car', *motor* – *motore* 'engine, motor'

Afrikaans allows the spellings *proteïne* / *proteïen* and *vitamine* / *vitamien* in the singular. The plurals of these singular forms are, respectively, *proteïnes* / *proteïene* and *vitamines* / *vitamiene*. Other French/English words in '*-ine*' are all spelt *-ien* and consequently take *-e* in the plural, e.g. *tikmasjien* – *tikmasjiene* 'typewriter'. Exception: *nektarien* – *nektariens* 'nectarine'.

The same applies to chemical compounds in *-ied* or *-ide*, e.g. *oksied* / *okside*, plural *oksiede* / *oksides*.

4.1.6.10. Nouns with an alternative singular form and thus also an alternative plural form

The following nouns have an alternative singular form and therefore also an alternative plural form: *buurt* / *buurte* – *buurte* / *buurtes* 'neighbourhood', *klag* / *klagte* – *klagte* / *klagtes* 'complaint', *sekond* / *sekonde* – *sekonde* / *sekondes* 'second'; note that the plural of the one variant is identical to the singular of the other.

4.1.6.11. The plural of the letters of the alphabet

Most letters of the alphabet take an *'s* plural, but *s* and *x* take an *e*, while *f*, *l*, *m*, *n*, *r* take an *s* or an *e*, e.g. *a's* [a:s], *b's* [beəs], *c's* [seəs], *f's* or *fe* [efs] [efə], *l's* [els] or *le* [elə] (see 2.1 for the pronunciation of the alphabet and 4.2.1.1 for their diminutive forms).

4.1.7. Foreign plural formations

kommentator – *kommentatore* / *kommentators* ‘commentator’

laboratorium – *laboratoria* / *laboratoriums* ‘laboratory’

museum – *musea* / *museums* ‘museum’

sentrum – *sentra* / *sentrums* ‘centre’

katalogus – *katalogi* ‘catalogue’

akademikus – *academici* / *akademikusse* ‘academic’²⁸

There are numerous such words denoting people: *fisikus* ‘physicist’, *musikus* ‘musician’, *politikus* ‘politician’, *tegnikus* ‘technician’. The *-ci* ending is more common.

4.1.8. Irregular plurals

The plural of the following nouns is provided by a different derivative of their root:

lid – *lede* ‘limb’ (see footnote 14)

lot – *lotgevalle* ‘fate, destiny’

*raad*²⁹ – *raadgewinge* / *-s* ‘advice, help, suggestion’

beleid – *beleidsvoeringe* / *-s* ‘policy’ (also *beleide*) (see 4.1.9)

aanbod – *aanbiedinge* / *-s* ‘offer’

verbod – *verbiedinge* / *-s* ‘prohibition’

4.1.9. Nouns which are plural in English but singular in Afrikaans

The following nouns, when designating only one item, are used in the singular, unlike English, but can of course be pluralised if more than one item is involved, e.g. *'n bril* ‘a pair of glasses’, *twee brille* ‘two pairs of glasses’.

argief ‘archives’

as ‘ashes’

beleid ‘(government) policies’ (usually singular but can be pluralised, see 4.1.8)

botaniese tuin ‘botanical gardens’, but *tuine* is not uncommon.³⁰

bril ‘glasses, spectacles’

broek ‘trousers’

ekonomie ‘economics’

groente ‘vegetables’

(hoof)kwartier ‘(head)quarters’

²⁸ The stress in words ending in *-kus* that go *-ci/-kusse* in the plural is historically as shown here but it is now more common to stress the final syllable, although it is disapproved of by some (see 1.10.2.1.5).

²⁹ There are several nouns in Afrikaans which historically ended in *d* but now have alternative forms in *t* too: *raad/rade* ‘board, council’, *raat/rate* ‘remedy’; *voorsaats* ‘ancestors’ and *nasaats* ‘descendants’ are derived from *saad* ‘seed’. Note too the assimilated loanword *belt/belde* ‘belt’ where *d* replaces *t* in the plural, as well as *stad/stede* ‘town, city’ and *stat/statte* ‘native village’.

³⁰ The VOC gardens in Cape Town are called officially *die Kompanjiestuin*, but are otherwise usually referred to colloquially as *die Tuine*.

hoogland 'highlands' (e.g. *die Skotse Hoogland* 'the Scottish Highlands')
die Kaapse Vlakte 'Cape Flats'
Nederland 'Netherlands'
politiek 'politics'
skêr 'scissors'
tang 'tongs'
trap 'stairs' (but the Anglicism *trappe* is quite common)
die Uniegebou 'Union Buildings' (in Pretoria)
vakansie 'holidays'
verkyker 'binoculars'
vuurwerk 'fireworks'

Nouns ending in *-ika* which render English plurals in *-ics* are regarded as singular in Afrikaans: *elektronika* 'electronics', *dinamika* 'dynamics', *fisika* 'physics' and *meganika* 'mechanics'.

The nouns *fonds*, *fooi*, *grond* and *terrein*, although regarded as singular nouns by prescriptive works in the following meanings, are very commonly used in the plural in imitation of English practice: *fondse* 'funds', *fooie* 'fees', *persele* 'premises', *skou-*, *krieketgronde* etc. 'show, cricket grounds' etc.), *sportterreine* 'sport fields'. *Botaniese tuine* and *vuurwerke* (see above) belong in this category too.

The English loanword *jeans* commonly occurs as *jean*, with a plural *jeans*, e.g.

- (112) *Jy het darem 'n mooi jean aan.*
 'What lovely jeans you've got on.'

Many sorts of shops are referred to in English in the plural (or 's), but the singular is required in Afrikaans, e.g.

- (113) *Neem dit asseblief na die droogskoonmaker.*
 'Please take this to the dry-cleaners.'
 (114) *Jy kan dit by die apteek kry.*
 'You can get it at the chemist's.'

Nevertheless the official name of many shops as written on their windows etc. is commonly in the plural, e.g. *Van der Merwe Uitrusters* 'Van der Merwe Outfitters', *Marais & Seuns Algemene Handelaars* 'Marais & Sons General Dealers'.

The nouns *gereedskap* 'tools' and *speelgoed* 'toys' are collectives in Afrikaans. The English singulars 'tool' and 'toy' are expressed by *'n stuk gereedskap* and *'n speelding*.

Where in English two or more pre-nominal adjuncts apply to the one subsequent noun, English requires the noun to be pluralised, whereas the reverse is the case in Afrikaans, e.g. *in die sestiende en sewentiende eeu* 'in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries', *Gracht-, Eloff- en Bloemstraat* 'Gracht, Eloff and Bloem Streets'.

In SA English the many mountain ranges with Afrikaans names ending in '-berg' regard the ending as a collective whereas in Afrikaans it is seen as

singular and thus the range is referred to as *-berge*, e.g. *die Drakensberge* 'the Drakensberg', *die Magaliesberge* 'the Magaliesberg', *die Winterberge* 'the Winterberg'. Despite this rule, *die Drakensberg* is commonly referred to in the singular. Names like *die Helderberg* (near Somerset-West) and *die Simonsberg* (near Paarl), as well as *Tafelberg* 'Table Mountain' (with no article), refer to single mountains and are thus used in the singular, as is *die Overberg*, which refers to a region, not a mountain or chain of mountains, i.e. the area east of Hottentots Holland to the Breede River.

4.1.10. Nouns which are singular in English but plural in Afrikaans

One always refers to one's hair in the plural in Afrikaans, e.g. *Ek moet my hare borsel* 'I must brush my hair'.

The noun *slagpale* 'abattoir' is only used in the plural, as indeed 'abattoirs' commonly is too, although only one establishment is being referred to, e.g.

- (115) *Daar is slagpale naby ons plaas.*
'There is an abattoir near our farm.'

hoofbrekens / -brekings 'brainracking, head-ache'

lotgevalle 'fortunes/misfortunes, experiences'

Skilfer 'flake of skin' is always used in the plural in the meaning of 'dandruff'.

It is common practice in English to use the singular of animal species as a mass noun, but in such cases Afrikaans uses the plural, e.g.

- (116) *Daar is baie bokke / krokodille / olifante in hierdie reservaat.*
'There are a lot of buck/crocodile/elephant in this reserve.'

Vrugte renders both the English collective 'fruit' and the plural 'fruits'. Only the 'fruit' of a given plant is rendered by the singular *vrug*.

4.1.11. Plural of nouns of nationality

The plural of nouns of nationality is given under 4.5.2.

4.1.12. Singulars and plurals with alienable and inalienable nouns

Inalienable nouns (e.g. parts of the body) of a plural subject can occur in the singular or the plural, whereas alienable nouns (e.g. items of apparel) occur in the plural; in English the plural is more usual in both cases, e.g. inalienable:

- (117) *Hou julle bekke / julle bek.*
'Shut you mouths.'
- (118) *Hulle het ons lewens / lewe gered.*
'They saved our lives.'

alienable:

- (119) *Almal het hul jasse gegryp en het buite toe gegaan.*
 'Everyone grabbed their coats and went outside.'

4.2. Diminutisation of nouns

The diminutive is extensively used in Afrikaans. It is perhaps somewhat more common in speech than in writing, but is definitely more common in written Afrikaans than in written Dutch, for example.³¹ The way Afrikaans speakers use their diminutive ending lends Afrikaans a charm that bears comparison with the way it is used in Yiddish, for example.

All nouns can be diminutised and in a few notable cases some other parts of speech can also take a diminutive ending. The form of the ending is dependent on the phonology of the noun concerned; there are thus difficulties in the formation of the diminutive. In certain cases the root vowel of the noun is diphthongised when the diminutive ending is applied. In addition there are the various semantic connotations that nouns can acquire by being diminutised as the function of the ending is not limited merely to making things small. Many nouns, for example, only occur in a diminutised form or the diminutive produces a different lexeme from the root form.

4.2.1. Formation of the diminutive

The ending can be *-tjie*, *-jie*, *-etjie*, *-kie*, *-pie*, or *-ie*, depending on the final sound in the noun.

a) *-tjie*: nouns ending in *l*, *n*, *r* after an historically long vowel, *el*, *-en*, *-er* or a vowel take *-tjie*: *stoeltjie* 'chair', *botteltjie* 'bottle'; *skoentjie* 'shoe', *lakentjie* 'sheet'; *vloertjie* 'floor', *eiertjie* 'egg'; *paddatjie* 'frog', *vroutjie* 'woman'. Exception: *poeletjie* 'small pool, puddle'.

Note that those nouns ending in a vowel that take *'s* in the plural (see 4.1.1.2), take *'tjie* in the diminutive: *pa'tjie* 'father', *foto'tjie* 'photo', *parvenu'tjie* 'parvenu'; this includes letters of the alphabet (see 4.2.1.1).

b) *-jie*: nouns which already end in *d* or *t* simply add *-jie*: *handjie* 'hand', *matjie* 'mat'.

c) *-etjie*: monosyllabic nouns containing a short vowel and ending in *b*, *l*, *m*, *n*, *ng* or *r* add *-etjie*: *ribbetjie* 'rib', *balletjie* 'ball', *kammetjie* 'comb', *mannotjie* 'man',³² *ringetjie* 'ring',³³ *sterretjie* 'star'.³⁴ All colours when nominalised and diminutised take this ending regardless of their phonology, e.g. *die blouetjie / swartetjie* 'the (little) blue/black one' (see 4.2.5).

³¹ The higher frequency of diminutives in Afrikaans compared with Dutch is possibly explained by the fact that all together Afrikaans has preserved and elevated into the written language many structures which in Dutch are limited to the spoken language.

³² But *Boesman* – *Boesmantjie* 'Bushman'.

³³ Although it is not monosyllabic, *gesang* 'hymn' also takes *-etjie* because the preceding syllable is stressed.

³⁴ The difference between *sterretjie* (< *ster*) in group c) and *vloertjie* (< *vloer*) in group a) is that the latter contains an historically long vowel.

d) **-kie**: nouns ending in *-ing* drop the *g* and add *-kie*: *dorinkie* 'thorn', *pieinkie* 'saucer', *regerinkie* 'government'. Also *piesankie* (< *piesang*) 'banana' and *klonkie* (< *klong*) '(coloured) boy'. Nouns ending in *-eling* not denoting people take *-kie* but of those that do denote people, some belong here and some under c), e.g. *wandelinkie* 'walk'; *sendelinkie* 'missionary', *vreemdelinkie* 'stranger' but *afstammelingetjie* 'descendant', *leerlingetjie* 'school student' – these can also go *-inkie*. Note also *aantekeninkie* / *aantekeningetjie* 'note'.

e) **-pie**: nouns ending in *m* add *-pie*: *armpie* 'arm', *besempie* 'broom', *bruidegompie* 'bridegroom', *liggaampie* 'body', *probleempie* 'problem'. *Oom* 'uncle, man' has two forms, *oompie* and *omie*.

f) **-ie**: all nouns not covered by the above: *bedraggie* 'amount', *ogie* 'eye', *boekie* 'book', *ruggie* 'back', *bossie* 'bush', *duifie* 'dove', *huisie* 'house'.

4.2.1.1. Diminutive of the letters of the alphabet

The names of the letters of the alphabet can be diminutised in certain contexts, e.g. *Maak 'n b'tjie van hierdie b* 'Make a small b of this b' (see 2.1 for the pronunciation of the letters). The form of the diminutive is determined by the above rules: all letters add *'tjie*, with the exception of *f* – *f'ie* (pronounced [ɸi]), *m* – *m'etjie* (pronounced [ɛmɛci]), *n* – *n'etjie* (pronounced [ɛnɛci]), *r* – *r'etjie* (pronounced [ɛrɛci]), *s* – *s'ie* (pronounced [ɛsi]), *x* – *x'ie* (pronounced [ɸksi]).

4.2.1.2. Vowel mutation caused by addition of the diminutive ending

There are several nouns that show certain irregularities when the diminutive ending is added:

a) The following nouns that contain a short vowel in the singular, but a long vowel in the plural, have a diminutive that contains a long vowel also: *blad* / *blaaie* – *blaadjie* 'page, pamphlet',³⁶ *gat* / *gate* – *gaatjie* 'hole',³⁶ *glas* / *glase* – *glasie* 'glass', *pad* / *paaie* – *paadjie* 'road',³⁶ *spel* / *spele* – *speletjie* 'game', *vat* / *vate* – *vaatjie* 'barrel'.³⁶ *Skip* / *skepe* 'ship' has both *skep* and *skippie*. Note that not all nouns which have a short vowel in the singular and a long one in the plural, take a long vowel in the diminutive, e.g. *brug* / *brûe* – *bruggie* 'bridge', *dag* / *dae* – *daggie* 'day', *oorlog* / *oorloë* – *oorloggie* 'war', *rug* / *rûe* – *ruggie* 'back', *vlag* / *vlae* – *vlaggie* 'flag', *weg* / *weë* – *weggie* 'way' and quite a few more.

b) In *hawe* 'harbour', *lewe* 'life', *wa* 'wagon' and *wese* 'being, creature', the ending is added to the historical singular in *n* (see 4.1.4), i.e. *hawentjie*, *lewentjie* (also *lewetjie*), *waentjie* (see 4.2.1.4 for pronunciation), *wesentjie*. *Tante* 'aunt', although it has a form *tantetjie*, usually becomes *tannie*. Also *nooi* / *nôï* – *nooientjie* / *nôïntjie* 'girl' although there is no *en* in the singular.

c) The following words have two diminutive forms; the first form can be used in either the singular or the plural, but the second only occurs in the plural as

³⁶ Pronounced [bla:ici], [xa:ici] and [fa:ici] (see 4.2.1.4 and 1.3.9.1). Note too that although both *blad* and *blaar* mean 'leaf (of a tree)', *blaadjie* can only mean 'small page, pamphlet' whereas a 'small leaf' is a *blaartjie*.

³⁶ Although *skilpad* 'tortoise' goes *skilpaaie* in the plural, its diminutive is *skilpadjie*.

it is derived from the irregular plural of these words (see 4.1.5):

goedjie(s) / goetertjies 'thing, goods and ends'

kalfie(s) / kalwertjies 'calf'

kindjie(s) / kindertjies 'child'

klippie(s) / klippertjies 'stone'³⁷

lammetjie(s) / lammertjies 'lamb'

maatjie(s) / matertjies 'mate, friend'

d) *Boet* 'brother' is exceptional in that it belongs to group f) under 4.2.1. Although it ends in *t*, it does not add *-jie* and thereby undergo diphthongisation, i.e. *boetie* [buti] (compare. *voetjie* [fuici] under 4.2.1.4).

Skat has both a regular (*skatjie*) and an irregular diminutive (*skattie*) in the figurative sense of 'darling', but in the meaning of 'treasure' only *skatjie* is possible.

e) 'The Lord' is both *die Heer* and *die Here* – it depends on the context – but the latter is the more usual; the diminutive is also formed from the latter form, *Liewe Heretjie* 'Dear Lord'.

4.2.1.3. Changes to the spelling of nouns when diminutised

Nouns given in 4.2.1.f, i.e. those that take *-ie*, undergo the same spelling changes that apply when nouns are pluralised, with the exception of iii) below.

i) Nouns containing a short vowel double the consonant when *-ie* is added, e.g. *suggie* 'sigh', *bokkie* 'goat', *kappie* 'hood', *sussie* 'sister'.

Nouns like *lig* 'light', *kas* 'cupboard' and *hemp* 'shirt', whose historical final *d* or *t* returns in the plural (i.e. *hemde*, *ligte*, *kaste*), are indistinguishable from words such as *rug* and *sus* when diminutised, e.g. *liggie*, *kassie*, *hempie*; *ruggie*, *sussie*.

ii) Nouns that contain the long vowels *aa*, *ee*, or *oo* are written with one vowel letter if it stands in an open syllable, e.g. *sagie* (< *saag* 'saw'), *besie* (< *bees* 'cow'), *bogie* (< *boog* 'bow').

iii) Nouns ending in *f* that go *ww* (after short vowels) or *w* (after long vowels) in the plural, preserve the *f* in the diminutive, e.g. *rif* / *riwwe* – *riffie* 'ridge', *duif* / *duiwe* – *duifie* 'dove, pigeon', *skyf* / *skywe* – *skyfie* 'slide, chip'.

The few nouns like *brug* 'bridge' and *rug* 'back', that go *brûe* and *rûe* in the plural, also preserve the *g* in the diminutive, e.g. *bruggie*, *ruggie*. In this they do not differ from nouns ending in *g* that go *-te* in the plural, e.g. *lig* / *ligte* – *liggie* 'light', *sug* / *sugte* – *suggie* 'sigh'.

Nouns ending in *d* or *g* containing a long vowel or diphthong where that consonant is syncopated in the plural, preserve it in the diminutive, e.g. *tyd* / *tye* – *tydjie* 'time', *oog* / *oë* – *ogjie* 'eye'. Also nouns like *pad* / *paaie* – *paadjie* 'road' (see a. under 4.2.1.2 above).

³⁷ The more usual form is *klippies*; *klippertjies* (see 4.1.5) is heard chiefly in the idiom *stadig oor die klippertjies* (also *klippe*) 'slow down there/be careful'.

4.2.1.4. Pronunciation of monosyllabic nouns that form their diminutive in *-tjie* and *-jie*

Nouns in a) and b) above like *handjie*, *stoeltjie* and *vloertjie* (but not *lakentjie*, *kamertjie* etc. with more than one syllable) all have in common that the diminutive ending causes diphthongisation of the previous vowel. The final *d* or *t* (both pronounced [t]) of those in group b) combine with *jie* to produce the same sound as the *-tjie* added to those in a). The ending *-djie* / *-tjie* is pronounced [ci], a palatal sound which causes fronting to occur (see 1.4.7) The resulting diphthongs give rise in several instances to phonemes which don't otherwise exist in Afrikaans, e.g.

<i>mat</i> – <i>matjie</i> ‘mat’	pronounced [ma:ci] (but <i>ma’tjie</i> [ma:ci])
<i>maat</i> – <i>maatjie</i> ‘mate’	pronounced [ma:ci] (see <i>laaitjie</i> [la:ci])
<i>hand</i> – <i>handjie</i> ‘hand’	pronounced [ɦaɪnci]
<i>wa</i> – <i>waentjie</i> ‘wagon’	pronounced [va:ɪnci]
<i>bed</i> – <i>bedjie</i> ‘bed’	pronounced [be:ci]
<i>prent</i> – <i>prentjie</i> ‘picture’	pronounced [prɛɪnci]
<i>beet</i> – <i>beetjie</i> ‘beet’	pronounced [be:ci] (no change)
<i>neut</i> – <i>neutjie</i> ‘nut’	pronounced [nø:ci] (no change)
<i>pit</i> – <i>pitjie</i> ‘seed, pip’	pronounced [pɪ:ci]
<i>kind</i> – <i>kindjie</i> ‘child’	pronounced [kɪɪnci]
<i>riet</i> – <i>rietjie</i> ‘reed’	pronounced [ri:ci] (no change)
<i>pot</i> – <i>potjie</i> ‘pot’	pronounced [pɔ:ci]
<i>poot</i> – <i>pootjie</i> ‘paw’	pronounced [po:ci] (see <i>fooitjie</i> [fo:ci])
<i>hond</i> – <i>hondjie</i> ‘dog’	pronounced [ɦɔɪnci]
<i>oond</i> – <i>oondjie</i> ‘oven’	pronounced [oiɪnci]
<i>voet</i> – <i>voetjie</i> ‘foot’	pronounced [fu:ci]
<i>put</i> – <i>putjie</i> ‘well’	pronounced [pœ:ci]
<i>punt</i> – <i>puntjie</i> ‘point’	pronounced [pœɪnci] (see 1.3.9.1, footnote 14)
<i>muur</i> – <i>muurtjie</i> ‘wall’	pronounced [my:ci] (no change)

Note that [n] > [ɲ] in those nouns ending in *nd* or *nt* when *-(t)jie* is added.³⁸

See 1.3.9.1 for further comments on the pronunciation of diminutised nouns.

4.2.2. Nouns always used in the diminutive form

There is a large number of nouns in Afrikaans that only occur in diminutised form. There are various subcategories of these.

a) Those nouns which, although historically already diminutives, are no longer regarded as such and can thus add *-tjie* to the existing *-ie* ending, e.g. *baadjie* – *baadjietjie* ‘coat’, *ertjie* – *ertjietjie* ‘pea’, *kappie* – *kappietjie* ‘sun-bonnet, circumflex’, *koppie* – *koppietjie* ‘cup, hillock’, *mandjie* – *mandjietjie* ‘basket’, *meisie* – *meisietjie* ‘girl’, *mossie* – *mossietjie* ‘sparrow’, *niggie* – *niggietjie* ‘niece,

³⁸ There has been some disagreement among Afrikaans academics as to how the palatalised/diphthongised diminutives should be transcribed; some favour *hondjie* [ɦɔɪnci] etc., /j/ reflecting it is not a true diphthong and the /ɲ/ or /ɳ/ has been controversial too but I have followed the most usual modern practice here; /ci/ is also sometimes transcribed as /ki/ (see Odendal 1985, De Villiers 1976: 18).

female cousin', *trompoppie* – *trompoppietjie* 'drum majorette'. Some loanwords, although not strictly speaking ending in a diminutive *-ie*, are indistinguishable from those that do, thus *donkie* – *donkietjie* 'donkey', *horlosie* – *horlosietjie* 'watch, clock', *kierie* – *kierietjie* 'walking stick', *lorrie* – *lorrietjie* 'truck', *mielie* – *mielietjie* 'cob of maize', *storie* – *storiëttjie* 'story', *tamatie* – *tamatietjie* 'tomato'.

b) The following nouns, although only used in the diminutive in the meaning given here, are not further diminutised. Some may well be found without the diminutive ending, but then they have a different meaning.³⁹ There are many more nouns in this category than listed here: *appelliefie* 'gooseberry', *bakkie* 'utility van', *bessie* 'berry', *beursie* 'purse', *bergie* 'a Capetonian coloured hobo', *beskuitjie* 'biscuit',⁴⁰ *'n bietjie* 'a little bit', *boordjie* 'collar', *dassie* 'rock rabbit', *deuntjie* 'tune, ditty', *drankie* 'drink',⁴¹ *drukkie* 'cuddle', *dutjie/slapie* 'nap', *fooitjie* 'tip', *groentjie* 'freshman, new student', *hakie* 'bracket',⁴² *joggie* 'boy',⁴³ *kaartjie* 'ticket', *kassie* 'box' (i.e. tv), *kersie* 'cherry', *knoffelhuisie* 'clove of garlic', *koekie* 'biscuit',⁴⁰ *krassie* 'water-bottle, carafe', *krammetjie* 'staple',⁴⁴ *lappie* 'dish cloth', *lemmetjie* 'razor blade, lime', *lopie* 'cricket run', *moesie* 'mole, beauty spot', *naeltjie* 'navel', *nartjie* 'mandarin', *ouma-/oupagrootjie* 'great-grandfather/-mother', *paaltjie* 'wicket', *pampoentjies* 'mumps', *pikkie* 'little chap', *pinkie* 'little finger', *plakkie* 'thong, flipflop', *praatjie* 'talk, rumour', *pruimpie* 'chewing tobacco', *puisie* 'pimple', *skemerkelkie* 'cocktail party', *skyfie* 'slide, chip', *snesie* 'tissue', (*soet*)*rissie* '(red/green capsicum) chilli', *sokkie* 'sock', *soutie* 'SA Englishman', *sprokie* 'fairy-tale', *stads-/plaasjapie* 'city slicker/yokel', *stokperdjie* 'hobby(-horse)', *stompie* 'cigarette butt', *suikerklontjie* 'sugar lump', *sypaadjie* 'sidewalk', *tekkie* 'sneaker, sandshoe', *telefoonhokkie* 'telephone box', *troepie* 'soldier', *uitstappie* 'excursion', *verkleurmannetjie* 'chameleon', *vuurhoutjie* 'match', *winskopie* 'bargain'.⁴⁵

Mannetjie and *wyfie* designate the 'male' and 'female' of animals where there are no separate words for the concepts; they are also used in compounds with the name of the animal, e.g.

- (120) *Is jou kat 'n mannetjie of 'n wyfie? Dis 'n mannetjies-/wyfiekat.*
'Is your cat a male or a female? It's a male/female cat' (see 4.3).

c) The young of animals are commonly diminutised, often thereby rendering

³⁹ There are also many more nouns, like *gehug(gie)* 'hamlet', *grondboon(tjie)* 'peanut' and *inkope/inkopies doen* 'to do the shopping', for example, that most usually occur in the diminutive although the non-diminutised form remains possible without a change in meaning.

⁴⁰ (*Boere*)*beskuit* means 'rusk' and as *koek* means 'cake', a *koekie* can also mean a small 'patty cake', as well as a 'biscuit'.

⁴¹ *Drank* is 'drink' as a collective whereas an individual 'drink' is a *drankie*.

⁴² Note the expression *tussen hakies*, literal meaning 'in brackets', with the figurative meaning of 'by the way'.

⁴³ This word usually occurs in compounds, e.g. *platejoggie* 'disk jockey', *petroljoggie* 'petrol pump attendant', where it doesn't mean a boy at all.

⁴⁴ This word illustrates well the relationship between the diminutised and undiminutised forms of a noun. A small office staple is always a *krammetjie*, but *kram* exists too in the sense of a clasp or clamp, and the machine one inserts *krammetjies* with is a *krambinder* or *-hegter*.

⁴⁵ *Winskop* also occurs but the diminutive is more common, which is also the case with *party(tjie)* in the sense of a festivity.

a concept that requires a separate word in English, e.g. *hondjie* 'puppy', *katjie* 'kitten', 'n *lieflike kalfie* 'a dear little calf', *varkie* 'piglet', *renostertjie* 'baby rhinoceros'.

d) Children's names are often diminutised, if the phonology of the name lends itself to diminutisation, and the diminutive form may stay with them all their lives, depending on the relationship to the person using it, e.g. *Amandatjie*, *Thomasie*, *Wolfie* (< *Wolfaard*) (compare English *Tommy*, *Johnny*). *Hennie* (< *Hendrik*), *Kosie* (< *Jakobus*), *Sakkie* (< *Isak*) and *Sampie* (< *Samuel*), for example, are not by any means necessarily just applied to children. Some personal names are diminutives in themselves, e.g. *Sarie*, *Jannie* (not necessarily only the diminutive of *Jan*).

e) The names of many fairy tale characters and children's games are diminutised, e.g. *Aspoestertjie* 'Cinderella', *Doringrosie* 'The Sleeping Beauty', *Gouelokkies* 'Goldilocks', *Klaas Vakie* 'Sandman', *Klein Duimpie* 'Tom Thumb', *Knikkie* 'Noddy', *Liewe Heksie* 'Little Witchie' (Afrikaans fairy tale character), *Rooikappie* 'Little Red Riding Hood', *Repelsteeltjie* 'Rumpelstiltskin', *Sneeuwitjie* 'Snow White' (pronounced [sniu'voici]), *Die Drie Varkies* 'The Three Little Pigs', *Die Wolf en die Sewe Bokkies* 'the Wolf and the Seven Little Goats'; *huisie-huisie speel* 'to play mummies and daddies', *slangetjies en leertjies* 'snakes and ladders', *wegkruipertjie speel* 'to play hide and seek'.

f) The names of many plants, particularly flowers, are always in the diminutive form, e.g. *gesiggie* 'pansy', *kappertjie* 'nasturtium', *kruidjie-roer-my-nie(t)* 'touch-me-not', *leeubekkie* 'snapdragon', *madeliefie* 'daisy', *vergeet-my-nietjie* 'forget-me-not', *viooltjie* 'violet'.

g) There are countless standard expressions which incorporate diminutives, e.g. *baantjies vir boeties* 'jobs for the boys', *met iemand 'n appeltjie te skil hê* 'to have a bone to pick with someone', *doekies gaan* 'to go bye-byes', *geen doekies omdraai* 'to pull no punches', *op sy eentjie* 'on his own', 'n *hele entjie* 'quite a way', *hondjieswem* 'dog-paddle', 'n *knippie/knypie sout* 'a pinch of salt', *oor koeitjies en kalfies praat* 'to engage in small talk', 'n *laatlammietjie* 'late-born child', *iemand 'n luitjie gee* 'to give someone a ring', *in jou noppies wees met iets* 'to be tickled pink with something', *vir iemand ogies maak* 'to make eyes at someone', *in 'n ommesientjie* 'in no time', 'n *potjie (skaak/tennis) speel* 'to play a game' (of chess, tennis), *as puntjie by paaltjie kom* 'when the crunch comes', 'n *uiltjie knip* 'to have a snooze', *by iemand witvoetjie soek* 'to toady to someone', *vrotpootjie kry* 'to get footrot', 'n *handjievool* 'a hand full'.

h) The humorous potential of the diminutive in Afrikaans is well illustrated by the following colloquial neologisms: *boetebessie* 'metre maid', *duinebesie* 'beach buggy', *klompiepompe* 'gang bang', *koffiemoffie* 'airline steward' (< *moffie*) = 'homosexual', *poeslekkertjie* 'lap dog' (*poes* = 'cunt'), *vroetelvarkie* 'sugar daddy'.

i) Some compound nouns always diminutise the first part of the compound, commonly requiring a medial *s* (see 15.2.1.1), e.g. *blikkiesbier/-kos* 'canned beer/food', *pand[jies]winkel* 'pawn shop', *potjiekos* 'pot stew', *strokiesverhaal* 'comic strip'.

j) All Afrikaans universities have a diminutised nickname for their students normally derived from the (former) abbreviation of the institution concerned, e.g. *Kousie* 'a student of the University of the Orange Free State', *Matie* 'a

student of the University of Stellenbosch', *Puk(kie)*⁶ 'a student of the University of Potchefstroom', *Raukie* 'a student of the Rand Afrikaans University', *Tukkie* 'a student of the University of Pretoria'. Also *Ikey* 'a student of the University of Cape Town' and *Witsie* 'a student of the University of the Witwatersrand', both English universities.

4.2.3. Other semantic connotations of the diminutive

a) As mentioned under b) above, many nouns take on a new meaning when diminutised and in order to have that meaning, they must be used in the diminutive form. This does not mean, however, that the original meaning of the root form cannot be retained when these words are diminutised, e.g. *brood* '(loaf of) bread' – *broodjie* 'small loaf' and 'breadroll', *kaart* 'map', 'card' – *kaartjie* 'little map', 'card' and 'ticket', *koek* 'cake' – *koekie* 'little cake' and 'biscuit', *lem* 'knife blade' – *lemmetjie* 'little blade' and 'razor blade'.

b) It is impossible to list all such cases but *brood* 'bread' – *broodjie* is also a good example of another semantic function of the diminutive ending: in addition to meaning 'breadroll', also rendered by *broodrolletjie*, it has given rise to the derivative *toebroodjie* 'sandwich' and can be used in a figurative sense where no reference to the size of the loaf is being made, e.g.

- (121) *Jy het darem vandag 'n lekker broodjie gebak.*
'You really baked a delicious loaf of bread today.'

In a similar fashion one could refer to a wine as *nie 'n slegte wyntjie nie* 'not a bad little wine'. The ending in these cases is helping to impart one's approval.

c) In a similar way the diminutive can be used to impart a feeling of *geselligheid* 'cosiness', e.g.

- (122) *Sal ons vanaand 'n vleisie braai?*
'Shall we have a barbecue tonight?'
(123) *Dit was nogal 'n gesellige fesie gewees, dink jy nie?*
'It was quite a nice party, don't you think so?'

d) The diminutive can be used for euphemistic effect; for example, whereas the term *kaffer* for a black is considered a term of abuse, a white might patronisingly say of a servant *My tuinjong is 'n goeie kaffertjie* 'My garden boy is a good old kaffir'. The euphemistic effect is so great here that this word is used as an endearment by whites to their children.

e) Akin with d) is the use of the diminutive ending in many endearments (*troetelnaampies*), which is closely related to its potential to express cuteness, e.g. *bobbejaantjie* 'baboon',⁷ *goggie* (< *gogga*) 'insect', *hartjie* 'dear heart', *lammie* (< *lam*) 'lamb',⁸ *liefie* 'dearie', *moekie* 'mum', *omie* 'uncle', *oumie* (< *ouma*) 'grandma', *poppie* (< *pop*) 'doll', *skattie* / *skatjie* 'darling'.

⁶ This is more usually not diminutised.

⁷ Both *bobbejaantjie* and *goggie* are said to children in much the same way as we might say 'you little monkey'.

⁸ *Lammie*, *omie* and *skattie* all have regular diminutive forms, i.e. *lammetjie*, *oompie* and *skatjie*, when not used as endearments, although *skatjie* can have that function too.

f) The diminutive can add a condescending, derisive or disapproving connotation to what is being said, e.g. *'n staatsamptenaar* 'a petty official', *sy klompie besittinkies* 'his few miserable possessions'. Also:

- (124) *Hy praat so 'n snaakse taaltjie. Ek kan g'n woord daarvan verstaan nie.*
'He talks such a funny lingo. I can't understand a word of it.'
- (125) *Vir so'n klein landjie het hulle darem 'n groot bek.*
'For such a small country, they've sure got a big mouth.'
- (126) *Is jy bang jou handjies sal vuil word?*
'Are you afraid you're going to get your hands dirty?'
- (127) *Die pensioengeldjies is skraps.*
'The pension monies are meagre.'
- (128) *A. Hitler onder in die linkerhoek van 'n skildery maak 'n middelmatige kunswerkie duisende rande werd.*
'A. Hitler down in the left-hand corner of a painting makes a rather average work of art worth thousands of rand' (disparaging comment about Hitler's talent as an artist).

g) One will encounter many one-off uses of the diminutive where it is being used to create a certain effect in a particular context; this is commonly the case in advertising, e.g.

- (129) *Tipp-Ex, die verstommendste verdwynkunsie ter wêreld.*
'Tipp-Ex, the most amazing little vanishing stunt in the world.'
- (130) *Die besoeker wat sy toer in Durban begin, kry daar reeds 'n smakie van die Ooste en van Britse tradisies.*
'The visitor who starts his tour in Durban already gets some taste there of the Far East and of British traditions.'
- (131) *Buite Durban kry hy ook 'n kykie in die lewe van die tradisionele Zoeloe.*
'Outside Durban he also gets a bit of insight into the life of the traditional Zulu.'

Also: *'n lekker ligte etetjie* 'a deliciously light snack', *Wat van 'n teetjie?* 'What about a cuppa?'

h) See 5.6.1 note 22 for comments on *dingetjie* versus *dinges* 'thingummy-bob'.

i) See appendix 1, text 3 for an example of the diminutive in use.

4.2.4. Colloquial mass noun diminutives in *-ies*

In very colloquial Afrikaans, particularly when speaking to children, a diminutive ending in *-ies* is applied to the following mass nouns (mostly liquid foods): *bossies(tee)* 'rooibos tea', *drankies* 'drink', *kossies* 'food', *melkies* 'milk', *sappies* 'juice', *sepies* 'soap', *soppies* 'soup', *sousies* 'sauce', *watertjies* 'water', e.g.

- (132) *Kom nou mamma se liefie, eet nou jou kossies toe.*
'Come on mummy's little darling, eat your food now.'

- (133) *Moenie vergeet om vir die kat 'n bietjie melkies te gee nie.*
 'Don't forget to give the cat some milk' (not necessarily only said to a child).

4.2.5. Diminutisation of non-nominal parts of speech.

There are a few instances where non-nouns can be diminutised.

a) When colours are used nominally to render 'the blue/green/white one' etc., this can either be done by the simple addition of *-e*, as is the case with all adjectives (see 6.3) or alternatively they can be nominalised by the suffixing of *-etjie*, e.g. *die blouetjie/groenetjie/wittetjie* (= *die blou/groen/wit enetjie/een* = *die bloue/groene/witte*); compare colloquial English 'the reddy = the red one'. Note *die groentjie* 'greenhorn, freshman'.

Various isolated other adjectives are nominalised in the same way but in this case the process has been lexicalised, e.g. *die kleintjie(s)* 'the little one(s)', (*ouma-/oupa*)/*grootjie* 'great grandmother/father'.

b) Although as a general rule no distinction is made in Afrikaans between adjectives and adverbs, a number of adverbs have been derived from the adjectives by the addition of the diminutive ending *-(t)jie* plus an adverbial *-s* (see 15.4 note 6), e.g. *liggies* 'lightly', *koeltjies* 'coolly', *mooitjies* 'nicely', *warmpies* 'warmly', *netjies*⁹ 'nicely', *saggies* 'softly', *stadigies* 'slowly'; *soetjies/liefies glimlag* 'to smile sweetly'. Also:

- (134) *Ek laat die sifdeur suutjies agter my toegaan.*
 'I let the fly-wire door quietly close behind me'
 (**suut* [= *soet*] only occurs in this word).
- (135) *Hy is skuldig bevind en moes haar mooi-tjies R140 betaal.*
 'He was found guilty and jolly well had to pay her R140.'

This process is generally speaking no longer productive but has been lexicalised. The existence of such alternative adverbial formations does not mean that the root forms can't function as adverbs too.

c) The cardinal numerals 2-4 can be diminutised when nominalised with reference to people, e.g. *ons tweetjies/drietjies/viertjies* 'the two/three/four of us'. *Enetjie* (< *een*), on the other hand is very commonly used with reference to anything, particularly when nominalising an adjective but also in other cases; in this sense it has become a recognised pronoun (see a. above, 6.3 and 5.2.7).

d) The pronouns *dit en dat* 'this and that' and *iets* 'something' can be diminutised with little change in meaning, e.g. *ditjies en datjies*, *ietsie*¹⁰ (compare 'a little something', see 5.6.1 note 13).

The personal pronoun *ons* in the compound *onderonsie* 'tête-à-tête' takes the diminutive ending.

e) See c) above for use of the pronoun *enetjie*.

⁹ *Netjies* is in turn also used as an adjective, both attributively and predicatively, e.g. *'n netjiese hemp* 'a nice (neat) shirt', and *warmpies* is used colloquially as a predicative adjective.

¹⁰ Very colloquially also *ietsietjie* (see 4.2.2).

4.3. Feminising endings

The endings *-e*, *-es*, *-esse*, *-in*, *-ster* and *-trise* can be added to nomina agentis of various derivation to indicate the female of the species. The possibility of distinguishing in this way between the male and the female, something which is not commonly done in English, is generally speaking also less common in Afrikaans than in other European languages, e.g. *student/studente* 'student', *onderwyser/onderwyseres* 'teacher', *held/heldin* 'hero/heroine', *skrywer/skryfster* 'author'. (Note that the endings *-es* and *-in* are stressed.) There are of course cases where the distinction is always made, *prins/prinses* 'prince/princess' but they do not always correspond with English, e.g. *vriend/vriendin* 'friend'. Whether the distinction is made or not has been largely lexicalised.

Which ending is added to a particular noun depends on the derivation of the noun:

-e, a French ending, is added to loanwords in *-ent*, e.g. *assistente, dosente* 'lecturer'. It can also be added to indigenous compounds in *-genoot*, e.g. *eggenote* 'spouse', *landgenote* 'compatriot'.

This ending seems to be waning in popularity, probably due to confusion with the plural ending,⁵¹ i.e. the historical feminine of *student* is *studente* (plural *studentes*), which falls together with the plural of the masculine, thus *student* now designates both the male and the female, e.g.

(136) *Sy is 'n goeie student.*

'She is a good student.'

(137) *Dorothea van Zyl, 'n dosent(e) in Afrikaans aan die Universiteit van Stellenbosch, skryf dat...*

'Dorothea van Zyl, a lecturer in Afrikaans at the University of Stellenbosch, writes that...'

Here the ending could be used, as no ambiguity is possible, but it is not necessary.

-es, a French ending, which is more usually added to, than omitted from, the words to which it is applied; it has been largely lexicalised, e.g. *barones* 'baroness', *minnares* 'lover', *prinses* 'princess', *sangeres* 'singer'. With reference to a profession, however, it may be omitted, e.g. *bestuurderes* 'manager', *onderwyseres* 'teacher'. Also:

(138) *Elisabeth Eybers word op 26 Feb. 74, en is die enigste lewende digter uit die beroemde geslag van Dertig. Aanstaaende maand bring die digteres Lina Spies in 'n artikel hulde aan haar.*

'Elisabeth Eybers turns 74 on the 26th of February and is the only living poet of the famous Thirties generation. Next month the poet Lina Spies pays homage to her in an article.'

-esse, a French ending, is only added to nouns whose masculine form ends in *-aris*, e.g. *bibliotekaris* > *bibliotekaresse* 'librarian', *sekretaris* > *sekretaresse*

⁵¹ Strictly speaking nouns in *-is* (plural *-iste*) have a fem form in *-iste* but the distinction is now seldom made for the same reason, e.g. *orrelis* > *orreliste* 'organist'.

'secretary'. Where such a distinction is made between the two sexes by means of this ending, it is usual to apply it.

-in, an indigenous ending which bears a French stress, has been lexicalised and is consequently always applied to the words that take it when reference is being made to a female, e.g. *godin* 'goddess', *gravin* 'countess', *heldin* 'heroine', *Jodin* 'Jewess', *keiserin* 'empress', *koningin* 'queen', *slavin* 'slave'. Unlike all other endings discussed here, this ending is also applied to the female of several common species of animals, e.g. *berin* 'bear', *leeuin* 'lioness', *wolvin* 'wolf'. Generally speaking however, it is more common to indicate female animals by either prefixing or suffixing *wyfie* to the masculine, e.g. *wyfieaap/aapwyfie* 'female monkey' (see 4.2.2.b).

-ster, nouns denoting a profession derived from verbal stems take this ending,⁸² e.g. *huishoudster* 'house-keeper', *dameshaarkapster* 'ladies hairdresser', *leidster* 'leader', (*kinder*)*oppasster* 'baby-sitter'.

Where a feminine derivative in **-ster** can be formed, the masculine form commonly dominates, e.g.

- (139) *Volgens die Amerikaanse seksnavorsers, Shirley Clifton, is daar...*
'According to the American sexologist, Shirley Clifton, there are...'

The masculine of *tikster* 'typist' does not really exist and *verpleegster* 'nurse' is more common than the masculine *verpleër* for obvious reasons.

-trise, a French ending which indicates the feminine of the masculine ending **-teur** (= English **-tor**), e.g. *akteur* > *aktrise* 'actor', *direkteur* > *direktrise* 'director', *inspekteur* > *inspektrise* 'inspector', *lektor* > *lektrise* 'lecturer'. Where such a distinction exists, it is usual to apply it in the case of this ending, but the masculine form may also apply to a female if the context otherwise makes the gender clear, e.g.

- (140) *Op 'n jeugdige 32 jaar is Trix aangestel as die eerste vroulike direkteur van 'n bekende maatskappy.*
'At the youthful age of 32 Trix was appointed as the first female director of a well-known company.'

4.3.1. Nouns of nationality

Nouns of nationality do not require a separate feminine form except those few that end in **-man**, in which case the adjective is used, a form which is always possible with reference to both men and women, e.g. *Sy is Duits/'n Duitser* 'She is German/a German', but *Hy is Engels/'n Engelsman* 'He is English/an Englishman', *Sy is Engels* 'She is English' (also *Frans/Fransman* 'French/Frenchman'). In this respect Afrikaans is very like English (see 4.5.2 for a list of countries and their inhabitants).

⁸² Nouns that take **-e** are also derived from verbs but in that case the feminine ending is added to the masculine form rather than being derived directly from the verbal stem as is the case with **-ster**.

4.4. Possession

4.4.1. Use of *se*

The particle *se*, historically an unemphatic form of *sy[n]*⁵³ 'his', fulfils a role in Afrikaans very similar to that of apostrophe *s* (or *s* apostrophe) in English, but its functions are even wider, e.g. *die kind se toontjie* 'the child's toe', *die kinders se toontjies* 'the children's toes', *Suid Afrika se hoofstad* 'South Africa's capital'. Also:

- (141) *Ek is bereid om al die ma's se vrae te beantwoord.*
'I am prepared to answer all the mothers' questions.'
- (142) *Die Staatspresident het sy en sy regering se innigste medelye betuig.*
'The State President expressed his and his government's sincerest sympathy.'

Just as a double Anglo-Saxon genitive is possible in English, so is a double *se* construction in Afrikaans, e.g.

- (143) *ons bure se vriende se seun*
'our neighbours' friends' son'
- (144) *Die kind se potlood se punt is stomp.*
'The end of that child's pencil is blunt.'
- (145) *'n Kennis van my oom se pa se weet nie wat nie.*
'A friend of my uncle's father's god knows what.'

As in colloquial English, the possessive can be tacked on to the end of a clause or phrase that further qualifies the noun to which it refers, e.g.

- (146) *Dit was die vrou wat so pas hier was se kind.*
'It was the lady who was just here's child.'
- (147) *die mense wat teenoor bly se hond*
'the people across the road's dog'

Both the previous examples may be possible in spoken English – although some speakers may not even agree with that – but in Afrikaans they are permissible in both speech and writing, even where such constructions are not at all possible even in spoken English, e.g.

- (148) *Vyf van die twaalf mense wat nog in die hospitaal behandel word, se toestand is kritiek.*
'The condition of five of the twelve people that are still being treated in hospital is critical.'
- (149) *Juis die lande en wêrelddele wat dit die minste kan bekostig, se bevolkings groei die vinnigste.*
'The populations of those countries and continents which can afford it least are growing fastest.'

⁵³ *Sy*, an archaic form of *se*, is sometimes still found; *die Here sy naam ydel gebruik* 'to use the Lord's name in vain'.

Periphrastic forms with *van* 'of' are not as common in Afrikaans as in English, e.g. *die seun van ons bure se vriende*; although this is possible in this case because of the double possessive, *mevrou Van Rooyen se kind* is definitely more usual than *die kind van mevrou Van Rooyen*.⁶⁴

There are rules in English which determine which nouns can take 's; it is not usual, for example, to use it with inanimate objects, e.g. *that building's roof* is better said *the roof of that building*, but *that dog's tail* is quite acceptable. This distinction does not exist in Afrikaans, thus *dié gebou se dak* and *dié hond se stert*.

It is usual in English to use the possessive 's' in expressions of time, as indeed it is in Afrikaans too, e.g. *'n week se werk* 'a week's work', *hoeveel / twee uur se ry* 'how many/two hours' drive', and even *nou se dae* 'nowadays' (colloquial); *Die brief het die vorige dag se datum gehad* 'The letter had the previous day's date on it'. Note however that 'in two days'/years'/months' time' etc. is rendered by the preposition *oor*, e.g. *Hy kom oor twee dae terug* 'He's coming back in two days' time'. In *Hoeveel se suiker het jy gekoop*, *hoeveel se* refers to the sum of money spent, not the quantity of sugar bought, i.e. How much worth of sugar did you buy?

Se can be used with measures where it often corresponds to English 'worth of', e.g. *vyf rand se biltong* 'five rands worth of biltong', *miljoene rand se skade* 'millions of rands worth of damage', *tien kilo se aartappels* 'ten kilos (worth) of potatoes'. Also *Hoeveel se suiker het jy gekoop?* 'How much was the sugar you bought?'

With reference to the clock, *se kant* renders 'at approximately', e.g. *tien uur se kant* 'at about ten o'clock', *Hy kom halfsewe se kant* 'He's coming at about half past six'.

Indefinite, interrogative, relative and demonstrative pronouns indicating possession also employ *se*, e.g.

- (150) *Ek het niemand se geld gesteel nie/iemand se geld gesteel.*
'I stole nobody's money/somebody's money.'
- (151) *Ons het mekaar se/elkeen se kinders baie lief.*
'We love each other's/everyone's children.'
- (152) *Wie se handsak is dit?*
'Whose handbag is this?'
- (153) *Ek weet nie wie se handsak dit is nie*
'I don't know whose handbag it is.'
- (154) *Die mense wie se plase deur die regering opgekoop is, moet nou 'n ander een probeer koop.*
'The people whose farms have been bought up by the government now have to try and buy another.'
- (155) *Dit is baie ou koppies. Kyk, hierdie (een) se/dié se oortjie het afgebreek.*
'These are very old cups. Look, this one's/that one's handle has broken off.'

⁶⁴ It is interesting to compare the following: *die stadsraad van Bloemfontein*, *Bloemfontein se stadsraad*, *die Bloemfonteinse stadsraad* 'the Bloemfontein city council'; in speech *Bloemfontein se* and *Bloemfonteinse* fall together (see 4.5.3.2.3.1).

- (156) *Baie van hulle se Zoeloe is swak.*
 'The Zulu of many of them is weak.'

Use of the possessive form of the demonstrative can avoid the possible ambiguity of third person possessive pronouns, e.g.

- (157) *Die Transvaalse separatiste is vies vir die AWB oor dié se flirtasie met die KP.*
 'The Transvaal separatists are huffy with the AWB about their (i.e. the AWB's) flirtation with the CP.'
- (158) *Koos en Jan en dié se pa*
 'Koos and Jan and his (i.e. Jan's) father.'

As these examples illustrate, *dié se* is equivalent to 'the latter's', the means English employs to overcome the ambiguity (see 5.1.2.2).

Watsenaam 'What's-his-name' (i.e. Joe Blow), e.g. *Ek het gister watsenaam by die motorhawe gesien* 'I saw what's his name at the garage yesterday' (see indefinite and relative pronouns for comments on *wie se/wat se*).

Se wêreld commonly follows place names rendering 'the area/region of', e.g. *Ek het grootgeword in Tulbagh se wêreld* 'I grew up in the Tulbagh region'.

Note that possessive *se* falls together in speech with the adjectival ending *-se* affixed to place names, but the syntax accompanying the two is different, and thus a falling together is avoided, e.g. *die Kimberleyse diamantvelde* 'the Kimberley diamond fields', *Kimberley se diamantvelde* 'Kimberley's diamond fields'.

4.4.2. Use of *s'n/s'ne*

Running parallel with the use of *se* and *s'n/s'ne* in combination with the plural of possessive pronouns (see 5.1 and 5.1.2.1), is the use of these particles with nouns. In all the cases mentioned above in the discussion on *se, s'n/s'ne* renders an English apostrophe *s* where the noun or pronoun concerned is used independently, i.e. *Piet se vrou* 'Piet's wife', but *Piet s'n* 'Piet's' (wife understood), e.g.

- (159) *Dis Amanda se ma s'n.*
 'It's Amanda's mother's.'
- (160) *Daardie hond se stert is kort maar hierdie s'n is lang.*
 'That dog's tail is short but this one's is long.'
- (161) *Ek weet nie wie s'n dit is nie.*
 'I don't know whose it is.'
- (162) *Vanjaar se oes is twee keer so groot soos verlede jaar s'n.*
 'This year's harvest is twice as big as last year's.'

4.5. Proper nouns

4.5.1. Personal names

4.5.1.1. Afrikaans christian names (*voornamen*)

It has long been a Dutch tradition to give a child a number of christian names, although this is now waning, e.g. *Johannes Stefanus Cornelius Jakobus de Wet*. It is common for a christian name to be abbreviated and/or diminutised, e.g. *Johannes* > *Johan/Jan* > *Jannie*, *Magdalena* > *Dalena/Magda/Maggie/Lena/Lena/Lien* > *Lientjie*; *Daniël* > *Danie*, *Dawid* > *Dawie*, *Ignatius* > *Naas/Natie*, *Stefanus* > *Fanie*, *Frederik* > *Frikkie/Freek*, *Gabriël* > *Gawie*, *Hendrik* > *Hennie*, *Jakobus* > *Koos/Kosie*, *Isaak* > *Sakkie*, *Samuel* > *Sampie*, *Christoffel* > *Stoffel*.

Surnames are commonly used as christian names too, e.g. *De Wet Schoeman*, *Henning Snyman*, *Snyman van Rensburg*, *Du Toit van Rooyen*, *Treurnicht du Toit*.

See 1.6.2. for the pronunciation of certain christian names.

It is common to place *ou* (literally 'old') before male christian names as a form of honorific implying mateship, e.g.

- (163) *Ou Piet, jy weet, hy het 'n vrek mooi vrou.*
'Piet, you know, has a bloody beautiful wife.'

Compare *Hoe gaan dit, ou kêrel?* 'How are going, my old friend?' It is not as commonly used before female christian names.

4.5.1.2. Afrikaans surnames (*vanne*)

When the christian name or initial(s) precede surnames in *de*,⁵⁶ *du*, *le*, *la*, *van* etc. these particles are written with small letters, but when they are omitted, these words are capitalised, e.g. *Die Van Stadens* bly in hierdie straat 'The van Stadens live in this street, *meneer Van Staden*, *Louis du Plessis*, *mevrouw G. de Wet*, *Simon van der Stel*, *Goewerneur Van der Stel*. Note that the titles, Mr. Mrs. etc. are written with small letters in Afrikaans. In phone books, library catalogues etc. Afrikaans speakers have adopted the English system of alphabetising such names under *de*, *du*, *van* etc., unlike the Dutch.

The plural of family names ending in silent *s* and *z*, is 's, which is pronounced, e.g. *die De Villiers's*, *die Du Preez's* (pronounced [di dy'preəs]). However, names ending in *x* simply take an *s* without an apostrophe, e.g. *die Le Rouxs* (pronounced [di lə'ru:s]), as do many polysyllabic names not otherwise accounted for here, e.g. *die Malans*, *die Van Stadens*, *die Naudés*. Surnames ending in *i*, *o*, *u* and stressed *a* take apostrophe *s*, e.g. *die Hugo's*, but *die Bothas* (unstressed *a*). Those ending in silent *e* take 'e, as do monosyllabic names not covered by the above rules, e.g. *die Terblanche'e*, *die Smutse*, *die Spiese*.

⁵⁶ *De* can be either of French origin, as in *De Villiers* (= 'of'), or of Dutch origin, as in *De Wet* (= 'the'), the two having nothing to do with each other.

Cape Coloureds, although also often bearing Afrikaans (as well as English) names, also have surnames which are peculiar to them, e.g. *Adonis*, *Bandjies*, *Jantjies*, *September* (and other months), *Plaatjies*.

See 1.6.1 for the pronunciation difficulties presented by certain surnames.

4.5.1.3. Transliteration of foreign names from non-Latin alphabets

Names of historical and political figures from language areas that do not use the Latin alphabet are transliterated according to the phonemics of Afrikaans and can thus differ from their form in English, e.g. *Bresjnief* 'Brezhnev', *Djengis / Djingis Khan* 'Genghis Khan', *Gorbatsjof* 'Gorbachov', *Mao Tsetoeng* 'Mao Tsetung', *Tsjiang Kai-sjek* 'Chiang Kai-shek', *Tsjaikowski* 'Tchaikovsky', *Tsjechof* 'Chekov'.

Such transliteration also applies to proper nouns other than personal names, e.g. *Tsjernobil* 'Chernobyl', *Likoed* 'Likud' (the Israeli political party), *Setsjwan* 'Sechuan'.

4.5.1.4. Historical personages

Many characters from history have an Afrikaans name, most of them inherited from Dutch, e.g. *Calvyn*⁶⁶ 'Calvin', *Don Quichot* 'Don Quixote', *Johanna van Arkel* 'Joan of Arc', *pous Johannes Paulus* 'Pope John Paul', *Magellaan* 'Magellan', *Tsjaka* 'Shaka' (the Zulu chief).

The names of the kings and queens of Europe, including those of England, are translated, e.g. *Lodewyk die XIVde* 'Louis the 14th', *Lodewyk van Beiere* 'Ludwig of Bavaria', *Hendrik die Agtste* 'Henry VIII', *Karel die Eerste* 'Charles I', *Jakobus die Tweede* 'James II', *Willem die Vierde* 'William IV'. *Koning George*, *Koningin Mary* en *Koningin Anne* of England remain untranslated, as will the forthcoming *Koning Charles*.

4.5.1.5. Characters from classical antiquity

Many names from antiquity are somewhat different in Afrikaans, Roman names frequently retaining their original Latin form, e.g. *Hadrianus* 'Hadrian', *Horatius* 'Horace', *Plinius* 'Pliny'. Sometimes the difference is merely one of spelling, e.g. *Kleopatra*, *Sophokles*. It is impossible to give a comprehensive list of such names here. The recommended bilingual dictionary (Bosman i.a. 1984) includes them and the *Taalkommissie* of the *Suid-Afrikaanse Akademie vir Wetenskap en Kuns* has produced a *Lys klassieke eiename* (Tafelberg, 1984).

⁶⁶ But note *Calvinists(te)* 'Calvinist(s)'.

4.5.1.6. Biblical characters

The names of many biblical personages differ in Afrikaans from English. Afrikaans-speaking South Africans know the Bible so thoroughly it is as well to be acquainted with the differences, e.g.

<i>Daniël</i>	'Daniel'
<i>Deborah</i>	'Deborah'
<i>Delilla</i>	'Delilah'
<i>Esegiël</i>	'Ezekiel'
<i>Esra</i>	'Ezra'
<i>Eva</i>	'Eve'
<i>Gam</i>	'Ham'
<i>Goliath</i>	'Goliath'
<i>Isak</i>	'Isaac'
<i>Jesaja</i>	'Isaiah'
<i>Johannes</i>	'John'
<i>Jona</i>	'Jonah'
<i>Kain</i>	'Cain'
<i>Lukas</i>	'Luke'
<i>Markus</i>	'Mark'
<i>Mattheüs</i>	'Matthew'
<i>Noag</i>	'Noah'
<i>Petrus</i>	'Peter'
<i>Ragel</i>	'Rachel'
<i>Rut</i>	'Ruth'
<i>Salomie</i>	'Salome'
<i>Salomo</i>	'Solomon'
<i>Simson</i>	'Samson'

Bosman's (1984) bilingual dictionary includes such names.

4.5.1.7. Fairy-tale characters

The names of well-known fairy-tale characters are usually diminutised in Afrikaans, e.g. *Aspoestertjie* 'Cinderella', *Gouelokkies* 'Goldilocks', *Rooikappie* 'Little Red Riding Hood', *Knikkie* 'Noddy', *Doringrosie* 'the Sleeping Beauty', *Klein Duimpie* 'Tom Thumb', *Sneeuwitjie* 'Snow-white' (pronounced [sniu'voici]) (see 4.2.2.e).

4.5.2. List of countries, inhabitants and relevant adjective (language)

(superscript numbers refer to points enumerated in section 4.5.2.1)

	Country	Inhabitant/plural	Adjective
Afghanistan	<i>Afganistan</i>	<i>Afgaan / Afgane</i>	<i>Afgaans</i> ¹
Africa	<i>Afrika</i>	<i>Afrikaan / Afrikane</i>	<i>Afrika</i> ²
Albania	<i>Albanië</i>	<i>Albanees / Albanese</i>	<i>Albanees</i>

	Country	Inhabitant/plural	Adjective
Algeria	<i>Algerië</i>	<i>Algeryn / Algeryne</i>	<i>Algeryns</i>
America	<i>Amerika</i>	<i>Amerikaner / Amerikaners</i>	<i>Amerikaans</i>
Angola	<i>Angola</i>	<i>Angolees / Angolese</i>	<i>Angolees</i>
(Saudi) Arabia	<i>(Saoedi-)Arabië</i>	<i>Arabier / Arabiere</i>	<i>Arabies</i>
Argentina	<i>Argentinië</i>	<i>Argentyn / Argentyne</i>	<i>Argentyns</i>
Armenia	<i>Armenië</i>	<i>Armeniër / Armeniërs</i>	<i>Armenies</i>
Asia	<i>Asië</i>	<i>Asiaat / Asiate³</i>	<i>Asiaties</i>
Australia	<i>Australië</i>	<i>Australiër / Austaliërs⁴</i>	<i>Australies</i>
Austria	<i>Oostenryk</i>	<i>Oostenryker / Oostenrykers</i>	<i>Oostenryks</i>
Bangladesh	<i>Bangladesj</i>		
Belgium	<i>België</i>	<i>Belg / Belge</i>	<i>Belgies</i>
Bolivia	<i>Bolivia⁵</i>	<i>Boliviaan / Boliviane</i>	<i>Boliviaans</i>
Bosnia	<i>Bosnië</i>	<i>Bosniër / Bosniër</i>	<i>Bosnies</i>
Botswana	<i>Botswana</i>	<i>Tswana / Tswanas</i>	<i>Tswana⁶</i>
Brazil	<i>Brasilië</i>	<i>Brasiliaan / Brasiliane</i>	<i>Brasiliaans</i>
Britain	<i>Brittanje</i>	<i>Brit / Britte</i>	<i>Brits</i>
Bulgaria	<i>Bulgarye</i>	<i>Bulgaar / Bulgare</i>	<i>Bulgaars</i>
Burkina Fasso	<i>Boerkina Fasso ((die) Bo-Volta)</i>		
Burma	<i>Birma</i>	<i>Birmaan / Birmane</i>	<i>Birmaans</i>
Cambodia	<i>Kambodja</i>	<i>Kambodjaan / Kambodjane</i>	<i>Kambodjaans</i>
Kampuchea	<i>Kampuchea</i>	<i>Kampucheaan / -ane</i>	<i>Kampucheaans</i>
Cameroon(s)	<i>Kameroen</i>	<i>Kameroener / -ers</i>	<i>Kameroens</i>
Canada	<i>Kanada</i>	<i>Kanadees / Kanadese</i>	<i>Kanadees</i>
Central African Republic	<i>die Sentraal-Afrikaanse Republiek</i>		
Ceylon	<i>Ceylon</i>	<i>Ceylonnees / Ceylonnese</i>	<i>Ceylonnees, Ceylons⁷</i>
Chad	<i>Tsjaad</i>	<i>Tsjadiër / Tsjadiërs</i>	<i>Tsjadies</i>
Chile	<i>Chili⁸</i>	<i>Chileen / Chilene</i>	<i>Chileens</i>
China ⁹	<i>China / Sjina</i>	<i>Chinees / Chinese -</i>	<i>Chinees</i>
Colombia	<i>Colombia⁵</i>	<i>Colombiaan / Colombiane</i>	<i>Colombiaans</i>
C'wealth of Independent States	<i>die Gemenebes van Onafhanklike State</i> (see 4.5.3.1.2)		
Comores	<i>die Comore¹⁰</i>	<i>Comoraan / Comorane</i>	<i>Comoraans</i>
Congo	<i>die Kongo</i>	<i>Kongolees / Kongolese</i>	<i>Kongolees</i>
Costa Rica	<i>Costa Rica</i>	<i>Costa Ricaan / Ricane</i>	<i>Costa Ricaans</i>
Croatia	<i>Kroasië</i>	<i>Kroaat / Kroate</i>	<i>Kroaties</i>
Cuba	<i>Kuba</i>	<i>Kubaans / Kubane</i>	<i>Kubaans</i>
Cyprus	<i>Ciprus</i>	<i>Ciprioot / Cipriote</i>	<i>Ciprioties, Cipries</i>
Czecho-Slovakia	<i>Tjeggjo-Slowakye</i>	<i>Tsjegf(goslowaak) / Tsjegge</i>	<i>Tsjeggies</i>
Denmark	<i>Denemarke</i>	<i>Deen / Dene</i>	<i>Deens</i>
Djibouti	<i>Djiboeti</i>		
Dominican Republic	<i>die Dominikaanse Republiek</i>		
Egypt	<i>Egipte</i>	<i>Egiptenaar / Egiptenare</i> (or s)	<i>Egipties</i>
England	<i>Engeland</i>	<i>Engelsman / Engelse¹¹</i>	<i>Engels</i>
Equatorial Guinea	<i>Ekwatoriaal-Guinee</i>		
Estonia	<i>Estland</i>	<i>Est(lander) / Este</i>	<i>Estlands¹²</i>
Ethiopia	<i>Ethiopië</i>	<i>Ethiopiër / Ethiopiërs</i>	<i>Ethiopies</i>

	Country	Inhabitant/plural	Adjective
Europe	<i>Europa</i>	<i>Europeër / Europeërs</i> ¹³	<i>Europees</i>
Fiji/Fidji	<i>Fidjiaan / Fidjiane</i>	<i>Fidjiaans</i>	
Finland	<i>Finland</i>	<i>Fin / Finne</i>	<i>Fins</i>
France	<i>Frankryk</i>	<i>Fransman / Franse</i>	<i>Frans</i>
Gabon	<i>Gaboen</i>	<i>Gaboennes / Gaboennese</i>	<i>Gaboennes</i>
Gambia	<i>Gambia</i> ⁵	<i>Gambiër / Gambiërs</i>	<i>Gambies</i>
Germany	<i>Duitsland</i>	<i>Duitser / Duitsers</i>	<i>Duits</i>
Federal Republic of Germany	<i>die Duitse Bondsrepubliek</i>		
Ghana	<i>Ghana</i>	<i>Ghanees / Ghanese</i>	<i>Ghanees</i>
Greece	<i>Griekeland</i>	<i>Griek / Grieke</i>	<i>Grieks</i>
Guatemala	<i>Guatemala</i>	<i>Guatemalaan / -ane</i>	<i>Guatemalaans</i> ¹⁴
Greenland	<i>Groenland</i>	<i>Groenlander / -landers</i>	<i>Groenlands</i>
Guinea	<i>Guinee</i>	<i>Guinees / Guinese</i>	<i>Guinees</i>
Haiti	<i>Haiti</i>	<i>Haitiaan / Haitiane</i>	<i>Haitiaans,</i> <i>Haities</i>
Holland	<i>Holland</i>	<i>Hollander / Hollanders</i>	<i>Hollands</i> ¹⁵
Hungary	<i>Hongarye</i>	<i>Hongaar / Hongare</i>	<i>Hongaars</i>
Iceland	<i>Ysland</i>	<i>Yslander / Yslanders</i>	<i>Yslands</i>
India	<i>Indië</i> ¹⁶	<i>Indiër / Indiërs</i> ¹⁶	<i>Indies</i>
Indonesia	<i>Indonesië</i>	<i>Indonesiër / Indonesiërs</i>	<i>Indonesies</i> ¹⁷
Iran	<i>Iran</i>	<i>Iraniërs / Iraniërs</i> ¹⁸	<i>Iraans, Iranies</i>
Iraq	<i>Irak</i>	<i>Irakees / Irakese</i> ¹⁹	<i>Iraks, Irakees</i>
Ireland	<i>Ierland</i>	<i>Ier / Iere</i>	<i>Iers</i>
Israel	<i>Israel</i>	<i>Israeli / Israeli's</i> <i>Jood / Jode</i>	<i>Israelies, Israels</i> <i>Joods (Hebreeus)</i>
Italy	<i>Italië</i>	<i>Italianer / Italianers</i>	<i>Italiaans</i>
Ivory Coast	<i>die Ivoorkus</i>		
Jamaica	<i>Jamaika</i>	<i>Jamaikaan / Jamaikane</i>	<i>Jamaikaans</i>
Japan	<i>Japan</i>	<i>Japannees / Japannees</i> <i>Japanner / Japanners</i>	<i>Japannees</i> <i>Japans</i> ²⁰
Jordan	<i>Jordanië</i>	<i>Jordaniër / Jordaniërs</i>	<i>Jordaans</i>
Kenya	<i>Kenia</i>	<i>Keniaan / Keniane</i>	<i>Keniaa(n)s</i>
Korea	<i>Korea</i>	<i>Koreaan / Koreane</i>	<i>Koreaans</i> ¹⁷
Kuweit	<i>Koeweit</i>	<i>Koeweiti / Koeweiti's</i>	<i>Koeweits</i>
Laos	<i>Laos</i>	<i>Laosiaan / Laosiane</i> <i>Laosiër / Laosiër</i>	<i>Laosiaans</i> <i>Laosies</i>
Lapland	<i>Lapland</i>	<i>Lap(lander) / Lappe</i>	<i>Laplands / Laps</i>
Latvia	<i>Letland</i>	<i>Let(lander) / Lette</i>	<i>Lets / Letties</i>
Lebanon	<i>(die) Libanon</i>	<i>Libanees / Libanese</i>	<i>Libanees</i>
Lesotho	<i>Lesotho</i>	<i>Sotho / Sothos, Basotho</i>	<i>Sotho</i> ⁶
Liberia	<i>Liberië</i>	<i>Liberiër / Liberiërs</i>	<i>Liberies</i>
Libya	<i>Libië</i>	<i>Libiër / Libiërs</i>	<i>Libies</i>
Lithuania	<i>Litauë</i> ²¹	<i>Litauer / Litauers</i>	<i>Litaus</i>
Madagascar	<i>Madagaskar</i>		<i>Malgassies</i>
Malawi	<i>Malawi</i>	<i>Malawiër / Malawiërs</i>	<i>Malawies</i> ²²
Malaya	<i>Malaja</i>	<i>Maleier / Maleiers</i> ²³	<i>Maleis</i>
Malaysia	<i>Maleisië</i>	<i>Maleisiër / Maleisiërs</i>	<i>Maleisies</i>

	Country	Inhabitant/plural	Adjective
Maldives	<i>die Maldive</i> ¹⁰		
Mali	<i>Mali</i>	<i>Malinees / Malinese</i>	<i>Malinees</i>
Malta	<i>Malta</i>	<i>Maltees / Maltese</i> <i>Malteser / Maltesers</i>	<i>Maltees</i>
Mauritania	<i>Mauritanië</i> ²⁴	<i>Mauritaniër / Mauritaniërs</i>	<i>Mauritanies</i>
Mexico	<i>Mexiko</i>	<i>Mexikaan / Mexikane</i>	<i>Mexikaans</i>
Monaco	<i>Monaco</i>	<i>Monacaan / Monacane</i>	<i>Monacaans</i> ²⁵
(Outer) Mongolia	<i>(Buite-)Mongolië</i>	<i>Mongool / Mongole</i>	<i>Mongools</i>
Morocco	<i>Marokko</i>	<i>Marokkaan / Marokkane</i>	<i>Marokkaans</i>
Mozambique	<i>Mosambiek</i>	<i>Mosambieker / Mosambiekers</i>	<i>Mosambieks</i>
Namibia	<i>Namibië</i> ²⁶	<i>Namibiër / Namibiërs</i>	<i>Namibies</i>
Nepal	<i>Nepal</i>	<i>Nepalees / Nepalese</i>	<i>Nepalees</i>
Netherlands	<i>Nederland</i>	<i>Nederlander / -ers</i>	<i>Nederlands</i> ¹⁵
New Caledonia	<i>Nieu-Caledonië</i>		
New Guinea	<i>Nieu-Guineë</i>	<i>Nieu-Guineër / -Guineërs</i> ²⁷	<i>Nieu-Guinees</i>
New Zealand	<i>Nieu-Seeland</i>	<i>Nieu-Seelander / -landers</i>	<i>Nieu-Seelands</i>
Nigeria	<i>Nigerië</i>	<i>Nigeriër / Nigeriërs</i>	<i>Nigeries</i>
Norway	<i>Noorweë</i>	<i>Noor / Nore</i> ²⁸	<i>Noors,</i> <i>Noorweegs</i> ²⁸
Pakistan	<i>Pakistan</i>	<i>Pakistani / Pakistani's</i>	<i>Pakistaans</i>
Palestine	<i>Palestina</i>	<i>Palestyn / Palestyne</i>	<i>Palestyns</i>
Panama	<i>Panama</i>	<i>Panamees / Panamese</i>	<i>Panamees</i>
Paraguay	<i>Paraguay</i>	<i>Paraguaan / Paraguane</i>	<i>Paraguaans</i> ¹⁴
Persia	<i>Persië</i>	<i>Pers / Perse</i>	<i>Persies</i>
Peru	<i>Peru</i>	<i>Peruaan / Peruane</i>	<i>Peruaans</i> ²⁹
Philippines	<i>Filippyne</i>	<i>Filippyner / Filippyners</i>	<i>Filippyns</i>
Poland	<i>Pole</i>	<i>Pool / Pole</i>	<i>Pools</i>
Portugal	<i>Portugal</i>	<i>Portugees / Portugese</i>	<i>Portugees</i>
Rhodesia	<i>Rhodesië</i>	<i>Rhodesiër / Rhodesiërs</i>	<i>Rhodesies</i> ¹⁷
Romania	<i>Roemenië</i>	<i>Roemeen / Roemene</i> ³⁰	<i>Roemeens</i> ³¹
Russia	<i>Rusland</i>	<i>Rus / Russe</i>	<i>Russies</i>
Seychelles	<i>die Seychelle</i> ³⁰		
Singapore	<i>Singapoer</i>		
Slovenia	<i>Slowenië</i>	<i>Sloween / Slowene</i>	<i>Sloweens</i>
Somalia	<i>Somalië</i>	<i>Somali / Somali's</i>	<i>Somali</i>
South Africa	<i>Suid-Afrika</i>	<i>Suid-Afrikaner / -ers</i>	<i>Suid-Afrikaans</i> ³²
Sri Lanka	<i>Sri Lanka</i>	<i>Srilankaan / Srilankane</i>	<i>Srilankaans</i>
Soviet Union	<i>die Sowjet-Unie</i> (see C'wealth of Independent States under 4.5.3.1.2)		
Spain	<i>Spanje</i>	<i>Spanjaard / Spanjaarde</i>	<i>Spaans</i>
Sudan	<i>die Soedan</i>	<i>Soedannees / Soedannese</i>	<i>Soedannees,</i> <i>Soedans</i>
Surinam	<i>Suriname</i>	<i>Surinamer / Surinamers</i>	<i>Surinaams</i>
Swaziland	<i>Swaziland</i>	<i>Swazi / Swazi's</i>	<i>Swazi</i> ⁶
Sweden	<i>Swede</i>	<i>Sweed / Swede</i>	<i>Sweeds</i>
Switzerland	<i>Switserland</i>	<i>Switser / Switsers</i>	<i>Switsers</i>
Syria	<i>Sirië</i>	<i>Siriër / Siriërs</i>	<i>Siries</i>
Tahiti	<i>Tahiti</i>	<i>Tahitiaan / Tahitiane</i>	<i>Tahitiaans</i>

	Country	Inhabitant/plural	Adjective
Taiwan	<i>Taiwan</i>	<i>Taiwannees / Taiwanese</i>	<i>Taiwannees</i> ^{9, 22}
Tanzania	<i>Tanzanië</i>	<i>Tanzaniër / Tanzaniërs</i>	<i>Tanzanies</i>
Thailand	<i>Thailand</i>	<i>Thailander / Thailanders</i>	<i>Thailands</i>
Tibet	<i>Tibet</i>	<i>Tibettaan / Tibettane</i>	<i>Tibettaans</i>
Togo	<i>Togo(land)</i>	<i>Togolander / Togolanders</i>	<i>Togolands</i>
Tunisia	<i>Tunisië</i>	<i>Tunisiër / Tunisiërs</i>	<i>Tunisies</i>
Turkey	<i>Turkye</i>	<i>Turk / Turke</i>	<i>Turks</i>
Uganda	<i>Uganda</i>	<i>Ugandees / Ugandese</i>	<i>Ugandees</i> ^{14, 29}
Ukraine	<i>Oekraïne</i>	<i>Oekraïner / Oekraïners</i>	<i>Oekraïns</i>
United Arab Emirates	<i>die Verenigde Arabiese Emirate</i>		
United Kingdom	<i>die Verenigde Koninkryk</i>		
United States (USA)	<i>die Verenigde State (VSA)</i>		
Uruguay	<i>Uruguay</i>	<i>Uruguaan / Uruguane</i>	<i>Uruguaans</i> ^{14, 29}
Venezuela	<i>Venezuela</i>	<i>Venezolaan / Venezolane</i>	<i>Venezolaans</i>
Vietnam	<i>Viëtnam</i>	<i>Viëtnamees / Viëtnamese</i>	<i>Viëtnamees</i>
Yemen	<i>(die) Jemen</i>	<i>Jemeniet / Jemeniete</i>	<i>Jemenities</i>
Yugoslavia	<i>Joego-Slawië</i>	<i>Joego-Slaaf / Joego-Slawe</i>	<i>Joego-Slawies,</i> <i>Joego-Slaafs</i>
Zaire	<i>Zaire</i>	<i>Zaïrees / Zaïrese</i>	<i>Zaïrees</i>
Zambia	<i>Zambië</i>	<i>Zambiër / Zambiërs</i>	<i>Zambies</i>
Zimbabwe	<i>Zimbabwe</i>	<i>Zimbabweër / Zimbabweërs</i>	<i>Zimbabwees</i> ²²

4.5.2.1. Notes on nouns and adjectives of nationality

Note the following general points about the way the words in the list under 4.5.2 are used.

The Government Printer circulates a publication entitled *Foreign place names*, compiled by the National Terminology Services of the Department of National Education. Although it is intended that this publication be considered the authority on the issue, the document is not well-known or heeded. Where the above varies from the recommendations of that list, it is on the personal advice of members of the *Taalkommissie* which is currently working on an official list of foreign place names.

Afrikaans does not have a separate form for the female inhabitant of a given country, thus *Hy / sy is 'n Suid-Afrikaner / Hollander / Engelsman* etc. The indefinite article is always used in sentences such as the previous example, also with professions, something which is at odds with usage in many other European languages; in this regard Afrikaans is the same as English (see 3.2.2.1).

'*n Duitse onderwyser* 'a German teacher' contains the same ambiguity as in English, i.e. it can mean either that the teacher is German or that he is a teacher of German, whereas '*n Duitsonderwyser* only has the latter meaning.

Adjectives of nationality can be used in combination with the past participles *gebore* and *gemaak*, as in English, e.g. '*n Russies gebore aktrise* 'a Russian born actress', '*n Sweeds gemaakte kar* 'a Swedish made car'.

Adjectives of nationality, nearly all by virtue of their being polysyllabic, are inflected when used attributively.

Countries ending in *-ye* take the stress on the *y*, e.g. *Hongarye*.

Although the official name of South Africa is *Die Republiek van Suid-Afrika* (= *die RSA*),⁵⁷ there has been debate whether the inclusion of *van* is not in fact an Anglicism. With reference to other countries, e.g. *Die Republiek (van) Venezuela*, inclusion of *van* is officially optional but it is usual to include it.

The following numbers refer to those given in the list under 4.5.2.

1. The English spelling with *h*, e.g. *Afghanistan*, *Afghaan* etc., also occurs and consequently the *g* is frequently pronounced as a stop, rather than as a fricative (see 1.5.2.7).

2. Because the form that belongs here historically, i.e. *Afrikaans*, has taken on new connotations in Afrikaans, there is no longer an adjective corresponding to *Afrika*. Very common are compounds formed from *Afrika-*, e.g. *Afrika-tale/Afrikatale* 'African languages', *Die Organisasie van Afrika-teenheid* 'Organisation of African Unity'. The noun *Afrikaan* is not commonly used but corresponds to 'African' if it is; 'Africans' in South Africa are referred to as *swartes* (see 4.5.3.2.2).

3. *Asiër(s)* is the term used with reference to South African Indians.

4. Although not recognised officially, the form *Australianer(s)* is very commonly heard. The equivalent alternative adjective, *Australiaans*, is not quite as common.

5. *Bolivia*, *Colombia* and *Gambia* are the forms recognised by the *Taalkommissie* although *Bolivië* and *Gambië* are also seen. Such alternative forms can also give rise to variant derivatives, e.g. *Gambiaan/Gambiër* (see *Namibia* under note 26).

6. The three tribes that live in Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland are also found within the borders of South Africa and thus the terms *Tswana*, *Sotho* and *Swazi* can refer either to those countries or to people of the corresponding tribe in South Africa (see 4.5.3.2.2). *(Le)sotho* is pronounced [(lə)'sutu].

7. *Singalees/Singalese* (adjective *Singalees*) and *Tamil/Tamils* (adjective *Tamil*) denote the Sin(g)halese and Tamils respectively.

8. In *Chili* and its derivatives *ch* is pronounced [tʃ]; compare *China* with [ʃ] (see 1.5.2.3).

9. *Die Volksrepubliek (van) China* or *Die Chinese Volksrepubliek* renders the People's Republic of China whereas Taiwan is called *Die Republiek van China*.

10. The *-e* ending of the names of these island nations is regarded as a plural ending and is thus the Afrikaans equivalent of the English '-s' ending. They are also expressed as *die Seychelle-eilande* etc. Also *die Asore* 'the Azores'.

11. *Engelsman/Engelse* is also used with reference to English-speaking South Africans (= *Engelssprekendes*, see *Afrikaners/Afrikaanssprekendes*, note 32)

⁵⁷ This is a very commonly used abbreviation. It is often used officially, as on stamps for example, because it has the advantage of being the abbreviated form of both the Afrikaans and the English name of the country. But the internationally recognised abbreviation on car bumper stickers is *ZA* (< Dutch *Zuid-Afrika*).

12. Reference works give *Estlands*, *Ests*, *Esties* and *Estnies*, this variety of forms being an indication of South Africans' lack of familiarity with the concept altogether; *Estnies* is possibly the most common.

13. *Europeër(s)* in the colonial sense of 'White(s)' is not used in Afrikaans; that concept is rendered by *Blanke(s)*, a term which is sometimes translated by 'Europeans' (see 6.10.4). Petty apartheid signs formerly read *Slegs Blankes* 'Europeans/Whites Only'. The form *Europeaan / -ane* no longer has any currency, but was formerly used for 'European' in the colonial sense of 'White'.

14. The *g* in *Guatemala*, *Uruguay* and *Paraguay* is a stop, not a fricative; [g] is sometimes heard in *Uganda* too.

15. Just as in English the terms Holland and Netherlands are used indiscriminately to refer to that country, in Afrikaans the same applies also to *Hollander / Nederlander* and *Hollands / Nederlands* with reference to the Dutch and their language. Universities have departments of *Afrikaans en Nederlands* (never *Hollands*), but Cape Dutch (now considered an obsolete term) is always *Kaapshollands* (never *Nederlands*). Occasionally one still hears Dutch being referred to as *Hooghollands* (= *Nederlands*), particularly in historical contexts, to distinguish it from *Kaapshollands*. Also *Romeins-Hollandse Reg* 'Dutch Roman Law' and *Hollandse Oos-Indiese Kompanjie / HOIK* 'Dutch East India Company'. *Die Lae Lande* renders 'the Low Countries', as does *die Nederlande* in historical contexts, but these terms refer to Holland and Belgium (and originally Luxemburg) collectively.

16. 'Indian' as an adjective with reference to South African Indians is expressed not by the adjective *Indies* but prefixing the noun *Indiër-* to the relevant noun, e.g. *Indiërskole* 'Indian schools', *Indiërsake* 'Indian Affairs', *Indiërbasaar* 'Asiatic bazaar' (see note 3). 'Red Indian(s)' is *Indiaan / Indiane* and the corresponding adjective is *Indiaans*.

17. In *Indonesië* and *Rhodesië* (as well as in *Armenië*) and their derivatives the stressed *e* is pronounced [i] not [e]. In the former the *i* and the *s* are also pronounced as [i], not [ɪ], and [ʃ], i.e. [ində'niʃə]. In *Indië* both [i] and [ɪ] are heard. The stressed *e* of *Korea* is also pronounced [i].

18. *Irannees / Irranese* (adjective *Irannees*) also occurs.

19. *Irakiër / Irakiërs* also occurs, as does *Iraaks* as an adjective.

20. Of these two series the former is more frequently heard; the latter, if encountered at all, is normally restricted to the written language. The language is always *Japannees*, never *Japans*.

21. *Au* does not otherwise occur in Afrikaans orthography. This is pronounced as if it were spelt *ou*, i.e. [œu] (see note 24). *Litoue*, *Litouer* etc. also occurs and in the form preferred by the SABC.

22. Whether the *w* in these words is pronounced [v] or [w] seems to vary from speaker to speaker but in *Taiwan / Taiwannees* and *Zimbabwe / Zimbabwiër* one only hears [w].

23. The name *Maleia* is now obsolete in both Afrikaans and English, whereas *Maleier* in the South African context now refers to the Cape Malays, a Muslim sub-division of the Cape Coloureds.

24. Also *Mouritanië*.

25. In theory *Monegask(e)* and *Monegaskies* also exist but these are forms, like *Madrileen / Madrileens* (the inhabitant and adjective pertaining to *Madrid*)

which are prescribed because they happen to be the accepted forms in Dutch. In reality the average Afrikaans speaker is unacquainted with these terms and is far more likely to follow intuition and use *Monacaans* and *Madridder*. Although the former enjoys official recognition, the latter does not, but there can be few grounds for objection to it.

26. The former government of South West Africa decided that the country was to be called *Namibia* in the then three official languages (Afrikaans, German, English), but *Namibië* is still the most common form in South Africa. The new name should lead to new derivatives being formed, i.e. *Namibiaan(s)*, but these have so far gained no frequency in South Africa. It remains to be seen what form will prevail now the country is independent. The old name for the territory, *Suidwes-Afrika* or simply *Suidwes* (inhabitant *Suidwester*), still lingers on in the speech of many people in South Africa as it only gained independence in 1990.

27. Also *Nieu-Guineër(s)*.

28. 'n *Noor* 'a Norwegian', 'n *Noorman* (= *Wiking*) 'a Norseman, Viking', 'n *Normandiër* 'a Norman' (adjective *Normandies*). *Noors*, in addition to rendering 'Norse', refers to the Norwegian language, although even this is sometimes called *Noorweegs*, a word which prescriptive works insist should only be used as an adjective, a function which *Noors* may also fulfil, e.g. *Spreek jy Noors?* 'Can you speak Norwegian?', *Dit is 'n Noorse/Noorweegse ontwerp* 'This is a Norwegian design'.

29. In *Peru*, *Uganda* and *Uruguay* and their derivatives the *u's* are pronounced [u] not [y].

30. Also *Roemeniër(s)*.

31. *Roemeens* 'Romanian', *Romeins* 'Roman', *Romaans* 'Romance'.

32. *Suid-Afrikaner* refers to any inhabitant of South Africa whereas *Afrikaner* refers only to white Afrikaans-speaking South Africans (= *Afrikaanssprekendes*),⁵⁸ an archaic variant of which is *Afrikaander*. The term *Boer* for these people is never used in official contexts but they still often use it affectionately with reference to themselves. The term is very much in vogue in right-wing circles where dreams of reviving a nineteenth century style *Boerestaat* abound. Coloureds and blacks use the term pejoratively with reference to Afrikaners, as well as a nickname for a policeman. A slightly derogatory term Afrikaners use to refer to their English-speaking compatriots is *Rooinek(ke)*. The country is often referred to as *die Republiek* in official contexts, e.g. *Avis huurmotors is beskikbaar regoor die Republiek* 'Avis hire cars are available throughout the Republic'.

⁵⁸ Strictly speaking *Afrikaanssprekendes* covers both white and coloured speakers of the language but in practice it is usually used as a synonym for *Afrikaners*, certainly by whites. These days such terms can be laden with connotations depending on one's political persuasion; *Afrikaner* might be used, for example, with pride by a member of the AWB, while the same word might be laden with contempt if used by a non-white or even a politically liberally minded Afrikaans-speaking white.

4.5.3. Other geographical names

4.5.3.1. Foreign geographical names

Afrikaans speakers are often hesitant about the “correct” Afrikaans form of many geographic terms. This is to a great extent the result of their bilingualism, as English is the language with which they maintain international relations, as well as the language in which all overseas reporting reaches South Africa. Consequently, for example, many are unaware that Brussels is not *Brussels* but *Brussel* in Afrikaans – but it is only *Brussel* because that is what it is in Dutch. On the basis of usage there would be some argument for recognising *Brussels* as the official form. Many speakers of Afrikaans are also unaware, for example, that Bavaria is not *Bavaria* (pronounced as if an Afrikaans word), but *Beiere*, the latter being limited to the language of initiated circles. So too with the official Afrikaans name of many geographic areas which the average Afrikaans speaker does not regularly have cause to talk about in Afrikaans; books may prescribe that ‘the Straits of Dover’ are called either *die Straat van Dover* or *die Nou van Calais*, the latter being the Dutch name and the former a translation of the English, but it is highly questionable whether the vast majority of Afrikaans speakers have ever heard of *die Nou van Calais*. On other occasions books prescribe forms which do not even exist in Dutch but for the sake of purism they attempt to get Afrikaans speakers to use an indigenous term for a concept where they would otherwise simply resort to the English word, which is what normally happens in effect; an example of this are the derivatives *Cornsman / Corniër* (< *Cornwallis*).

4.5.3.1.1. Foreign Cities

Many such names which are transcribed from languages that do not use the Latin alphabet, are transcribed according to the sounds of Afrikaans, e.g. *Djakarta, Kaboel, Tokio*. Other places have a specifically Afrikaans form, e.g. *Berlyn, Londen, Parys*. Nominal and adjectival derivatives are given in brackets after the name. Where the stress differs from English it is indicated by bolding.

Antwerp	<i>Antwerpen</i>
Athens	<i>At(h)ene (At[h]eens, At[h]ener)</i>
Baghdad	<i>Bagdad</i>
Belgrade	<i>Belgrado</i>
Beirut	<i>Beiroet</i>
Berlin	<i>Berlyn</i>
Bombay	<i>Bombaai</i>
Bruges	<i>Brugge</i>
Brussels	<i>Brussel</i>
Budapest	<i>Boedapest</i>
Bukarest	<i>Boekarest</i>
Cairo	<i>Kairo⁹⁹ (Kaireen[s])</i>

⁹⁹ *Kairo / Kaireen(s)* is also seen but as the word is usually pronounced as in English, the dæresis is unnecessary. Compare *die Oekraïne* ‘the Ukraine’ where the accent does reflect the pronunciation.

Calcutta	<i>Kalkutta</i>
Canterbury	<i>Kantelberg</i> ⁶⁰
Cologne	<i>Keulen</i>
Copenhagen	<i>Kopenhagen</i>
Damascus	<i>Damaskus</i>
Dunkirk	<i>Duinkerken</i>
Florence	<i>Florence</i> (pron. as in French) (<i>Florentyngs</i>)
Geneva	<i>Genève</i> (pron. [dʒə'ne:f]) (<i>Geneefs</i>) ⁶¹
Ghent	<i>Gent</i>
Gothenburg	<i>Gotenburg</i>
Hanover	<i>Hannover</i>
Istanbul	<i>Istanboel</i>
Jakarta	<i>Djakarta</i>
Jibouti	<i>Djiboeti</i>
Kabul	<i>Kaboel</i>
Kiev	<i>Kiëf</i>
Khartoum	<i>Khartoem</i>
Kuweit	<i>Koeweit</i>
Leyden	<i>Leiden</i>
Liège	<i>Luik</i>
Lisbon	<i>Lissabon</i>
London	<i>Londen</i> (<i>Londens</i> , <i>Londenaar</i>)
Louvain	<i>Lewen</i>
Malines	<i>Mechelen</i>
Mecca	<i>Mekka</i>
Milan	<i>Milaan</i>
Moscow	<i>Moskou</i>
Munich	<i>München</i>
Namur	<i>Namen</i>
Naples	<i>Napels</i>
New Delhi	<i>Nieu-Delhi</i> (but <i>New York</i>)
Paris	<i>Parys</i> (<i>Parysenaar</i>)
Pompeii	<i>Pompeji</i>
Prague	<i>Praag</i>
Riyadh	<i>Riad</i>
Rome	<i>Rome</i> (pron. the e) (<i>Romein</i> , <i>Romeins</i>)
Singapore	<i>Singapoer</i>
Seoul	<i>Seoel</i> [se'ul]
Strassburg	<i>Straatsburg</i>
Tehran	<i>Teheran</i>
Turin	<i>Turyn</i>
The Hague	<i>Den Haag</i> (<i>Hagenaar</i> , <i>Haags</i>)
Tokyo	<i>Tokio</i>
Venice	<i>Venesië</i> (<i>Venesiaans</i>)
Vienna	<i>Wene</i> (<i>Weens</i>)

⁶⁰ As in *die aartsbiskop van Kantelberg* 'the archbishop of Canterbury'.

⁶¹ Pronounced [xə'neəfs] despite the fact that *Genève* begins with [ʒ] or [dʒ].

Vatican City	<i>Vatikaanstad (Vatikaans)</i>
Warsaw	<i>Warschau / Warskou</i> (both pron. [varskou])

4.5.3.1.2. Foreign geographical regions

	place	inhabitant	adjective
Alsace	<i>die Elsas</i>	<i>Elsasser</i>	<i>Elsassies</i>
Antarctica	<i>Antarktika</i>		
Asia Minor	<i>Klein-Asië</i>		
Azores	<i>die Asore</i>		
Bahrain	<i>Bahrein</i>		
Balearic Islands	<i>die Baleariese Eilande</i>		
Balkans	<i>die Balkan</i>		
Basque Country	<i>Baskeland</i>	<i>Bask</i>	<i>Baskies</i>
Bavaria	<i>Beiere</i>	<i>Beier</i>	<i>Beiers</i>
Bay of Biscay	<i>die Golf van Biskaje</i>		
Bay of Bengal	<i>die Baai van Bengale</i>		
Belgian Congo	<i>die Belgiese Kongo</i>	<i>Kongolees</i>	
Bengal	<i>Bengale</i>	<i>Bengalees / Bengali</i>	<i>Bengalees, Bengaals</i>
Bohemia	<i>Boheme</i>	<i>Bohemer</i>	<i>Boheems</i>
Burgundy	<i>Boergondië</i>	<i>Boergondiër</i>	<i>Boergondies</i>
California	<i>Kalifornië</i>	<i>Kaliforniër</i>	<i>Kalifornies</i>
Cape Horn	<i>Kaap Hoorn</i>		
Cape Verde Islands	<i>die Kaap-Verdiese Eilande</i>		
Canary Islands	<i>die Kanariese Eilande</i>		
Castile	<i>Kastilië</i>	<i>Kastiliaan</i>	<i>Kastiliaans</i>
Catalonia	<i>Katalonië</i>	<i>Katalaan</i>	<i>Katalaans</i>
Caucasia	<i>Kaukasië</i>	<i>Kaukasiër</i>	<i>Kaukasies</i>
Caucasus	<i>die Kaukasus</i>		
Central America/ Asia/Europe	<i>Sentraal-Amerika / -Asië / -Europa</i> ⁶²		
Channel Islands	<i>die Normandiese Eilande / Kanaaleilande</i>		
C'wealth of Independent States	<i>die Gemenebes van Onafhanklike State</i>		
Armenia	<i>Armenië</i> ⁶³	<i>Armeen, Armeniër</i>	<i>Armeens</i>
Azerbaijan	<i>Azerbaidjan</i>	<i>Azerbaidjanner</i>	<i>Azerbaidjans</i>
Georgia	<i>Georgië</i>	<i>Georgiër</i>	<i>Georgies</i>
Kazakhstan	<i>Kazakstan</i>	<i>Kazakstanner</i>	<i>Kazakstans</i>
Kirgisia	<i>Kirgisië</i>	<i>Kirgisiër</i>	<i>Kirgisies</i>
Moldova	<i>Moldowa</i>	<i>Moldowiër</i>	<i>Moldowies</i>
Russia	<i>Rusland</i>	<i>Rus</i>	<i>Russies</i>
Tajikistan	<i>Tadjikistan</i>	<i>Tadjikistanner</i>	<i>Tadjikistans</i>
Turkmenistan	<i>Toerkmenistan</i>	<i>Toerkmeniër</i>	<i>Toerkmeens</i>
Ukraine	<i>Oekraïne</i>	<i>Oekraïner</i>	<i>Oekraïns</i>

⁶² *Midde-* can also replace *Sentraal-* in these compounds.

⁶³ See note 17 under nationalities.

	place	inhabitant	adjective
Uzbekistan	<i>Oezbekistan</i>	<i>Oezbekiër</i>	<i>Oezbekies</i>
Byelorussia	<i>Belo-Rusland</i>	<i>Belo-Rus</i>	<i>Belo-Russies</i>
Cornwall	<i>Cornwallis</i>	<i>Corniër</i>	<i>Cornies</i>
Corsica	<i>Korsika</i>	<i>Korsikaan</i>	<i>Korsikaans</i> ⁶⁴
Crete	<i>Kreta</i>	<i>Kretenser</i>	<i>Kretensies</i>
Dardanelles	<i>die Dardenelle</i> ⁶⁵		
East Indies	<i>Oos-Indië</i> ^{66, 67}	<i>Oos-Indiër</i>	<i>Oos-Indies</i>
Easter Island	<i>Paaseiland</i>		
English Channel	<i>die Engelse Kanaal</i>		
Falkland Islands	<i>die Falkland-eilande</i>		
Far East	<i>die Verre Ooste</i>		
Faroe Islands	<i>die Färöer-eilande</i>	<i>Färöers</i>	
Flanders	<i>Vlaandere</i>	<i>Vlaming</i>	<i>Vlaams</i>
Gaul	<i>Gallië</i>	<i>Galliër</i>	<i>Gallies</i>
Gaza Strip	<i>die Gazastrook</i>		
Gulf of Mexico	<i>die Golf van Mexiko</i>		
Hawaii	<i>Hawaii</i>	<i>Hawaiiër</i>	<i>Hawaiës</i>
Java	<i>Java</i>	<i>Javaan</i>	<i>Javaans</i>
Lake Constance	<i>die Bodenmeer</i>		
Lapland	<i>Lapland</i>	<i>Lap, Laplander</i>	<i>Laplands, Laps</i>
Latin America	<i>Latyns-Amerika</i>		
Lombardy	<i>Lombardye</i>	<i>Lombard</i>	<i>Lombardies</i>
Manchuria	<i>Mantsjoerye</i>	<i>Mantsjoeryer</i>	<i>Mantsjoerys</i>
Mauritius	<i>Mauritius</i> (pronounced as in English)		
Melanesia	<i>Melanesië</i>	<i>Melanesiër</i>	<i>Melanesies</i>
Middle East	<i>die Midde-Ooste</i>	<i>Midde-Oosters</i>	
Moluccas	<i>die Molukke</i>	<i>Molukker</i>	<i>Moluks</i>
Moravia	<i>Morawië</i>	<i>Morawiër</i>	<i>Morawies</i>
Near East	<i>die Nabye Ooste</i>		
New South Wales	<i>Nieu-Suid-Wallis</i>		
Normandy	<i>Normandië</i>	<i>Normandiër</i>	<i>Normandies</i>
Palestine	<i>Palestina</i>	<i>Palestyn</i>	<i>Palestyns</i>
Persian Gulf	<i>die Persiese Golf</i>		
Picardy	<i>Pikardië</i>	<i>Pikardiër</i>	<i>Pikardies</i>
Polinesia	<i>Polinesië</i>	<i>Polinesiër</i>	<i>Polinesies</i>
Pomerania	<i>Pommere</i>	<i>Pommer</i>	<i>Pommers</i>
Prussia	<i>Pruise</i>	<i>Pruis</i>	<i>Pruisies</i>
Rhodes	<i>Rhodos</i>		
Scandinavia	<i>Skandinawië</i>	<i>Skandinawiër</i>	<i>Skandinawies</i>
Scotland	<i>Skotland</i>	<i>Skot / Skotte</i>	<i>Skots</i>
Scottish Highlands	<i>die Skotse Hoogland</i>		
Serbia	<i>Serwië</i>	<i>Serwiër</i>	<i>Serwies</i> <i>Serwo-Kroaties</i>

⁶⁴ All forms also spelt with *c*.

⁶⁵ The *e* ending is perceived as a plural, as is the case with *die Comore, Maldive, Seychelle* (see 4.5.2.1 note 10).

⁶⁶ No definite article required in Afrikaans.

	place	inhabitant	adjective
Siberia	<i>Siberië</i>	<i>Siberiër</i>	<i>Siberies</i>
Sicilia	<i>Sicilië</i>	<i>Siciliaan</i>	<i>Siciliaans</i>
Straits of Dover	<i>die Straat van Dover</i>		
Straits of Magellan	<i>die Straat van Magellaan</i>		
Straits of Malacca	<i>die Straat van Malakka</i>		
Styria	<i>Stiermarke</i>	<i>Stiermarker</i>	<i>Stiermarks</i>
Sumatra	<i>Sumatra</i>	<i>Sumatraan</i>	<i>Sumatraans</i>
Swabia	<i>Swabe</i>	<i>Swaab</i>	<i>Swaabs</i>
Tierra del Fuego	<i>Vuurland</i>		
Tuscany	<i>Toskane</i>	<i>Toskaan</i>	<i>Toskaans</i>
Tyrol	<i>Tirol</i>	<i>Tiroler</i>	<i>Tirols</i>
Virgin Islands	<i>die Maagde-eilande</i>		
Wales	<i>Wallis</i>	<i>Wallieser</i>	<i>Wallies</i>
Wallonia	<i>Wallonië</i>	<i>Waal</i>	<i>Waaals</i>
West Bank	<i>die Wesoewer</i>		
West Indies	<i>Wes-Indië^{66, 67}</i>	<i>Wes-Indiër</i>	<i>Wes-Indies</i>
Westphalia	<i>Wesfale</i>	<i>Wesfaler</i>	<i>Wesfaals</i>

4.5.3.1.3. Seas and oceans

the Atlantic Ocean	<i>die Atlantiese Oseaan</i>
the Arctic Ocean	<i>die Noordelike Yssee</i>
the Baltic Sea	<i>die Baltiese See or die Oossee</i>
the Black Sea	<i>die Swart See</i>
the Caribbean Sea	<i>die Karibiese See (adj. Karibies)</i>
the Caspian Sea	<i>die Kaspiese See</i>
the Dead Sea	<i>die Dooie See</i>
the Indian Ocean	<i>die Indiese Oseaan⁶⁷</i>
the Mediterranean Sea	<i>die Middellandse See (adj. Mediterreens)</i>
the North Sea	<i>die Noordsee</i>
the Pacific Ocean	<i>die Stille Oseaan</i>
the Red Sea	<i>die Rooi See</i>
the South Pacific	<i>die Stille Suidsee</i>

4.5.3.1.4. Rivers

the Amazon	<i>die Amasone</i>
the Danube	<i>die Donou</i>
the Euphrates	<i>die Eufraat</i>
the Moselle	<i>die Moesel</i>
the Nile	<i>die Nyl</i>
the Rhine	<i>die Ryn (Ryns 'Rhenish')</i>
the Ruhr	<i>die Roer</i>

⁶⁷ This word, like *Indië* and all its derivatives, is usually pronounced with a [i], not with a [ɪ] as in indigenous words (see 1.5.1.3).

the Saint Lawrence	<i>die Sint Laurens</i>
the Thames	<i>die Teems</i>
the Volga	<i>die Wolga</i>

The above rivers do not require the suffix *-rivier*, whereas many smaller South African rivers do, e.g. *die Modderrivier*, whereas *-rivier* is optional with the following larger, very well-known rivers: *die Kei, Limpopo, Oranje, Tugela, Vaal, Zambesi*.

4.5.3.1.5. Mountain ranges

the Himalayas	<i>die Himalajas, Himalaja-gebergte</i>
the Alps	<i>die Alpe</i>
the Apennines	<i>die Apennynne</i>
the (American) Rockies	<i>die (Amerikaanse) Rotsgebergte</i>
the Andes	<i>die Andes-gebergte</i>
the Pyrenees	<i>die Pireneë</i>
the Urals	<i>die Oeralgebergte</i>

4.5.3.2. South African geographical names

4.5.3.2.1. South African provinces

	province	inhabitant[®]	adjective
Cape Province	<i>Kaapland</i>	<i>Kapenaar</i>	<i>Kaaps</i>
Natal	<i>Natal</i>	<i>Nataller</i>	<i>Natals</i>
Orange Free State [®]	<i>Oranje-Vrystaat</i>	<i>Vrystater</i>	<i>Vrystaats</i>
Transvaal	<i>Transvaal</i>	<i>Transvaler</i>	<i>Transvaals</i>

The Cape Province is also referred to as *die Kaapprovinsie*, a very common Anglicism. 'The University of the Western Cape' is called *die Universiteit van Wes-Kaapland* and *die Westelike Provinsie (WP)* and *die Oostelike Provinsie (OP)*, synonyms of *Wes- and Oos-Kaap(land)*, refer to the Western and Eastern Cape Province respectively.

The term *Kaap* can refer to various areas in the Cape Province depending on the point of view of the speaker. For those living in other provinces it can refer to the province as a whole but is usually taken to mean Cape Town; for those living in the province it can refer to the Cape Peninsula (*die Kaapse Skiereiland*); and for those living in the suburbs of Cape Town it can refer to the city centre. The same applies to the way 'the Cape' is used in English, e.g. *Ek gaan Kaap toe* 'I'm going to the Cape (Province, Peninsula or Town)'. Equally the words *Kaaps* and *Kapenaar* can refer either to Cape Town or to the province as a whole. *Die Skiereiland* 'the Peninsula' is commonly used for Greater Cape Town in South African contexts, where it is obvious which peninsula is being referred to.

[®] Colloquially inhabitants of the Cape Province, Natal, the OFS and Transvaal are referred to respectively as *Woltone, Piesangboere, Blikore* and *Vaalpense*.

[®] The abbreviations *OVS* and *Tvl* are commonly used.

Die Rand renders 'the Reef' (< gold reef) a general term for the urban conglomeration, based on the gold industry of the area, that spreads out along *die Witwatersrand* to the west and east of Johannesburg, e.g. *Hy bly op/aan die Rand* 'He lives on the Reef'.

Die Oranje-Vrystaat, usually simply referred to as *die Vrystaat*, is always accompanied by the definite article, as in English, as is the case with *die Kaapprovinsie* (But *Kaapland* without an article). *Transvaal* usually takes the definite article but it is occasionally omitted, e.g. *Hoe lank bly jy al in (die) Transvaal?* 'How long have you lived in the Transvaal?' The article is also sometimes omitted before *Ciskei* and *Transkei*, especially in official contexts; this is connected with the ideology of regarding these homelands as countries and not as regions of South Africa. In the case of all three regions *die* cannot be omitted after *na* 'to' but is always omitted when just *toe* is used (see 7.5.1 and 11.10.1), e.g. *Ek gaan na die Transvaal/Ciskei/Transkei (toe) = Ek gaan Transvaal/Ciskei/Transkei toe.*

4.5.3.2.2. Tribal areas

homeland

Bophuthatswana [bɔputat'swa:nə]

Ciskei (adj. *Ciskeis*)

Gazankulu

KwaNdebele [kwandɔ'be:lə]⁷⁰

KaNgwane [kan'gwa:nə]⁷⁰

KwaZulu^{70,71}

Lebowa

Qua Qua

Transkei (adj. *Transkeis*)

Venda

tribe/inhabitant/language

Tswana

Xhosa

Shangaan (also called *Tsonga*)

Ndebele

Swazi

Zulu or *Zoeloe*

Noord-Sotho (also called *Pedi*)

Suid-Sotho (also called *Basoeto*)

Xhosa

Venda

When the above words refer to the inhabitants, the plural is formed by adding *s*, or *'s* in the case of *Swazi's*, *Zulu's* and *Sotho's/Basoeto's*.

According to the rules of Bantu prefixing, a Sotho person is a *Mosotho* of which *Basotho* (or *Basoeto*) is the plural, while *Sisotho* is the language. One does occasionally hear purists using these words as they are used in the native languages, e.g. *die Bapedi* 'the Pedi' (i.e. Northern Sotho), *Kan jy Siswati* (= *Swazi*) *praat?* 'Can you speak Swazi?'

Notes on pronunciation

The vowel bearing the main stress is given in bold.

Bophuthatswana: the *ph* and *th* are pronounced [p] and [t].

Ciskei, *Transkei*: the *ei* is usually pronounced [ɛi] but sometimes the English

⁷⁰ The Bantu prefix *k(w)a* is written with a small letter in those languages, a practice which is often carried over into Afrikaans and English, e.g. *kwaNdebele*.

⁷¹ Traditionally whites have called this area *Zululand* (or *Zoeloeland*), a name which is still commonly heard although its official name is *KwaZulu*.

the definite article but more usually with it (compare [*die*] *Transvaal*).

Sotho is pronounced [sutu].

Xhosa is pronounced [kɔsa] with a click by those who have mastered the click.

Venda is pronounced [v] not [f].

Zulu and *Swazi* are pronounced with [z] not [s] although [z] does not normally occur in Afrikaans.

If one does not refer to blacks with one of the above tribal names (e.g. *Hy is 'n Tswana/Hulle is Zulu's*), the most neutral and generally acceptable term these days is *'n swartman/swartmense* or *'n swarte/swartes*. This has an approximate parallel in *'n witman/witmense* or *'n blanke/blankes* (see 6.10.4). The term *Bantoe* (both as a singular and as a collective noun) is no longer fashionable, e.g. what were previously called *Bantoe* are now more officially called *Afrikatale* (see 4.5.2.1 note 2).

4.5.3.2.1. The Khoisan peoples

'Bushmen' are called *Boesmans* and there is a region called *Boesmanland*. 'Hottentots', still regularly referred to in historical texts (but the name is also used, usually pejoratively, with reference to coloureds), are *Hottentotte* or *Hottentots* (also *Hotnots*, a pejorative term for coloureds). In scientific circles it is usual to refer to the Hottentots as the *Khoekhoen* (English 'Khoikhoi') and the Bushmen and Hottentots collectively as the *Khoisan* (< *Khoi* = Hottentot and *San* = Bushman).

A subdivision of the coloureds, the Griquas, are called in Afrikaans *Griekwas* and they live in *Griekwaland-Oos* and *-Wes* 'Griqualand East/West'.

4.5.3.2.3. Other geographical areas in South Africa with different names in Afrikaans from English⁷²

Border	<i>die Grens</i> (area around East London)
Breede River	<i>die Breërivier</i>
the Cape of Good Hope	<i>Kaap die Goeie Hoop</i> (Note: no definite article and no <i>van</i>)
the Cape Flats	<i>die Kaapse Vlakte</i> (<i>op</i> -)
Cape Point	<i>Kaappunt</i>
the Caprivi Strip	<i>die Caprivistroom</i> (<i>Capriviaan[s]</i>)
the Drakensberg	<i>die Drakensberg(e)</i> ⁷³
Devil's Peak	<i>Duiwelspiek</i> (mountain in Cape Town)

⁷² It is worth noting that many geographic names in South Africa are not translated with the Afrikaans names, being older, being used in English too, e.g. *Blouberg*, *Houtbaai/Hout Bay*, *Kalkbaai/Kalk Bay*, *Mosselbaai/Mossel Bay*, *Soutpansberg*, *Witbank* (compare *Witrivier* – White River) but such Afrikaans names are, however, usually pronounced in English as if they were English. The authority to consult on bilingual place names is *Official place names in the RSA and in SWA*, Government Printer, Pretoria, 1978.

⁷³ See 4.1.9 for other mountain ranges rendered in the plural in Afrikaans but which are singular in English.

the Escarpment	<i>die Platorand</i> (in Eastern Transvaal)
False Bay	<i>Valsbaai</i> ⁷⁴
the Highveld/Lowveld	<i>die Hoëveld / Laeveld</i> ⁷⁵
the Kruger (National) Park	<i>die (Nasionale) Kruger Wildtuin</i>
the Little Karoo	<i>die Klein Karoo</i>
Lion's Head	<i>Leeukop</i> (mountain in Cape Town)
Namaqualand	<i>Namakwaland</i>
the Orange River	<i>die Oranjerivier</i>
Signal Hill	<i>Seinheuwel</i> (in Cape Town and Bloemfontein)
Southern Africa	<i>Suider-Afrika</i> (see points of compass, 4.5.3.3)
Table Bay	<i>Tafelbaai</i>
Table Mountain	<i>Tafelberg</i> ⁷⁶
Three Anchor Bay	<i>Drieankerbaai</i> (suburb of Cape Town)
the Vaal Triangle	<i>die Vaaldriehoek</i> (i.e. Sasolburg/Van der Byl Park/Vereeniging)
the Wild Coast	<i>die Wilde Kus</i>

4.5.3.2.3.1. South African towns with different names in Afrikaans from English

Towns with names which are clearly Afrikaans in origin are pronounced as Afrikaans words, whatever the usual pronunciation may be in English, e.g. *Amsterdam*, *Bloemfontein*, *Colesberg*, *Johannesburg*, *Krugersdorp*, *Pietermaritzburg*, *Strand*, *Waterkloof*, *Witbank*.

George	<i>George</i> (pron. [dʒɔrdʒ], less commonly [xə'ɔrx])
Grahamstown	<i>Grahamstad</i> (pron. [xra:mstat]).
Beitbridge	<i>Beitbrug</i> (pron. [bɛit] in Afrikaans and [bait] in Eng.)
Cape Town	<i>Kaapstad</i> (also called <i>die Moederstad</i>)
East London	<i>Oos-Londen</i>
Pretoria East	<i>Pretoria-Oos</i> etc.
Camps Bay	<i>Kampsbaai</i> (suburb of Cape Town)
Cross Roads	<i>Kruispad</i> (black suburb of Cape Town) ⁷⁷
Green Point	<i>Groenpunt</i> (suburb of Cape Town)
Halfway House	<i>Halfweghuis</i> ⁷⁷
Newlands	<i>Nuweland</i> (suburb of Cape Town)
Seapoint	<i>Seepunt</i> (suburb of Cape Town)
Simonstown	<i>Simonstad</i>

⁷⁴ All names ending in *-baai* take the stress on the name, not on *-baai*, unlike their English equivalents, e.g. *Kalkbaai* 'Kalk Bay'. See also *Seinheuwel* 'Signal Hill', *Witrivier* 'White River'.

⁷⁵ Note *op die Hoëveld* but *in die Laeveld*.

⁷⁶ *Tafelberg* is used without the definite article but the northern, predominantly Afrikaans suburbs of Cape Town are clustered around *die Tygerberg*, a term which now denotes an area, not just a mountain. Other true mountains, like *Tafelberg*, are used without the article, e.g. *Helderberg*, *Simonsberg*.

⁷⁷ Not officially recognised but nevertheless commonly used.

Paarl	<i>Paarl</i> (always pronounced <i>die Pêrel</i>) ⁷⁶
Pilgrim's Rest	<i>Pelgrimsrus</i>
Plettenberg/False/Walvis Bay	<i>Plettenberg-</i> / <i>Vals-</i> / <i>Walvisbaai</i> ⁷⁸
White River	<i>Witrivier</i>
Warm Baths	<i>Warmbad</i>

Stellenbosch (inflected adjective *Stellenbosse*, inhabitant *Stellenbosser*) takes the stress on the last syllable, but inhabitants of the town, as well as many others in the Western Cape in particular, stress the first syllable, as in English *Swellendam* too is often stressed on the first syllable, as in English, although historically, and still in the mouths of some, it takes the stress on the last syllable.⁸⁰ *Rondebosch* (adjective *Rondebosse*) is always stressed on the first syllable in both Afrikaans and English and in Afrikaans the *d* is also often assimilated by the *n*. *Kirstenbosch* also always takes the stress on the first syllable in both languages. *Potchefstroom* is stressed on the final syllable. Sometimes a spelling pronunciation of names in *-bosch* occurs where the *sch* is pronounced [ʃ].

Worcester is pronounced as in English but with an initial [v], not a [w], whereas *Wellington* is always pronounced with a [w]. *Soweto* is pronounced [sɔ'wɛtʊ]. *Harrismith* is also partially assimilated to [ˈɦærismət] and *Knysna* to [nɔisna].

Pietermaritzburg takes the stress on the fourth syllable in Afrikaans and on the third in English. It is often referred to as *Maritzburg* and abbreviated to *PMB* on signs etc.

Port Elizabeth is very often referred to as *PE* in both English and Afrikaans but the abbreviation is always pronounced as in English. It is also commonly called *die Baai*, particularly in the Eastern Cape.

Pretoria and *Durban* are pronounced more or less as in English, except that the *r*'s are trilled, and the inhabitants of those towns are called *Pretorians* and *Durbaniete*. The corresponding adjectives, which can only be used attributively, are *Pretoriase* and *Durbanse*, e.g. *die Pretoriase Hooggeregshof* 'the Pretoria Supreme Court'.

See 3.1.1.12 for the use of the definite article with the names of certain towns.

Theoretically an adjective can be formed from any place name by adding *-s*, or *-se* when inflected, e.g. *die Johannesburgse Stadsraad* 'the Johannesburg City Council'. The name of an inhabitant of most towns can be formed by adding *-er*, e.g. *Johannenburgers*, *Upingtonner* (< *Upington*) (see 15.2.4).

⁷⁶ 'Wilderness', near George in the Cape, also takes a definite article in Afrikaans but not in English, e.g. *die Wildernis*. *Paarl* is also written *die Paarl*, except on signs.

⁷⁸ *Plettenbergbaai* is commonly abbreviated to *Plett* in speech, as is *Potchefstroom* to *Potch* [pɔtʃ]. Note that it is the final syllable of *Potchefstroom* that is stressed.

⁸⁰ Dutch towns in *-dam* take the stress on the final syllable as in Dutch, e.g. *Amsterdam*, *Rotterdam*.

4.5.3.2.3.2. Street names

It is not always easy to know whether street names should be translated or not. For example, 'Pepper Street' in Cape Town is *Peperstraat*, indicating presumably that it is not named after a person, in which case it would not have been translated; 'Long Street' is *Langstraat* but 'Loop Street' is *Loopstraat*. 'Main Road' in Cape Town is *Hoofweg*, but 'Main Street' in Johannesburg is *Mainstraat*. 'Gardens' and 'Newlands', suburbs of Cape Town, are *Tuine* and *Nuweland* respectively but *Rondebosch*, also a suburb of Cape Town, is 'Rondebosch' in English too. One really has to follow local convention here and no firm rule can be given.

Street names are written together with the word street, road, drive etc., e.g. *Kerkstraat* 'Church Street', *Harveyweg* 'Harvey Road'. When the name refers to a person, or in bilingual signs, the final word is commonly hyphenated, e.g. *De Villiers Graaffmotorweg*, *De Villiers Graaff-motorweg* 'De Villiers Graaff Motorway'; *Milner Rd/-weg* (see 2.7.2).

The following are the Afrikaans equivalents of the English terms used in the naming of roads:

<i>laan</i>	'avenue'
<i>motorweg</i>	'motorway, freeway'
<i>rylaan</i>	'drive'
<i>singel</i>	'crescent'
<i>steeg</i>	'lane'
<i>straat</i>	'street'
<i>terras</i>	'terrace'
<i>weg</i>	'road'

It is not usual to use the definite article with street names in Afrikaans, as is the case in Dutch, except for streets called *die Hoofweg/-straat* 'Main Road/Street'. *Die Heerengracht* 'Heerengracht' (a large street in Cape Town) is in the process of dropping the article.

4.5.3.3. Points of the compass

The four points of the compass are *die noorde*, *suide*, *weste* and *ooste*, e.g. *Ons bly in die ooste van die land* 'We live in the east of the country. Compounds of these points are formed as follows: *die suidooste*, *die noordweste* etc. Winds are referred to as 'n *noordooster* or 'n *noordoostewind* 'a north-easterly'⁸¹ etc., but if blowing from one of the four principal points they are called 'n *noordewind*/*suidewind* 'a northerly/southerly' etc. Note too *die noordekant* etc. 'the northern side.

'North of' etc. is rendered either by *noord van* or by *ten noorde van*, e.g. *Hulle plaas lê oos van /ten ooste van die rivier* 'Their farm lies (to the) south of the river'. Note the forms *wes* and *oos* without *t.*⁸² *Benoorde* etc. is an archaic synonym of the above.

⁸¹ The notorious *Suidoos* (less commonly *die Suidooster*) that blows seemingly incessantly in Cape Town at certain times of year is also called *die Kaapse Dokter*.

⁸² The alternation of *wes* and *oos* with *weste* and *ooste* is but one more example of a facet of Afrikaans that only makes sense if one is acquainted with the situation Dutch (see 15.1.2).

'Northern' etc. is *noordelik* etc., except when it occurs in an official place name, when it is *Noord-* etc., e.g. *die noordelike voorstede van Johannesburg* 'the northern suburbs of Johannesburg', *Noord-Rhodesië* 'Northern Rhodesia', *Wes-Europa* 'Western Europe', *Oos-Vrystaat* 'Eastern Free State' (compare *Oos-Rand* 'East Rand'), *Wes-Transvaal* 'Western Transvaal'. *Westelike/Oostelike Provinsie* (official subdivisions of the Cape Province) are an exception to the rule as they are accepted Anglicisms, compare the indigenous *Wes-/Oos-Kaapland* 'Western/Eastern Cape'. 'The northern/eastern border' is *die noord-/oosgrens*, but 'the northern/southern hemisphere' is *die noordelike/suidelike halfrond*.

Principally in the expressions 'Southern Cross' and 'Southern Africa', *suid* is used instead of *suidelik*, i.e. *Suiderkruis*, *Suider-Afrika*.

4.6. Nominalisation of adjectives (see 6.3 and 6.4.3)

4.7. Nominalisation of infinitives (see 8.16.2)

4.8. Formation of nouns (see 15.2)

5. Pronouns

The alternation between emphatic and unemphatic pronouns, which is found in both spoken and written Dutch, is unknown in Afrikaans where only the historically emphatic forms have been preserved (see 5.1.1.2.4 for one notable exception).

5.1. Personal pronouns

singular

subject		object		possessive	
<i>ek</i>	'I'	<i>my</i>	'me'	<i>my / myne</i>	'my/mine'
<i>jy</i>	'you'	<i>jou</i>	'you'	<i>jou / joune</i>	'your/yours'
<i>u</i>	'you'	<i>u</i>	'you'	<i>u / u s'n</i>	'your/yours'
<i>hy</i>	'he'	<i>hom</i>	'him'	<i>sy / syne</i>	'his'
<i>sy</i>	'she'	<i>haar</i>	'her'	<i>haar / hare</i>	'her/hers'
<i>dit</i>	'it'	<i>dit</i>	'it'	<i>sy / syne</i>	'its'

plural¹

subject		object		possessive	
<i>ons</i>	'we'	<i>ons</i>	'us'	<i>ons / ons s'n</i>	'our/ours'
<i>julle</i>	'you'	<i>julle</i>	'you'	<i>julle, jul / julle s'n</i>	'your/yours'
<i>hulle</i>	'they'	<i>hulle</i>	'them'	<i>hulle, hul / hulle s'n</i>	'their/theirs'

5.1.1. Subject and object pronouns

5.1.1.1. First person pronouns

5.1.1.1.1. Emphatic *ekke*

There is an emphatic variant of *ek*, *ekke*, which is not common but is occasionally heard in one word retorts, e.g.

- (164) *Wie wil nou 'n stukkie biltong hê? Ekke.*
'Now who'd like a piece of biltong? I would.'
- (165) *Jy het gelieg. Ekke?*
'You lied. Who, me?'

¹ Making a distinction between the subject, object and possessive forms of the plural pronouns (as well as of *u*) does have an historical validity, and as many readers will already be acquainted with Dutch or German, as well as with English, and will be comparing what they read here with what they know to be the case in other Germanic languages, it seems sensible and useful to preserve the traditional categories even if there is a certain artificiality in doing so.

5.1.1.1.2. The combination 'you and I'

The English convention of putting oneself last in the expression *you and I* does not exist in Afrikaans, i.e. *Ek en jy/u*.

5.1.1.1.3. *Ons* meaning 'one'

Ons can be used patronisingly to mean 'one', as in English, e.g.

- (166) *Hoe voel ons vandag?*
'How do we feel today' (nurse to patient).
(167) *Ons behandel ons maats nie so nie.*
'We don't treat our mates like that' (reprimand).

5.1.1.2. Second person pronouns

5.1.1.2.1. Familiar and polite forms of address

The division in use between *jy* and *u* does not correspond with that in other European languages, not even with that in Dutch. *U* is not common in the speech of many Afrikaans speakers, certainly not outside urban areas. Where most European languages employ the polite form of address (i.e. their equivalent of *u*) when addressing elders, strangers etc. – although even here no two European languages make exactly the same distinction between the familiar and polite form of address – Afrikaans has traditionally employed a third person form of address, rather than using *u*. This is still a very common practice but has been replaced to a degree by *u*, particularly among educated urban speakers of Afrikaans and in the media. In colloquial Afrikaans, if the situation at all permits it, there is a preference for the following forms of address, to name the main possibilities: *Pa, Ma, Oupa, Ouma, Oom, Tannie, Meneer, Mevrou, Dokter, Dominee, Professor* (see 2.8 on the capitalisation of such words). It is relatively recent to address one's parents with *jy*, but many people still do not. If an Afrikaans speaker finds himself in a situation where he feels that one of these third person forms of address is appropriate, he is usually very consistent in his use of that form, using it in lieu of subject, object, possessive and reflexive pronouns, e.g.

- (168) *Ek kan Ma (= jou) ongelukkig nie nou help nie* (object).
'Unfortunately I can't help you now.'
(169) *Ma (= jy) moenie Ma daarvoor bekommer nie* (subject and reflexive).
'You mustn't worry about that.'
(170) *Sal Ma (= jy) my Ma se (= jou) kar leen?* (subject and possessive).
'Will you lend me your car?'

Note the possessive form, *Ma se*; it cannot be replaced by *haar*.

Correct use of the forms *Oom* and *Tannie* is difficult for a non-native to master. Traditionally they have fulfilled the functions of *u* in all situations

outside the family circle, while of course also being the appropriate forms of address to true aunts and uncles.² Although the terms are waning, they are still exceedingly commonly used, even in the cities. It is impossible to go into all the intricacies of their use here, but the following will give some idea. All children address adults to whom they are not directly related, whether they know the person concerned or not, as *Oom* or *Tannie*; an adult may also address an older person in the same way, but then the distinction between *Oom* and *Meneer* on the one hand, and *Tannie* and *Mevrou* on the other is difficult to generalise about; for example, an adult visiting a peer at home would not feel awkward addressing that peer's parents as *Oom* and *Tannie*, even if he had never met them before. His or her friendship with their son or daughter makes this acceptable while *Meneer/Mevrou* could be seen as too impersonal and formal.

It is not unusual these days to use *jy* to a stranger while addressing the person with *Meneer* or *Mevrou*, e.g.

- (171) *Mevrou, kan ek jou help?*
'Madam, can I help you?'
(172) *Aangename kennis, mnr. Nel. Jy het 'n baie mooi plaas.*
'Nice to meet you, Mr. Nel. You have a very nice farm.'

Such a combination of the familiar second person pronoun and a formal title would be unthinkable in other European languages, but is possible in Afrikaans because *u*, which would be required here in Dutch, is still not a word that comes naturally to many Afrikaans speakers. In advertisements it is also quite usual for *jy/jou* to be used, although *u* is very common too, e.g.

- (173) *Laat ons jou olie nasien.*
'Let us check your oil.'

Dame is a relatively recent form of polite address, which, unlike *Mevrou*, is never used in lieu of a pronoun but is used in combination with *u*. It has gained a certain currency in the business world.

U (with a capital letter) is used towards God; he is otherwise addressed directly as *Here*, but he is referred to indirectly as *die (lieuwe) Heer/Here* or *God*, e.g.

- (174) *Ag Here/God, waarom het U my verlaat?*
'Oh Lord/God, why have you forsaken me?'
(175) *God/die Here het my gehelp.*
'God/the Lord helped me.'³

See text 4 in appendix 1 for a text that illustrates the use of the third person form of address.

² Previously the terms *Auntie* and *Uncle* were used in Afrikaans, a custom which has almost died out. It suggests that *Oom* and *Tannie* are loan translations.

³ Although Afrikaners can swear like troopers, because of the hold their Calvinist faith has on them, they take a very dim view of using *God* as a swearword or exclamation.

5.1.1.2.2. Plural forms of *u*

If singular *u* is a form that Afrikaans speakers have difficulty in using because it is rather formal sounding (see 5.1.1.2.1), the situation is even more difficult with regard to plural *u*. In general one can say that *julle* is the plural of *u* and that *u* is only used in the plural in particularly formal situations (e.g. when addressing a crowd of people as *Dames en Here* 'Ladies and Gentlemen'). Although it is never written, a compromise form between *julle* and *u*, *u-hulle*, occurs (see 5.1.1.3.8).

5.1.1.2.3. Forms of address between whites and non-whites

Forms of address between the races often differ from those used within the racial groups. With the social changes afoot in South Africa today, the traditional situation to which the following description applies, now has many exceptions, for example the growing non-white middle-class and the emergence of non-white community leaders recognised by the white regime. Nevertheless, the traditional master-servant situation and patriarchal farmer who has a dependent "volk" working and living on his farm, is not yet by any means a thing of the past:

Whites (of whatever age) have traditionally always addressed blacks with *jy*; whether a white would use *jy* quite so readily towards a coloured would depend on the latter's social standing⁴ (e.g. servant, labourer, shop-assistant or businessman or woman). Blacks use *Baas* and *Miesies* when addressing whites, e.g.

(176) *Baas, wil baas hê ek moet nou die gras sny?*
'Master, do you want me to mow the lawn now?'

Towards white children servants intersperse *jy* with the honorific *Kleinbaas* for a boy (the father or grandfather may be *Oubaas*) and *Kleinmies* or *Kleinnooi* for a girl (the mother or grandmother may be *Oumies* or *Ounooi*).

5.1.1.2.4. The filler *jy weet* 'you know'

In the ubiquitous filler *jy weet* 'you know', which is used just as in English, there is a tendency to reduce the vowel of *jy* to a schwa, i.e. [jə veət].

5.1.1.2.5. 'You' meaning 'one'

Jy/jou can mean 'one', as *you* can in English, e.g. *Jy kan Tafelberg van hier af sien* 'You can see Table Mountain from here'. Where in higher style 'one' is used in English, Afrikaans uses (*n*) *mens* but reverts to *jy/jou* if the word 'one/one's' recurs in the sentence (see 5.1.2.6 and 5.6).

⁴ The situations prevailing in Cape Town, for example, with its overwhelming coloured population, and say that in the Free State, where the vast majority of non-whites are relatively unsophisticated blacks, hardly bear comparison. These are controversial issues now in a state of gradual transition.

5.1.1.3. Third person pronouns

5.1.1.3.1. Third person pronominal substitution

As there is no longer any distinction in the gender of nouns in Afrikaans, an analytical development it has in common with English, it could be expected that one would refer to all inanimate nouns as *dit* when replacing them with pronouns, e.g.

- (177) *Ken jy die tronk op Robbeneiland? Dit is verskriklik oud.*
 'Do you know the prison on Robben Island. It is terribly old.'

Compare the following with an animate noun: *Dit is my hond. Is hy nie lieflik nie?* 'This my dog. Isn't he lovely?' Although *dit* is used in this way in Afrikaans, it is more usual to substitute inanimate nouns with *hy* (or its object form *hom*); this is particularly the case in the spoken language, overuse of *dit* sounding somewhat bookish, but it is not limited to the spoken language, e.g.

- (178) *Het jy die nuwe NP-plakkaat gesien? Ja, hy is pragtig.*
 'Have you seen the new NP poster? Yes, it's great.'
- (179) *Die leier van die PFP het die regering weer daarvan beskuldig dat hy te stadig beweeg op die pad van hervorming.*
 'The leader of the PFP has accused the government again of moving too slowly along the road to reform' (literally that *it* is moving...).

Hy/hom, never *dit*, is always used with reference to children, animals, modes of transport and countries, unlike English, e.g.

- (180) *Roemenië het bekendgemaak dat hy... (or hulle).*
 'Romania has announced that it...'
- (181) *Dié kindjie huil al langer as 'n uur. Hy hou net nie op nie.*
 'That child has been crying for longer than an hour. It simply won't stop.'
- (182) *Waar is die trein? Is hy weer laat?*
 'Where's the train? Is it late again?'

Note too the use of *hy* for 'it' in the common expression *Dis hy* 'That's it/Exactly/You've got it'.

5.1.1.3.2. Demonstrative functions of *dit* and contraction of *dit is* to *dis*

Dit also has demonstrative functions, in which role it can refer to plurals as well as render 'they'. For this use of *dit* see 5.2.1⁵ (see 5.2.8 too for use of *dié*, another demonstrative that can function as a personal pronoun).

⁵ The multiple functions of the pronoun *dit* are a result of it having assumed in Afrikaans the functions of both *dat* 'that' (see footnote 15) and *het* 'it' while still retaining its original function as an independent demonstrative pronoun meaning 'this'.

When followed by *is*, *dit* is usually contracted to *dis* if no particular emphasis is required (compare *it's* versus *it is*), e.g.

- (183) *Dis nie belangrik nie. Dit is.*
'It's not important. It is.'

5.1.1.3.3. *Daar-* + preposition

The third person pronouns *hom*, *dit*⁶ and *hulle*, when used with reference to inanimate objects and preceded by a preposition, are usually replaced by the adverb *daar-* + preposition, e.g.

- (184) *Sien jy dié kampong? Vyfduisend swart mynwerkers bly daarin*
(*< in hom*).
'Do you see that compound? Five thousand black mine workers live there/in it.'
- (185) *Sit die twee tafels teen die muur en sit al die glase daarop* (*< op hulle*)
'Put the two tables against the wall and put all the glasses on them.'
- (186) *(Die) meeste van my lakens het gate > (Die) meeste van hulle het gate / Die meeste daarvan het gate.*
'Most of my sheets have holes in them > Most of them have holes in them/Most of them have holes in them.'

Although both constructions are commonly found there is a preference in the standard written language for the forms with *daar-*. The personal pronoun forms are often used for emphasis, e.g.

- (187) *Kom, sit op dit, nie op daai ou stoel nie.*
'Here, sit on this, not on that old chair.'

Identical to these *daar-* + preposition constructions are those formed from *hier-*; whereas *daar-* stands in for both 'it' (i.e. *hom / dit*) and 'that/those/them' (i.e. *dit / daardie / hulle*), *hier-* can stand in for 'this/these' (i.e. *dit / hierdie*)⁷ when a preposition is involved, e.g.

- (188) *Daar is nie genoeg plek vir dit / hierdie nie > Daar is nie genoeg plek hiervoor nie.*
'There's not enough room for this/these.'⁸

Stranding is sometimes applied to *daar/hier* + preposition constructions, e.g.

⁶ See 5.1.1.3.1 for the alternation of *hom* or *dit* with reference to inanimate objects.

⁷ Remember here that *dit* can mean 'it', 'they/them', 'this/these' and 'that/those', as mentioned under 5.1.1.3.1.

⁸ See 11.3 for the change from *vir* to *voor* in this construction.

- (189) *Ons het meer gegewens hiervoor nodig/Hier het ons meer gegewens voor nodig/Hiervoor het ons...*
'We need more details for this.'
- (190) *Jy kan nie daarop sit nie want 'n kat sit daarop/...want daar sit 'n kat op.*
'You can't sit on that because there's a cat sitting on it.'
- (191) *Daarvoor is ek glad nie lus nie* (the more usual),
Daar is ek glad nie lus voor nie (less frequent),
Vir dit is ek glad nie lus nie (emphatic),
Dit is ek glad nie lus voor nie (very colloquial).
'I don't feel like that at all.'

Where a preposition + *dit* is followed by a relative pronoun, substitution of *dit* with *daar* is not possible, e.g.

- (192) *Ons het nie gevra vir dit wat met ons gebeur nie.*
'We didn't ask for that which is happening to us.'

Compare *Ons het nie daarvoor gevra nie.*

Where a statement begins with an existential *daar* (see 5.1.1.3.6.1) and is followed later in the sentence by a pronominal *daar* + preposition (i.e. of the kind described in the previous paragraph), it is common for the prepositional *daar* to be omitted, thus giving rise to prepositional stranding, e.g.

- (193) *Daar was baie mense (daar)by.*
'There were a lot of people there.'
- (194) *Daar moet iets (daar)omtrent gedoen word.*
'Something has to be done about it.'
- (195) *Sien jy hierdie twee boeke? Daar word baie verwys (daar)na/na hulle.*
'Do you see those two books? They are referred to a lot.'

(see 5.1.1.3.3 for the choice between *daarna* and *na hulle* and see 5.1.1.3.7 for a description of cases like the last two examples where it is impossible to use an existential 'there' in the passive in English but acceptable, and even more usual, to do so in Afrikaans). Omission of the second *daar* is somewhat more formal.

See prepositional stranding under 12.8.

5.1.1.3.4. *Daar-* + preposition with verbs and adjectives that take a fixed preposition

When the object of a verb that takes a prepositional object (see 8.19) is a clause rather than a noun or pronoun, the preposition combines with *daar* to form a provisional object which is then elaborated on in the clause that follows. Adjectives which take a fixed preposition (see 6.11) similar to such verbs can also be subject to this construction. This provisional object has become optional to a great extent with many verbs and adjectives, being more consistently employed in the written language, than the spoken, for example:

with verbs:

- (196) *Ek hou daarvan om in die kerk te sing.*
'I like singing in church.'
- (197) *Ek sien daarna uit om julle weer te sien.*
'I'm looking forward to seeing you again.'
- (198) *Hulle word daarvan aangekla dat...*
'They are accused of...'
- (199) *Ek begin daaraan dink om my lewe te neem.*
'I'm beginning to think of taking my life.'
- (200) *Dit het baie daartoe bygedra om die samewerking tussen die twee te verbeter.*
'This contributed a lot to improving the cooperation between the two.'
- (201) *Dis 'n program van hervorming wat daarop bereken is om swart aspirasies te bevredig.*
'It is a programme of reform which is aimed at satisfying black aspirations.'
- (202) *Dit sorg ook daarvoor dat die aarde se suurstofvoorraad aangevul word.*
'It also assures that the earth's oxygen supply is replenished.'
- (203) *Ek wonder of dit daaraan te wyte is dat...*
'I wonder if that's the reason why...' (see 8.16.1.5).

It is difficult to generalise about with which verbs this provisional object is compulsory and with which it is optional. In all the above cases it is compulsory, in the following it is optional:

- (204) *Dit hang (daarvan) af of jy...*
'It depends on whether you...'
- (205) *Die HNP sal (daarop) aandrang om aan die debat deel te neem.*
'The HNP will insist on taking part in the debate.'
- (206) *Ons strewe (daarna) om te...*
'We are striving to...'
- (207) *Hulle was (daartoe) in staat om te...*
'They were in a position to...'

with adjectives:

Use of the provisional object with adjectives that take a fixed preposition would seem to nearly always be optional, which is certainly not the case with verbs, for example:

- (208) *Hy was (daarvan) oortuig dat hy op 'n dooie olifant afgekom het.*
'He was convinced that he had chanced upon a dead elephant.'
- (209) *Swartes is (daaraan) gewoond om pap te eet.*
'Blacks are used to eating porridge.'
- (210) *Hulle is nie (daarin) geïnteresseerd om te...*
'They're not interested in...'
- (211) *Hulle is bekommerd (daaroor) dat...*
'They are worried that...'

- (212) *Ek is bewus/seker (daarvan) dat...*
'I am aware/sure that...'
(213) *Afhangende daarvan of...*
'Depending on whether...'

This provisional object construction can also occur with certain prepositional phrases (see 11.13), e.g.

- (214) *Al hierdie woorde bly leenvertalings in weerwil daarvan dat die Engelse voorbeeld versluier word.*
'All these words remain loan translations in spite of the fact that the English example is disguised' (< *in weerwil van* 'in spite of').

***Dit* as a provisional object**

Akin to the above provisional prepositional object of verbs which is often omitted, is the use of a direct object *dit* with certain verbs which is also optional in some cases but compulsory in others, for example:

- (215) *Ek kan (dit) nie bekostig om te...*
'I can't afford to...'
(216) *Jy het (dit) nie gewaag om haar te help nie.*
'You didn't dare to help her.'
(217) *Ek geniet dit nog steeds om te werk.*
'I still enjoy working.'⁹
(218) *Ek haat/verpes dit om te...*
'I hate/detest ...-ing.'
(219) *Argeoloë is dit nou eens dat die proses in Afrika plaasgevind het.*
'Archeologists now agree that the process occurred in Africa.'
(220) *Hy oorweeg (dit) om na Suid-Afrika te emigreer.*
'He's considering emigrating to South Africa.'

5.1.1.3.5. Omission of *daar* meaning 'it/them'

In prepositional phrases of the following kind, which consist of a noun (singular or plural) + *met* + noun (with or without article) + preposition, use of *daar* (= it/them in the English equivalents) with the final preposition is not usual:

- (221) *Daar lê 'n stapel hout met 'n afdak oor.*
'There's a pile of wood lying there with a roof over it.'
(222) *Op die tafeltjie lê 'n boek met name in.*
'On the table there's a book with names in it.'
(223) *Die huis voel soos 'n tronk met dié hoë heining om.*
'The house feels like a prison with that high fence around it.'
(224) *Maak dit 'n hamburger met kaas op.*
'Make it a hamburger with cheese on it.'

⁹ Compare *Ek hou nog steeds daarvan om te werk* 'I still like working'.

- (225) *Dit was groot kamers met baie houtbanke in.*
 'They were big rooms with lots of wooden benches in them.'
- (226) *Dit was groenige bottels met patroontjies op.*
 'They were greenish bottles with patterns on them.'

In the following examples, which differ from the above by not containing a prepositional phrase with *met*, a similar independent use of the preposition also occurs:

- (227) *Die uitlaatpyp het 'n gat in.*
 'The exhaust has a hole in it.'
- (228) *Die buffers het duike in.*
 'The bumpers have got dents in them.'

Generally speaking there is a preference to rephrase structures of this kind as they are not acceptable Afrikaans to everybody, i.e. *Daar is 'n gat in die uitlaatpyp*, *Daar is duike in die buffers* (see 12.11).

5.1.1.3.6. *Daar* as a provisional subject in indefinite contexts

The possibility exists of starting a sentence with *daar*, in the same way that *there* is used in English. This is only possible in both languages where the subject of a statement is indefinite (i.e. a person, people, someone, something etc.) and the verb concerned is intransitive (see 5.1.1.3.7), e.g.

- (229) *Daar is / staan 'n kind / kinders / baie / 'n paar / verskeie / verskillende kinders in die straat.*
 'There is/are a child/children/many/a few/several/various children (standing) in the street.'

This use of *daar* as a provisional subject is referred to as existential or repletive *daar*, and can be seen to be acting as a stand-in subject with the true subject following the verb: compare 'There is a man in the street' and 'There are men in the street' where it is 'man' and 'men' respectively that determine the form of the verb; as there is no change in the person of the verb in Afrikaans whether the subject be singular or plural, this problem does not arise. The distinction between the following couplets is identical in both Afrikaans and English with the forms with repletive *daar* or 'there' sounding more usual:

- (230) *Daar is vandag baie mense in die stad.*
 'There are a lot of people in town today.'
- (231) *Baie mense is vandag in die stad.*
 'A lot of people are in town today.'
- (232) *Daar speel 'n kind in die tuin.*
 'There's a child playing in the garden.'
- (233) *'n Kind speel in die tuin.*
 'A child is playing in the garden.'

- (234) *Daar klop iemand aan die deur.*
 'There's someone knocking at the door.'
- (235) *Iemand klop aan die deur.*
 'Someone is knocking at the door.'

But it is more common in Afrikaans than in English to use an existential *daar* with indefinite subjects, many such constructions sounding unnatural or bookish if translated with 'there', e.g.

- (236) *Juis op daardie tydstip ontstaan daar 'n behoefte aan meer koloniste.*
 'Just at that point in time a need for more colonists arose'
 (=...there arose a need for more colonists).
- (237) *Daar is baie soldate grense toe gestuur / Baie soldate is grens toe gestuur.*
 'A lot of soldiers were sent to the border'
 (= there were a lot of soldiers sent to the border).

This existential *daar* is particularly commonly used in Afrikaans in combination with the indefinite pronouns *iets* 'something', *niks* 'nothing' and *(n)iemand* '(nobody)/somebody', e.g.

- (238) *Daar het iets geval (= iets het geval).*
 'Something has fallen.'
- (239) *Daar het niks gebeur nie (= niks het gebeur nie).*
 'Nothing has happened.'
- (240) *Daar kom iemand (= iemand kom).*
 'There's someone coming/Someone's coming.'

But above all in passive constructions the parallel use of *daar* and 'there' breaks down (see 5.1.1.3.7).

Although existential *daar* has been described above as acting as a provisional subject, and can therefore be regarded as a pronoun, the fact that it is usually omitted when a sentence starts with an adverbial expression of place, suggests that there is nevertheless a connection between this *daar* and locative *daar* (see 7.5), e.g.

- (241) *Daar is baie arm swartes in Quaqua.*
 'There are a lot of poor blacks in Quaqua.'
- (242) *In Quaqua is (daar) baie arm swartes (omission being more usual)*
 'In Quaqua there are a lot of poor blacks.'¹⁰

but

- (243) *Deesdae is daar baie arm mense in die tuislande.*
 'These days there are a lot of poor people in the homelands.'

Deesdae, being an adverbial expression of time, does not do away with the necessity to include *daar*.

¹⁰ This example illustrates that the existential 'there' in English obviously has no locative connotations, unlike its counterpart in Afrikaans.

5.1.1.3.6.1. Existential *daar* + prepositional *daar*- in the same clause

When the *daar* + preposition described under 5.1.1.3.3 occurs in a sentence that already begins with (an existential) *daar*, the possibility often exists of omitting the second *daar*, the preposition then being dependent on the first and taking on the appearance of a case of prepositional stranding (see 12.8.1.1), for example:

- (244) *Daar is nie meer baie koekies (daar)in nie.*
 'There are no longer many biscuits in it.'
- (245) *Daar is niks (daar)mee verkeerd nie.*
 'There is nothing wrong with it' (commonly omitted after *niks*).
- (246) *Daar is sekere voordele (daar)aan verbonde.*
 'There are certain advantages connected with it' (possible to omit but not common because *verbonde aan* is a standard combination).
- (247) *Daar is geldige redes daarvoor.*
 'There are valid reasons for it.'

5.1.1.3.7. Existential *daar* with passive constructions

Although only transitive verbs can be used in the passive, and repletive *daar* can only be used with intransitive verbs, verbs in the passive behave like intransitive verbs and can thus be used with *daar*; this use is paralleled in English too, e.g.

- (248) *Daar is baie geld ingesamel.*
 'There was a lot of money collected' (= a lot of money was collected).

But the parallel with English breaks down when *daar* is used in the passive in Afrikaans in combination with modal verbs, e.g.

- (249) *Daar moet iets gedoen word.*
 'Something has to be done' (not *There has to be something done).
- (250) *Iets moet daaraan gedoen word =*
Daar moet iets daaraan gedoen word =
Daar moet iets aan gedoen word (with prepositional stranding)
 'Something has to be done about it.'
- (251) *Daar sou geredeneer kon word dat dié boek nie voorgeskryf hoef te word nie.*
 'It could be argued that that book doesn't need to be prescribed.'¹¹
- (252) *Daar sal (daar)na gekyk moet word.*
 'That will have to be looked at' (with prepositional stranding when the second *daar* is omitted, see 5.1.1.3.6.1).

¹¹ As this and several of the examples that follow illustrate; an impersonal 'it' as the subject of a passive sentence is rendered by *daar* in Afrikaans, not *dit*, although under the influence of English *dit* is often heard in lieu of *daar* in such cases.

Other examples:

- (253) *Daar moet vir vrede gewerk word =
Vrede moet voor gewerk word* (colloquial with prepositional stranding)
'Peace has to be worked for' (see 11.3).
- (254) *Daar word baie gepraat oor...*
'There's a lot of gossip about....'
- (255) *Daar is vir my lewer bedien.*
'I was served liver.'
- (256) *Daar word nie meer probeer om dit weg te steek nie.*
'Attempts are no longer being made to hide it.'
- (257) *Daar word dikwels na die Groote Schuur as 'n baanbrekers-
hospitaal verwys.*
'Groote Schuur is often referred to as a pioneering hospital.'
- (258) *Sover daar vasgestel kan word, het die olie die strand nie besoedel nie.*
'As far as can be determined the oil hasn't polluted the beach.'
- (259) *Daar word (daar)op gewys dat dit gevaarlik kan wees.*
'It is pointed out that it can be dangerous' (with prepositional stranding when the second *daar* is omitted, see 5.1.1.3.6.1).
- (260) *Daar is gister aangekondig dat die eetstakers hul eetstaking
beëindig het.*
'It was announced yesterday that the hunger strikers have ended their strike.'

The previous example, where the *daar* clause introduces reported speech, follows a recognised pattern in Afrikaans, e.g.

- (261) *Daar word / is beweer dat...*
'It is/has been claimed that...'
- (262) *Daar word voorspel dat...*
'It is predicted that...'
- (263) *Daar word geglo dat baie mense op die eiland aangehou word.*
'It is believed that a lot of people are being held on the island.'

When inversion is applied to a clause containing an existential *daar* used with the passive, *daar* is omitted, e.g.

- (264) *Daar word in die boek na hulle verwys / In die boek word na hulle
verwys.*
'There's a reference to them in this book.'
- (265) *Daar word aan besoekers verduidelik hoe... / Aan besoekers word
verduidelik hoe Nyl-krokodille geteel word.*
'It is explained to visitors how Nile crocodiles are bred.'
- (266) *Daar word gesê dat swartes nie maklik tot bestuursposte bevorder
word nie / ..., word gesê.*
'It is said that blacks are not easily promoted to managerial positions/...it is said.'

See final paragraph of 5.1.1.3.6 for a similar but different case where *daar* is omitted.

5.1.1.3.8. Use of *-hulle* as a suffix denoting collectives

It is possible to suffix *-hulle* to any noun denoting a person or persons to refer to a collective of people, e.g. *Pa-hulle* 'mum and dad, dad and the others'(depending on the context), *my Ma/Pa-hulle* 'my parents', *Piet-hulle* 'Piet and his wife, Piet and his family, Piet and his friends' (depending on the context). A married couple called Koos and Anna van Rensburg (with or without their children being included) may be referred to either as *die Van Rensburgs-hulle*, *Koos-hulle* or *Anna-hulle*; the last two depend on the point of view of the speaker, i.e. one might prefix the name of the person one is more friendly with (see *u-hulle* under 5.1.1.2.2).

5.1.1.4. Other functions of subject and object pronouns

5.1.1.4.1. Use of subject pronouns where English often uses object pronouns

Note that in comparatives the subject pronoun must be used, never the object form as in colloquial English, e.g.

- (267) *Sy is langer as ek/jy/hy/sy.*
'She is taller than me/you/him/her' (< I/you/he/she).

As there is no difference between the subject and object forms in the plural in Afrikaans, the problem does not arise, e.g.

- (268) *Hy is maerder as ons/julle/hulle.*
'He's thinner than us/you/them' (< we/you/they) (see 6.6.4).

Similar to the above is the need for a subject pronoun, not an object pronoun as in colloquial English, in the following expressions:

- (269) *As ek jy/hy/sy was...*
'If I were you/him/her... '(< he/she).
(270) *Arme ek/jy/hy/sy*
'Poor me/you/him/her.'

The verb *makeer* 'to lack, matter' can take both subject and object forms of the pronouns, e.g.

- (271) *Wat makeer jou/hom? or Wat makeer jy/hy?*
'What's the matter with you/him?'

but only

- (272) *Ek/jy/hy makeer niks.*
'There's nothing wrong with me/you/him.'¹²

¹² Another verb which presents similar difficulties for English speakers is *oorkom* 'to happen to' where the object of the English verb is the subject in Afrikaans, e.g. *Wat het jy oorgekom?* 'What happened to you?' *Ek het dit al een keer oorgekom* 'That happened to me once'.

It is also optional with imperatives formed with *laat* whether one uses the subject or object pronoun, but the former is more usual, e.g.

- (273) *Laat ek / my sien.*
'Let me see.'
(274) *Laat sy / haar dit doen.*
'Let her do it.'

After the preposition *behalwe* 'except for' either a subject or an object pronoun can be used, depending on the meaning, although in English only the latter is possible, e.g.

- (275) *Almal gaan, behalwe ek.*
'Everyone is going except for me.'
(276) *Hy het almal gesien, behalwe (vir) my.*
'He saw everybody except for me.'

In the first example *almal* is the subject of *gaan* and *ek* can be regarded either as part of that subject or as a second subject of the same verb, whereas in the second example both *almal* and *my* are objects of the verb *sien*.

In exclamations such as 'you pig', 'you bugger' or 'you angel' *jou* is required, not *jy*, e.g. *jou vark, jou bogger, jou engel*.

5.1.1.4.2. Use of subject instead of object pronouns in the passive

In English constructions where the indirect object of the active becomes the subject of the passive, as in verbs expressing giving, offering and sending something to someone for example, a potential problem exists in Afrikaans. There is no problem as long as the subject of such constructions is a noun or a plural personal pronoun, subject and object forms of both nouns and plural pronouns being identical. However there is a potential problem when the subject is a singular personal pronoun, i.e. *ek, jy, hy* or *sy*, as these pronouns have separate object forms (*my, jou, hom, haar*), e.g.

- (277) *Hy is toestemming gegee om huis toe te gaan.*
'He was given permission to go home.'

This is very commonly heard in speech and written by many too, but objected to by purists (i.e. it is an assimilated Anglicism for *aan hom*), whereas *Hulle / die werkers is toestemming gegee om...* 'They/the workers were given permission to...' provokes no objection at all. Prescriptive grammar demands either of the following variants:

Daar is vir hom toestemming gegee om... – this the most neutral form
Vir/aan hom is toestemming gegee om... – this is an emphatic variant of the previous example; *my, jou, hom* and *haar* in such constructions must be preceded by *aan* or *vir*, where a preposition is not necessary with *ons, julle* and *hulle*, i.e. *Hulle is toestemming gegee om...* 'They were given permission to...'

Where the performer of the action is mentioned, the above passive constructions are commonly avoided and the sentence is expressed in the active, e.g.

- (278) *Ek is 'n nuwe kar gegee deur my oupa > My oupa het vir my 'n nuwe kar gegee.*
 'I was given a new car by my grandfather > My grandfather gave me a new car.'

5.1.1.4.3. 'The three of us/you/them'

Ons/julle/hulle drie etc. renders 'the three of us/you/them', e.g.

- (279) *Hulle vier gaan fliek toe.*
 'The four of them are going to the movies.'

5.1.1.4.4. Pronominal use after everyone, someone, no-one etc.

As in English, one is not always comfortable using a singular personal pronoun with reference to *elkeen* 'everyone', *iemand* 'someone', and *niemand* 'no-one' etc. due to the necessity to decide between *hy* and *sy*, and consequently *hulle* is sometimes heard where prescriptive grammar would demand *hy*, e.g.

- (280) *Niemand kan die toekoms voorspel nie. As hulle kon, sou ons lankal ons deure moes sluit.*
 'Nobody can predict the future. If they could we should have shut up shop long ago.'

5.1.2. Possessive pronouns (see paradigm under 5.1)

5.1.2.1. Attributive versus independent forms of the possessive pronouns

The two forms of the possessive given in the paradigm under 5.1 are the attributive and independent forms respectively,¹³ i.e. *Dit is my/jou/ons têkkies. Dit is myne/joune/ons s'n* 'These are my/your/our sneakers. These are mine/yours/ours'. Where in English we say 'These are dad's/John's/the neighbours', i.e. also a form of independent possessive, the same *s'n* construction is employed in Afrikaans, e.g. *Dit is pa s'n/John s'n/die bure s'n. S'n* in all these constructions has an alternative form *s'ne*. *Syne* is a hypercorrect form.

¹³ There is a direct parallel with these two forms in the second person singular in older English, i.e. *Take thy wife. She is thine*.

5.1.2.2. Use of *dié se/s'n* to avoid ambiguity

The demonstrative pronoun *dié* plus *se/s'n* replaces *sy/syne* where ambiguity exists as to who the possessor is, e.g.

- (281) *Gerrit is met Koos en dié se pa na die vendusie.*
 'Gerrit has gone with Koos and his dad (i.e. Koos' dad) to the auction.'

To have used *sy* instead of *dié se* could have referred to the subject's father, i.e. Gerrit's. Note too:

- (282) *Saam met wie se pa gaan hy? Met dié s'n.*
 'Whose father is he going with? With that chap's' (pointing to a particular person).

5.1.2.3. Generic use of *jou*

In imitation of English, *jou* is used in a general sense (= *the/die*) without any reference to the person addressed being intended, e.g.

- (283) *Jou gemiddelde swarte stel nie belang in politiek nie.*
 'Your average black isn't interested in politics.'
 (284) *Neem byvoorbeeld jou gemiddelde Japannese motor.*
 'Take your average Japanese car for example.'

5.1.2.4. *Joue* versus *joune*

The historically correct form *joue*, although still encountered from time to time, has to all intents and purposes been replaced by *joune*, a new form formed by analogy with *myne* and *syne*.

5.1.2.5. *U s'n*

If *u* as a subject/object pronoun is still avoided by many Afrikaans speakers (see 5.1.1.2.1), *u s'n* is even less common.

5.1.2.6. The possessive 'one's'

The impersonal pronoun 'one' is rendered by *mens/'n mens*. In less formal style, just as in English, the pronoun *jy* is used instead, e.g.

- (285) *Mens/'n mens kan sien hy is 'n egte boer.*
 'One can see that he is true farmer.'

The object and possessive forms of *mens/'n mens* are *jou*, however, and if in

the same sentence 'one' is used a second time as a subject pronoun, *jy* is then used, not *mens* / 'n *mens*, e.g.

- (286) *In die Kruger-wildtuin moet 'n mens nooit uit jou kar klim nie en jy moet voor sonsondergang een van die kampe bereik.*
 'In the Kruger National Park one should never get out of one's car and ' has to get to one of the camps before sunset.'

In the same way the reflexive pronoun belonging with ('n) *mens* is *jou*, e.g.

- (287) *'n Mens wil jou graag voorstel dat...*
 'One rather likes to imagine that...'

If an object form of 'one' is needed and a subject form ('n) *mens* has not previously been mentioned, ('n) *mens* can function as an object pronoun, e.g.

- (288) *Niemand was bang nie, al het dit mens bly bedreig.*
 'No-one was afraid although it continued to threaten one.' (see 5.6.1, note 16).

5.1.2.7. Archaic *onse*

An inflected variant of *ons*, *onse*, is still occasionally found but is considered archaic, e.g.

- (289) *Hy is onse ouderling gewees.*
 'He used to be our elder' (functionary in the NG Church).
 (290) *Onse Vader wat in die hemel is.*
 'Our Father, which art in heaven.'

Because it is no longer current, it may even be used ironically or humorously, e.g.

- (291) *FW is onse held.*
 'FW (i.e. F.W. de Klerk, the state president) is our hero.'

5.1.2.8. *Myns/syns/onses insiens* 'in my/his/our opinion'

In the expression *myns/syns/onses insiens* 'in my/his/our opinion' an archaic genitive ending of the possessive has been preserved.

5.1.2.9. *Jul* and *hul*

The forms *jul* and *hul* are particularly frequently used when the full form *julle/hulle* has been used previously in the sentence as a subject or object

pronoun;¹⁴ they are best regarded as primarily attributive forms (i.e. *jul boeke* 'your books', but *julle s'n* 'yours'). *Jul/hul* are also commonly used as reflexives, particularly in combination with the suffix *-self* (see 8.20.4), i.e. *julself, hulself*; this is also a form of attributive use, e.g.

- (292) *Hoekom het julle jul kinders nie saamgeneem nie?*
'Why didn't you take your kids with you?'
(293) *Hulle het hulself dikwels afgevra hoekom dit so is.*
'They have often wondered why it's like that.'

5.1.2.10. *S'n* versus *s'ne*

The independent possessives formed from the personal pronoun plus *s'n* (literally 'his', a general marker of possession, see § 5.1.2.1 and 4.4.2), have a less common alternative form formed from *s'ne* (< Dutch *zijne*, i.e. the inflected possessive of the third person singular masculine and neuter).

5.1.2.11. *Die uwe* 'yours'

The antiquated form *die uwe* 'yours' is used as a formal means of ending letters and is roughly equivalent to 'yours faithfully/sincerely'.

5.1.2.12. Use of the definite article in lieu of the possessive with parts of the body

Possessive pronouns can be replaced by the definite article before parts of the body when preceded by a preposition, e.g.

- (294) *Hy het 'n moesie op die / sy blad.*
'He's got a mole on his shoulder-blade.'
(295) *Ek het pyn in die / my sy.*
'I've got a pain in my side.'

In certain idioms the form with the definite article is more usual, e.g.

- (296) *Die owerheid sit met die hande in die hare oor plakkers.*
'The government is at its wit's end about squatters.'

Use of the definite article in lieu of the possessive often sounds rather formal, e.g. *die rug op iemand keer* = *jou rug op iemand draai* 'to turn your back on someone', where *keer* is also a formal synonym of *draai*.

¹⁴ *Jul* and *hul* can also function as subject and object pronouns but they most commonly occur as possessives or reflexives. Afrikaans grammars maintain that the two occur in free variation in all functions but my observations of the written language have indicated that the comments in the previous sentence describe what is most usual.

5.2. Demonstrative pronouns

5.2.1. 'This/that, these/those'

The opposition *this/that, these/those*, which exists in English and in Dutch, is not always as clear-cut in Afrikaans. The word *dit*, historically meaning 'this' but in Afrikaans now primarily meaning 'it', is also used as an independent demonstrative pronoun meaning 'this' or 'that',¹⁵ e.g.

- (297) *Ek het dit nog nooit gesien nie.*
'I have never seen it/this/that before.'

If it is necessary to emphasise the demonstrative, *dit* can be replaced by *hierdie* and *daardie*. But the primary meaning of *hierdie* and *daardie* used independently, i.e. not before a noun as emphatic demonstrative adjectives, is 'this one' and 'that one', e.g.

- (298) *Hierdie/daardie is baie mooi.*
'This/that (one) is very pretty.'
(299) *Het jy hierdie/daardie gesien?*
'Have you seen this/that (one)?'¹⁶

Traditionally this use of *hierdie* and *daardie* has been regarded as an Anglicism by Afrikaans grammarians (although it is not clear why); thus in traditional grammars *dit* is prescribed in all such cases. Even those grammarians who condemn this use of *hierdie* and *daardie* seem to recognise that opposition to it is now futile.

5.2.2. Use of *dit* as a subject pronoun meaning 'these/those/they'

Note also the following use of *dit* as a subject pronoun meaning 'these/those/they' (i.e. plural) in a context where the plural noun to which it refers follows, i.e. is yet to be mentioned:

- (300) *Dis (= hierdie/daardie is) mooi blompotte. Waar het jy hulle gekry?*
'These/those are pretty vases. Where did you get them from?'

Notice that in the second sentence, where the referent is known, unlike in the first sentence at the point where *dit* is mentioned, the pronoun *hulle* 'them' is used. In fact *dit* could have been used here too because it is sometimes used with reference to both plural subjects and plural objects even where the referent is known, but not when it is personal, e.g.

¹⁵ The Dutch pronoun *dat* 'that' has not survived in Afrikaans. *Dat* is only found as a subordinating conjunction. But pronominal *dat* has been preserved in the standard expressions *dit en dat/ditjies en datjies* 'this and that/this, that and the other', e.g. *Ons het net oor ditjies en datjies gepraat* 'We were just talking about this and that,' *Hulle mag nie dit doen nie en hulle mag nie dat doen nie* 'They're not allowed to do this and they're not allowed to do that'.

¹⁶ See 5.2.7 for use of *een/ene/enetjie* with *hierdie/daardie*.

- (301) *Dis (= hulle is) oulike mense. Waar het jy hulle ontmoet?*
 'They are nice people. Where did you meet them?' (personal).

Compare

- (302) *Die selle word buite die baarmoeder bevrug en in ander koeie teruggeplaas, waar dit tot kalwers ontwikkel.*
 'The cells are fertilised outside the womb and are placed in other cows where they develop into calves' (impersonal).
- (303) *Daar is beslag gelê op 90% van die vervalste note voordat dit gesirkuleer kon word.*
 '90% of the forged notes were confiscated before they could be circulated' (impersonal).

5.2.3. Emphatic *hierdie*, *daardie* or *dié* /*daar* at the end of a statement

In colloquial Afrikaans an emphatic *hierdie*, *daardie* or *dié* (even more colloquially *daai*) is frequently heard at the end of a statement in which a referential pronoun already occurs, e.g.

- (304) *Dis 'n baie besonderse polis hierdie, meneer.*
 'This is a very special policy, this one, sir.'
- (305) *Dis g'n museum dié nie.*
 'That's not a museum, that place.'
- (306) *Hy is 'n oulike oompie, daai.*
 'He's a nice old chap, that one/chap.'
- (307) *Wat is dit hierdie/daardie?*
 'What's this/that?'

5.2.4. *Daar-/hier-* + preposition

See 5.1.1.3.3 for *daar-* + preposition (= preposition + 'that/these') and *hier-* + preposition (= preposition + 'this/these').

5.2.5. *Hierdie*, *daardie* and *dié* as demonstrative adjectives

Hierdie 'this/these' and *daardie* 'that/those' are only used when a particular emphasis is required (compare the use of *dit* above); if the definite article is not emphatic enough, it is given a stress in both speech and writing to render 'this/these' and 'that/those', e.g.

- (308) *Die R20-prys word dié week gewen deur mnr. G. du Toit.*
 'This week the prize of 20 rand has been won by Mr. G. du Toit.'

Generally speaking this is the form preferred in written style, excessive use of *hierdie* and *daardie* being limited on the whole to the spoken language. Thus there is a parallel here between the definite article and the

demonstratives: *dít* (literally 'it') renders 'it/this/that' unless particular emphasis is required, and *dié/dië* render 'the/this,that'. An emphatic form limited to the spoken language and equivalent to *daardie*, but not *hierdie*, is *daai*, a contracted assimilated variant of *daardie*, e.g.

- (309) *Jy moet daai pad neem nie hierdie een nie.*
 'You should take that road, not this one.'

The colloquial pronunciations *hierie* and *darie*, where the *d* has been assimilated, are commonly heard.

In standard expressions the historical form *dese* ('this/these' as distinct from 'that/those'), both with and without archaic case endings, has been preserved, e.g. *vandeesweek* 'this week', *deser dae* 'nowadays', *die 10e deser* 'the 10th of this month'. Also

- (310) *Miskien verstaan ek ná dese meer van jou.*
 'Perhaps I'll understand you better henceforth.'

5.2.7. Use of *een/ene/enetjie* after *hierdie* and *daardie*

When used independently, i.e. as pronouns and not as adjectives before the noun, *hierdie* and *daardie* are more often than not followed by *een*, as in the English construction 'this/that one', e.g.

- (311) *Hierdie boek is baie goed maar daardie een is nog beter.*
 'This book is very good but that one is even better.'

In English this 'one' is not optional, but in Afrikaans it is still optional at this stage, although there seems to be a definite preference for inserting it in the spoken language.

Colloquially *ene* is heard, as is *enetjie* if the noun being referred to is small, e.g.

- (312) *Hierdie ene/enetjie is nie sleg nie.*
 'This one isn't bad' (compare colloquial English 'Thissie isn't bad').

See this use of *een/ene/enetjie* and even *enes* with adjectives under 6.3.¹⁷

5.2.8. Use of *dié* as a singular and plural third person personal pronoun

When the definite article is stressed, i.e. *dié*, it becomes a demonstrative, as illustrated in 5.2.5, but *dié* can also replace all third person personal pronouns, both singular and plural, if they are particularly emphasised, e.g.

- (313) *Waar is Annetjie/die Van Stadens? Dié het dorp toe gegaan.*
 'Where's Annetjie/the Van Stadens? She/they went to town.'

¹⁷ Although (*die*) *groen enes* '(the) green ones' is heard in non-standard speech, **hierdie/daardie enes* 'these/those ones does not occur'.

As this *dié* is emphatic, the object form too is placed at the beginning of the sentence, unlike the personal pronouns it is standing for, e.g.

- (314) *Het jy Annetjie / die Van Stadens gesien? Ja, dié het ek in die stad gesien (< ek het haar / hulle in die stad gesien).*
 'Have you seen Annetjie/the Van Stadens? Yes, I saw her/them in town.'

The previous examples illustrate *die* being used with reference to people but it can apply to non-personal objects too, in which case it has a parallel in English, e.g.

- (315) *Wil jy hierdie posseël vir jou versameling hê? Nee, dié het ek al.*
 'Would you like this stamp for your collection? No, I've got it already'
 (= That one I've got already).

This example illustrates that this use of *dié* is in fact also an extension of that word's demonstrative functions in Afrikaans, although it often happens to correspond with cases where English uses personal pronouns (see 5.1.2.2 for possessive functions of *dié*, i.e. *dié se*).

This emphatic *dié* in lieu of personal pronouns is also used to avoid any ambiguity that might otherwise arise if third person personal pronouns were used, e.g.

- (316) *Hierdie tentdorp huisves plaaswerkers wat oor die brug na veiligheid geneem is voordat dié oorspoel is.*
 'This tent town is housing farm-workers who were taken to safety over the bridge before it was flooded' (i.e. the bridge, not the town).

Note the idiom *Dis dié dat...* 'That's the reason that...', e.g.

- (317) *Die deur is goed geölie. Dis dié dat hy so geluidloos toemaak.*
 'The door is well oiled. That's why it shuts so noiselessly.'
 (318) *Waaroor ek wil praat, is dié dat jy nie laas Sondag by die Nagmaal was nie.*
 'What I want to talk about is that you were not at communion last Sunday.'

Met dié dat can replace the conjunction *toe* 'then' in the sense of 'right at that moment', e.g.

- (319) *Met dié dat ek die deur wou toesluit, besef ek dat dit reeds gesluit was.*
 'When I went to shut the door, I realised that it was already shut.'

5.3. Relative pronouns

Although subordinate 'that' is omitted as commonly in Afrikaans as in English (see 9.4, note 21), relative pronouns can never be omitted in Afrikaans, unlike English, e.g.

- (320) *Ek weet dat jy dit gedoen het / Ek weet jy het dit gedoen.*
 'I know (that) you did it.'
- (321) *Ek wil die boek hê wat jy in jou hand het.*
 'I want the book (that/which) you have in your hand.'

5.3.1. *Wat* as a relative pronoun

The relative pronoun for all antecedents, whether they be singular or plural, personal or non-personal, is *wat* (compare use of 'that' in spoken English), e.g.

- (322) *Die man wat hier langs aan bly, is 'n Amerikaner.*
 'The man who lives next-door is an American.'
- (323) *Die mense wat op hierdie plaas bly, is Rhodesiërs.*
 'The people who live on this farm are Rhodesians.'
- (324) *Die doringboom (doringbome) wat agter die motorhuis groei, het te groot geword.*
 'The thorn tree(s) which is (are) growing behind the garage has (have) got too big.'

Because of the indeclinability of *wat*, the uniformity of verbal endings and the SOV word order of relative clauses, one is sometimes dependent on context to know whether a relative *wat* forms the subject or the object of the clause it stands in, e.g.

- (325) *Die Engelse soldate wat dié Boere verslaan het, het na die oorlog medaljes gekry.*
 'The English soldiers who defeated those Boers (subject)/whom those Boers defeated (object) got medals after the war.'

Because it is possible to put a *vir* before all personal direct objects (see *vir* under 11.1), the ambiguity can be avoided here as follows:

- (326) *Die Engelse soldate wat vir dié Boere verslaan het...*
 'The English soldiers who defeated those Boers...'

5.3.1.1. Use of the Anglicism *wie* instead of *wat*

Under English influence there is a (growing?) tendency to use *wie* instead of *wat* with reference to a personal antecedent, e.g.

- (327) *Parkering streng verbode behalwe persone wie magtiging daartoe het.*
 'Parking strictly prohibited except for persons who have permission.'

This is not considered standard Afrikaans.

5.3.1.2. Use of *wat* with reference to a preceding clause

Wat can also relate back to an entire clause, as 'which' (but not 'that') can in English, e.g.

- (328) *Die onluste het erg lank geduur, wat niemand verwag het nie.*
 'The riots have lasted a long time, which no-one expected.'

Compare

- (329) *Die onluste, wat niemand verwag het nie, het lank geduur.*
 'The riots, which/that no-one expected, have lasted a long time.'

'Which' followed by a noun referring to something mentioned in the previous clause is rendered by *watter*, a word which otherwise only occurs as an interrogative (see chapter 10, note 10), e.g.

- (330) *Hy beweer hy gaan nie kom nie, in watter geval ek nie hier wil bly nie.*
 'He maintains he's going to come, in which case I'm not going to stay here.'

5.3.1.3. *Welke* as a relative

See 10.0, note 13 for comments on the archaic use of *welke* as a relative.

5.3.2. Relatives with personal antecedents used in combination with a preposition

When the relative is used in combination with a preposition, a distinction is made between personal and non-personal antecedents. In the former case Afrikaans does not allow prepositional stranding and requires preposition + *wie*, e.g. *Die mense met wie jy nou net gepraat het is Portugese* 'The people to whom you were just talking are Portuguese', where in spoken English one can either include or omit the relative pronoun and strand the preposition at the end of the relative clause, i.e. The people (who[m]) you were just talking to are Portuguese.

5.3.2.1. Relatives with non-personal antecedents used in combination with a preposition

With non-personal antecedents the adverb *waar* + preposition is required, e.g.

- (331) *Die program waarna jy nou net gekyk het, was baie swak.*
 'The program (which/that) you were just looking at was very weak.'
- (332) *Dis dinge waarvan ons nooit praat nie.*
 'They are things (which/that) we don't talk about.'

But *waar* + preposition is also possible with personal antecedents, e.g.

- (333) *Die mense waarmee jy nou net gepraat het, is Portugese.*
 'The people you were just talking to (= to whom) are Portuguese.'

Such compound relative pronouns are sometimes subjected to prepositional stranding, e.g. *Die mense waar jy nou net mee gepraat het, is Portugese.* In such cases the preposition is inserted later in the relative clause, prior to the verb(s) in that clause.¹⁸

5.3.2.2. Replacement of *waar* + preposition by *wat* + preposition

Waar + preposition constructions, whether referring to personal or non-personal antecedents, are regularly replaced in the spoken language by *wat* + preposition (with stranding of the preposition before the verb[s] of the relative clause), giving a construction very like that in spoken English, e.g.

- (334) *Die program wat jy nou net na gekyk het, was baie swak.*
 The programme (that) you were just watching is very weak.
 (335) *Dis dinge wat ons nooit van praat nie.*
 Those are things (that) we never talk about.
 (336) *Die mense wat jy nou net mee gepraat het, is Portugese.*¹⁹
 The people (that) you were just talking to are Portuguese.

Compare the interrogative forms *Waarna kyk jy / Wat kyk jy na?* under 10.0 note 8.

5.3.3. Preposition + 'whose'

(Preposition +) 'whose' with reference to personal antecedents is (preposition +) *wie se*, e.g.

- (337) *Dié mense wie se kinders ek baie gehelp het, is nou albei dood.*
 'Those people, whose children I have helped a lot, are both now dead.'
 (338) *Hierdie mense is vriende met wie se kinders ek vroeër gespeel het.*
 'These people are friends whose children I once used to play with'
 (= with whose).

Wie se may also refer to animates other than people, e.g.

- (339) *Die koei wie se kalfie...*
 'The cow whose calf...'

¹⁸ Prepositional stranding of this kind is not as common in Afrikaans as in Dutch (see 5.1.1.3.3, 12.8 and 10.0, notes 8 and 14 for further examples of the concept), but on the other hand there is a growing preference in the spoken language for stranding in structures of the sort discussed in 5.3.2.2.

¹⁹ Stranding of the preposition in *waarmee* type constructions, so common in Dutch, is no longer usual in Afrikaans, but it does occur, e.g. *Die mense waar jy nou net mee gepraat het...* One's automatic reaction, if one splits in this fashion, is to replace *waar* with *wat*.

'Whose' with reference to non-personal antecedents, which is also rendered in English by 'of which', is *waarvan* (or *wat se* in colloquial Afrikaans), e.g.

- (340) *Die rondawel waarvan die grasdak / wat se grasdak herstel moet word, behoort aan die boer se plaaswerkers.*
 'The rondavel whose thatch roof (= of which the thatch roof) has to be repaired belongs to the farmer's labourers.'

Wat se is also used with reference to people (i.e. in lieu of *wie se*) in colloquial Afrikaans, but is avoided in writing, e.g.

- (341) *Werkende moeders wat se kinders altyd siek is, kom in die moeilikheid by hul werkgewers.*
 'Mothers whose children are always sick, get into trouble with their employers.'

(Preposition +) 'whose' with reference to non-personal antecedents (i.e. = preposition + noun + of which) can pose problems if one attempts to render it literally, e.g. The chair on whose arm/on the arm of which Karel is sitting (= which K. is sitting on the arm of), is broken. Preposition + *die* + noun + *waarvan*²⁰ is possible but not good style, i.e. ...*op die leuning waarvan Karel sit...* Such structures are better expressed periphrastically, i.e. *Die stoel waarop Karel sit se leuning is stukkend* (see 4.4.1 for *se*). Also

- (342) *Die tafels waarop daar krapmerke is, gaan opgeveil word.*
 'The tables on the surfaces of which there are scratches, are going to be auctioned.'

The problem arises, although only when approaching Afrikaans from English, because a structure like *op wie se* can only refer to personal antecedents and **op wat se* does not exist (see previous paragraph for *wat se*).

5.3.4. Word order in relative clauses

As illustrated in the above examples, all relative pronouns send the finite verb to the end of the relative clause; if that clause already contains an infinitive, the finite verb is placed before it, and if it contains a past participle (i.e. if the clause is in the past tense or the passive), the finite verb is placed after the participle, e.g.

- (343) *Die katjie wat jy nou het, is pragtig.*
 'The kitten you now have is lovely.'
 (344) *Die katjie wat ek vir my seun gaan koop, is 'n dik enetjie.*
 'The kitten I'm going to buy for my son is a fat little one.'
 (345) *Die katjie wat jy in Durban gehad het, was wonderlik.*
 'The kitten you had in Durban was wonderful' (see 12.1.4).

²⁰ *Ingevolge waarvan* 'in accordance with which' is a common fixed combination of a preposition plus *waarvan*, e.g. *Die wette ingevolge waarvan 'n oortreder skuldig bevind en gehang word, is afkeurenswaardige wette* 'The laws in accordance with which an offender is tried and hanged, are objectionable laws'.

Because Afrikaans requires all infinitives and past participles in the main clause to be placed at the end of that clause, rather than straight after the finite verb as in English, there are often two possible positions for such verbs when a relative clause follows a main clause, e.g.

- (346) *Ek het die boek al gelees wat jy vir my geleen het / Ek het die boek wat jy vir my geleen het, al gelees.*
 'I have already read the book that you lent me.'

Holding the verb over till the end of the sentence is only possible where the relative clause is not very long; as soon as the distance between that verb and the auxiliary on which it is dependent (the first *het* in the above example) becomes somewhat longer, it is preferable to insert it before the relative pronoun – the fact that the relative and its antecedent do not then stand next to each other does not disturb an Afrikaans speaker, although it can seem strange to a speaker of English. In the following example the relative clause is only just short enough to permit the past participle belonging to the main clause to be isolated at the end of the sentence:

- (347) *Om praktiese redes is 'n keuse uit die omvangryke materiaal waarop die ondersoek gebaseer is, gemaak.*
 'For practical reasons a selection has been made from the extensive material on which the research was based.'

Note the obligatory comma when this word order is used. Just how long is too long for this word order to apply seems to be rather arbitrary (see 12.1.12).

5.3.4.1. Use of commas with relative clauses

Commas are used sparingly with relative clauses other than in non-restrictive relative clauses (see 5.3.1.2). If otherwise used at all they are inserted at the end of the relative clause but only when the sentence is rather long, and thus one is likely to lose track of the sense, or when the same verb occurs in both clauses and they end up next to each other, e.g.

- (348) *Die leeu wat hy probeer skiet het, het toe spoorloos verdwyn.*
 'The lion he tried to shoot, then disappeared without trace.'

See example two in the previous paragraph for another example of a case where it is advisable to insert a comma after a relative clause.

5.3.5. Independent relatives without antecedents

Wat and *wie* act as independent relatives when there is no antecedent, e.g.

- (349) *Wat jy sê, is natuurlik nie waar nie.*
 'What (= that which) you are saying isn't true of course.'

- (350) *Wie bereid is om te betaal, mag alles doen.*
 'Whoever (= he who) is prepared to pay, may do anything.'
 (see 'whoever' under 10.3).

5.3.6. Prenominal adjectival phrases which can replace relative clauses

See 6.4.4 for prenominal adjectival phrases replacing relative clauses.

5.4. Reflexive pronouns (see 8.20)

5.5. The reciprocal pronoun *mekaar* 'each other'

Mekaar is used very much the same way as 'each other' is in English, e.g.

- (351) *Die twee staatshoofde sal êrens in Duitsland ontmoet.*
 'The two heads of state will meet somewhere in Germany.'
 (352) *Ons het mekaar lief.*
 'We love each other/one another.'

5.6. Indefinite pronouns

(superscript numbers refer to points enumerated in section 5.6.1)

<i>albei, beide</i>	'both' ¹
<i>al, alle, almal, algar</i>	'all' ²
<i>al, als, alles</i>	'everything' ²
<i>baie, veel</i>	'much, many' ³
<i>(n) bietjie</i>	'a (little) bit' ⁴
<i>die een...die ander</i>	'(the) one...the other' ⁵
<i>diegene wat</i>	'he/the one/those who' ⁶
<i>dié wat</i>	'he/the one/those who/the one(s) which' ⁶
<i>elke / iedere</i>	'each/every' ⁷
<i>elkeen / iedereen / almal</i>	'everyone' ⁸
<i>enige</i>	'any' ⁹
<i>enigiemand / enige iemand</i>	'anyone' ¹⁰
<i>enigiets / enige iets</i>	'anything' ¹¹
<i>etlike</i>	'some, a few' ¹²
<i>iemand</i>	'somebody' ¹³
<i>iets</i>	'something' ¹³
<i>geen / geeneen</i>	'none/not one' (see 13.2.1)
<i>mekaar</i>	'each other'
<i>(die) meeste</i>	'most (of)' ¹⁴
<i>menige</i>	'many a, several' ¹⁵
<i>(n) mens / jy (jou)</i>	'one (one's)' ¹⁶
<i>min / weinig</i>	'little' ¹⁷

<i>'n paar</i>	'a few, a couple of' ¹²
<i>(heel)party...party</i>	'some...others' ¹⁸
<i>sommige...ander</i>	'some...others' ¹⁸
<i>sulke(s), so'n / een, diesulkes</i>	'such (a), - like that' ¹⁹
<i>van</i>	'some (of)' ²⁰
<i>verskeie</i>	'several' ²¹
<i>verskillende</i>	'various' ²¹
<i>dinges</i>	'thingummy, what's-it' ²²

'Some' before mass nouns; see note 23.

5.6.1. Notes on indefinite pronouns

1. The distinction between *albei* and *beide* is not semantic, but syntactical, and is similar to that between *almal* and *alle* which is discussed under note 2, e.g.

- (353) *Beide (kinders) / Albei (kinders) het by die huis gebly.*
Die kinders het albei by die huis gebly.
 'Both ([the] kids) stayed at home/The kids both stayed at home.'²¹

Al twee is synonymous with *albei* (e.g. *Ek luister met al twee / albei ore* 'I'm listening with both ears') but the structure can be applied to other numerals as well in which case it has a direct parallel in English, e.g.

- (354) *Al vier (kinders) het vanaand flied toe gegaan.*
 'All four kids have gone to the cinema tonight.'
 (355) *Al vier van hulle.*
 'All four of them.'

These structures can occur with the definite article or a possessive pronoun, e.g.

- (356) *Al vyf die / haar kinders het gegaan.*
 'All five children/all five of her children went.'
 (357) *Al drie die aspekte sal tel.*
 'All three aspects will count.'
 (358) *Iemand het al vier sy motorbande met 'n mes stukkend gesny.*
 'Someone cut all four of his tyres with a knife.'
 (359) *Hy is 'n kunstenaar wat albei / al twee hierdie metodes toepas.*
 'He's an artist who applies both (of) these methods.'

This could also be expressed with *beide* but then *van* must be used too, e.g.

- (360) *Hy is 'n kunstenaar wat beide van hierdie metodes toepas.*

²¹ *Albei/beide* and *almal/alle* differ from each other in usage in the following way: whereas *beide* can be used independently as the subject of a clause, *alle* cannot, e.g. *Beide/albei het gegaan* but only *Almal het gegaan*. The use of *beide* in *geen van beide* 'neither of the two' is not paralleled by *alle* either.

See 3.1.1.8 for constructions of the type *albei / al twee die mans* 'both men'.

2. *Almal* is used independently from nouns as the subject or object of a sentence, e.g.

(361) *Almal het toe huis toe gegaan.*

'All went home then.'

(362) *Ek het almal daar gesien.*

'I saw all of them there.'

When 'all' is followed by a noun it can either be rendered by *alle* + noun or rephrased using *almal* which then follows the finite verb, e.g.

(363) *Alle kinders is na die verjaarsdagpartytjie genooi.*

Die kinders is almal na die verjaarsdagpartytjie genooi.

'All the children were invited/The children were all invited to the birthday party.'

This could also be rendered by *al die* + noun, e.g.

(364) *Al die kinders is genooi.*

'All the children were invited.'

In combination with a plural pronominal subject, *almal* normally follows the verb but can follow the subject, as in English, in more formal style, e.g.

(365) *Ons ken hom almal* (usual order).

Ons almal ken hom.

'We all know him.'

Note the difference in the position of *almal* when the object is a noun:

(366) *Ons ken almal die man.*

'We all know that man.'

Alles (also commonly pronounced *als* and sometimes written so) means 'everything' or 'all' in the sense of 'everything', e.g.

(367) *Hy het my alles / als vertel wat hy weet.*

'He told me everything he knows.'

(368) *Alles / als het goed gegaan.*

'Everything went well.'

Alles, but not *als*, is also used as in the following examples to emphasise the number of possibilities:

(369) *Dis verbasend wat jy alles met 'n haarnaald kan doen.*

'It's amazing what (= all the things) you can do with a hairpin.'

(370) *Ek weet nie waarom hy alles skryf nie.*

'I don't know what he's writing about' (see *oral* under 7.5).

Al, in addition to rendering 'all' in the combination *al die* + noun (see above), also renders 'all' in the sense of 'the only thing', e.g.

- (371) *Al wat ek weet, is dat hy nie skuldig is nie.*
'All I know is that he's not guilty.'

Like *all* in English this *al* can have the connotation 'the only thing', e.g.

- (372) *Dis al wat ek weet.*
'That's all/everything/the only thing I know.'

Also:

- (373) *Wat makeer jy? Ek is moeg, dis al.*
'What's wrong with you? I'm tired, that's all.'

Compare too:

- (374) *Al bedreiging wat vir blankes bestaan is bomme in winkelsentrums.*
'The only danger that exists for whites is bombs in shopping centres.'
- (375) *Dis nie al probleem wat sy het nie.*
'That's not the only problem she has.'
- (376) *Woensdag is al dag wat ek kan kom.*
'Wednesday is the only day that I can come.'
(compare *aldag* under 7.3).

Al meaning 'the only' is interchangeable with *die enigste*, e.g.

- (377) *Gawie is al een / die enigste een wat siek geword het.*
'Gawie is the only one that got sick.'

In the combination *al wat* (*n*) + noun, *al* renders 'every' (see *elke / iedere* in note 7 below), e.g.

- (378) *Al wat (n) boer was het gekom.*
'Every farmer came.'

Note the following idiomatic use of this *al*:

- (379) *Henkries lê anderkant Springbok, al met die gruispad langs.*
'Henkries is on the other side of Springbok, you just keep going along the dirt road.'

'All the way to the Cape' is the same in Afrikaans, *al die pad Kaap toe*, whereas 'all day/night/week' is either *die hele dag / nag / week* or *heeldag / heel-nag / heelweek*. Also 'all Africa' (i.e. the whole of A.) is *die hele Afrika*.

Note that *al* is also an adverb meaning 'already' (see 7.3).

Algar is an archaic synonym of *almal*.

3. *Baie*, in addition to meaning 'much, many' (as does *veel*), also translates 'very' and thus functions as both an indefinite pronoun and an adverb (see 7.2 for its adverbial functions).

The distinction between *baie* and *veel* is usually simply syntactical, but *Hy het net sóveel geld* 'He has just this/that much money' (i.e. a certain sum) is semantically different from *Hy het soveel/(so) baie geld* 'He has so much/a lot of money'. The conjunction 'as much as' is also *soveel*, e.g. *Ons kan praat soveel (as) ons wil* 'We can talk as much as we like. Also *soveel moontlik* 'as much as possible', and *eweveel* 'just as much'.

See 14.2.1 for *soveelste* 'umpteenth'.

See 13.8 for 'not so much'.

'Too much' is *te veel*, not **te baie*, e.g. *Ek het te veel geëet* 'I've eaten too much'; compare *Ek het so veel/so baie geëet* where both are possible. It is possible to imagine situations where *te baie* is permissible but it is safer as a general rule to stick to *te veel*, e.g. *Hy het al te baie daarvan gehou* 'He didn't half like that' (ironical).

'Much/many' on its own, not qualified by any other adverb, is always *baie*, never *veel*, e.g. *Daar was baie mense by die partytjie* 'There were a lot of people at the party'. If *veel* were used here, one would have to qualify it, e.g. *Daar was heel veel mense by die partytjie*. The sentence with *baie* can be negated without any further change to the structure or meaning but that with *veel* cannot, e.g.

(380) *Daar was nie baie mense by die partytjie nie.*

'There weren't many people at the party.'

(381) *Daar was nie juis veel mense by die partytjie nie.*

'There weren't exactly/really many people at the party.'

Nie juis baie is also possible here with no difference in meaning from *nie juis veel*. Generally speaking *veel* is used instead of *baie* in combination with negatives, as well as in the expression *hoeveel* 'how many' (see 10.0, note 3), but in the spoken language *baie* is becoming increasingly common in these contexts too.

In the sense of 'a lot of' *baie* is synonymous with *heelwat*, *heel veel*, 'n *hele boel*, 'n *hele klomp(ie)* and 'n *hele paar* (which must be followed by a plural), e.g.

(382) *Ek het heelwat/heel veel/'n hele boel/'n hele klompie/'n hele paar vriende.*

'I have a lot of/many friends.'

A common colloquial expression that is synonymous with *baie* in the meaning of 'a lot of' is *vir Afrika*, e.g.

(383) *My ma het borde vir Afrika.*

'My mum's got lots of plates.'

Veels/baie geluk (met jou verjaarsdag/huwelik) both render 'congratulations (on your birthday/marriage)'. Although the *-s* is obligatory in that idiom, in the expression 'much too' + adjective/adverb, it is optional, e.g. *veel(s) te duur/veel/min* 'much too expensive/much/little' (never *baie*), but *baie duur* 'very expensive'.

In very formal style *vele* occurs before plural nouns, e.g. *in vele opsigte* 'in many respects', *Na vele rusies is hy toegelaat om vir onderwyser te leer* 'After many arguments he was allowed to study to become a minister'.

In the standard expression *veel te wense oorlaat* 'to leave a lot to be desired' only *veel* is used, which is also the case in compounds of the following kind: *veelbelowend* 'promising', *veelsoortig* 'manifold', *veelheid* 'multitude'.

'Very' is always rendered by *baie*.

4. When 'a (little) bit' is qualified an adjective or an adverb, the 'n is optional, but when followed by a noun, it is better included,²² e.g.

(384) *Die reis duur (n) bietjie meer as 24 uur.*
'The trip takes a bit longer than 24 hours.'

(385) *Jy moet 'n bietjie (meer) geduld hê.*
'You'll have to have a bit more patience.'

'n *Bietjie* also functions as an adverb of modality, in which case it does not translate as 'a bit' (see 7.7). See note 23 below where 'n *bietjie* renders 'some'.

(n) *Bietjie* is also used as an adverb of modality to soften an imperative, e.g. *Kom (n) bietjie hier* 'Come here a moment' (see 7.7).

In colloquial Afrikaans 'n *bietjie* can qualify *baie* to express 'rather a lot', e.g.

(386) *Ek het net 'n klein bietjie geëet. 'n Bietjie baie bedoel jy.*
'I've only had a little bit to eat. A big bit you mean.'

5. Note the use of the first article in *die een...die ander*:

(387) *Waar is jou kinders vandag? Die een is in Kaapstad en die ander is by die huis.*
'One is in Cape Town and the other is at home.'

Compare *Hy weet die een of ander* 'He knows a thing or two', *een of ander boek* 'some book or other'.

6. *Diegene wat* can only refer to people (singular and plural), e.g.

(388) *Diegene wat dit gedoen het, sal moet bekén.*
'Whoever did this will have to confess.'

(389) *Ons sal diegene opspoor wat nie ons landswette eerbiedig nie.*
'We will trace those that don't respect the laws of our country.'

(390) *Die hele stelsel is ingestel op beskerming van diegene in magsposisies.*
'The whole system is based on the protection of those in positions of power.'

When what is being referred to is non-personal (i.e. those/that which) this is rendered by *dié wat*, but this is also the usual spoken form with reference to people, e.g.

(391) *Sien jy al daardie lessenaars? Dié wat stukkend is, moet na die stortplek geneem word.*
'See those desks? Those that are broken have to be taken to the rubbish tip.'

²² Nevertheless one often hears it being omitted in such cases too.

With reference to a singular noun one also hears *die een wat*.

7. *Elke* is used much more commonly than *iedere* (see note 8).

8. *Iedereen* is rather formal, whereas in natural speech one is more likely to hear *almal* (see note 2) than *elkeen* although the latter is not uncommon, e.g.

- (392) *Iedereen / elkeen / almal was gelukkig.*
'Everyone was happy.'

Using *almal* to render 'everyone' solves the problem that arises in English as to what possessive to use, e.g.

- (393) *Almal is trots op hul kinders.*
'Everyone is proud of his/her/their children.'

Elkeen / iedereen require the singular possessive *sy* 'his'. In the following example *elkeen* refers to an inanimate object in a way that English *everyone* cannot be used:

- (394) *Ek ken elke Karoo-bossie se naam en verstaan elkeen se rol in die ekologie van die streek.*
'I know the name of every Karoo shrub and understand the role of each in the ecology of the region.'

'n Ieder en 'n elk renders 'each and every one' or 'everyone', e.g.

- (395) *My man beskuldig my van 'n verhouding met 'n ieder en 'n elk.*
'My husband accuses me of having an affair with everyone/every Tom Dick and Harry.'

This expression is usually rendered by *elke Jan Rap en sy maat*.

9. There is some debate as to whether the use of *enige* in Afrikaans has been influenced by that of 'any' in English given that the two correspond very closely and in a way that they don't in Dutch, e.g.

- (396) *Enige vrae?*
'Any questions?'
- (397) *Sunlight is meer gekonsentreerd as enige ander handelsmerk.*
'Sunlight is more concentrated than any other brand.'
- (398) *Watter een? Enige een.*
'Which one? Any one.'
- (399) *Is daar (enige) iets wat jy nie eet nie.*
'Is there anything you don't eat?' (*enige iets* = anything at all)
- (400) *In watter mate, indien enige, mag die menings van gelyste persone gepubliseer word?*
'To what extent, if any, may the opinions of listed people be published?'
- (401) *Hy speel nie in enige toneelstuk wat hy self geskryf het nie.*
'He doesn't act in any of the plays he's written himself.'

In the previous example *enige* can be used with a negative because it is emphatic (= in any play at all); otherwise it does not render English 'any' in combination with a negative, e.g. *Hy het nie geld nie* 'He hasn't got any money' (see 13.5). See next paragraph for the use of *enig(e)* with *iemand* (see 6.7.3 for *enig* meaning 'only').

10. 'Someone/somebody' and 'anyone/anybody' are normally rendered by *iemand* (see note 13 below). But in line with the use of *enig(e)* to render emphatic 'any' described under 9, *enigiemand* / *enige iemand* renders 'anybody at all', e.g.

- (402) *Ek beveel hierdie room vir enigiemand met 'n velprobleem aan.*
'I recommend this cream to anybody with a skin problem.'
- (403) *Moet nie verwag dat hulle jou enigiets sal vertel wat enigiemand se lewe in gevaar sal stel nie.*
'Don't expect them to tell you anything (at all) that will endanger anyone's life (at all).'

11. The difference between *iets* 'something/anything' (see 13 below) and *enigiets* 'anything' is similar to that between *iemand* and *enigiemand* given under 10, the form *enigiets* implying 'anything at all', e.g.

- (404) *'n Hond sal enigiets doen vir nuwe Husky Vleis-n-Vis.*
'A dog will do anything for new Husky Meat-and-Fish.'
- (405) *In Clifton betaal mense enigiets tussen 500 000 en 1 miljoen rand vir 'n woonstel.*
'In Clifton people pay anything between 500,000 and 1 million rand for a flat.'

12. *Etlike* only renders 'some' in the meaning of 'several, a few' and as such must be followed by a plural noun, e.g. *etlike mense*. It is thus more or less synonymous with *verskeie* 'several' (see note 21) and *'n paar* 'a few, a couple of'. *'n Hele paar* renders 'quite a few/lot', e.g.

- (406) *Ek het dié fliek al 'n hele paar keer gesien.*
'I've seen that film quite a few times.'

13. *Iets* renders 'something/anything', e.g.

- (407) *Het jy iets gesê? Ja, ek het iets gesê?*
'Did you say anything/something? Yes, I said something.'

Iemand renders 'somebody, -one/anybody, -one', e.g.

- (408) *Iemand moet dit gelees het. Het iemand dit gelees?*
'Someone must have read it. Has anyone/someone read it?'

The antonyms *niks* and *niemand* are dealt with under negatives (see 13.1). There is a parallel in the difference between *iets* and *enigiets* on the one hand (see note 11) and between *iemand* and *enigiemand* on the other (see note 10).

When *iets* is followed by an adjective, the adjective takes *-s*, e.g. *iets ouliks* 'something nice' (see 6.5). The diminutive *ietsie* also occurs, e.g.

- (409) *Ek wil ietsie meer daaroor hoor.*
'I want to hear a little bit more about it.'

14. Prescriptive grammar maintains that the expression is *die meeste* but in practice the article is commonly omitted, e.g.

- (410) *(Die) meeste kinders / (die) meeste van hierdie kinders hou van roomys.*
'Most children/most of these children like ice-cream.'²³

15. *Menige*, although primarily meaning 'many a', also commonly renders 'several', but even then it is followed by a singular noun, e.g.

- (411) *Ek het al menige boek daaroor gelees.*
'I've read many a book about it.'
- (412) *Dit het al menige keer met my gebeur.*
'That has happened to me several times' (= many a time).

16. Where 'one' in the sense of 'a person, anyone' is first mentioned in a sentence, it is rendered by either *'n mens* or *mens*, but if it is repeated and/or followed by the possessive 'one's', *jy* and *jou* are used respectively, e.g.

- (413) *('n) Mens is nie altyd seker wat jy die beste met jou geld kan doen nie.*
'One is not always sure what one should do with one's money.'

Jy can be used from the beginning in the meaning of 'one' just as 'you' can be in English. In colloquial Afrikaans *'n ou* 'a chap' can replace *('n) mens*, e.g.

- (414) *Wat moet 'n ou doen in so 'n situasie?*
'What should you do in such a situation?'

Although it is generally regarded as being only applicable to men, it is not impossible for it to refer to a female. The object and possessive forms used with *'n ou* are *hom* and *sy*, not second person forms as is the case with *('n) mens*.

17. Although these two words are synonymous, *min* is more commonly used than *weinig*, e.g.

- (415) *Ek het heel min / weinig daarvoor gekry.*
'I got very little for it.'²⁴
- (416) *Min (verkeersprobleme) is ondervind.*
'Few (traffic problems) were experienced' (see also 7.1.3).

²³ The same phenomenon occurs with *(die) helfte* (see 3.1.1.8).

²⁴ The most usual word for 'very' is *baie* (see 'very' under 7.2) but here, although it is possible to say *baie min*, **baie weinig* is not possible. It may have to do with style as both *heel* and *weinig* belong to a higher style than *baie* and *min*.

Weinig is inflected when used before a noun or independently, e.g.

- (417) *Suid-Afrika en die Sowjet-Unie is van die weinige lande wat nog nie die verklaring onderteken het nie.*
 'South Africa and the Soviet Union are among the few countries that haven't yet signed the declaration.'

18. *Party...party* and *sommige...ander* are synonymous. They can stand independently or be followed by nouns, e.g. *Party was duur, party was goedkoop* / *Sommige was duur, ander was goedkoop* 'Some were expensive, others were cheap' (no plural ending on *ander*, see 6.3 footnote 22), *Party / sommige mans word nooit groot nie* 'Some men never grow up', where 'others...' is implied, *Sommige van die kinders het nie hulle huiswerk gedoen nie / Van die kinders het sommige nie hulle huiswerk gedoen nie* 'Some of the children didn't do their homework' (see partitive constructions with *van* under note 20). When used independently, i.e. when not followed by a noun, the form *sommiges* is common, but considered tautological by purists (compare *verskillendes* under 21).

Heelparty is a separate idiom meaning 'quite a lot of' (= *heelwat, baie*), e.g.

- (418) *Heelparty van die mense was dronk.*
 'A lot of the people were drunk.'

19. 'Such a' before singular nouns is *so 'n*, e.g.

- (419) *My oupa was so 'n man.*
 'My grandpa was such a man/a man like that.'

'Such a one/one like that' is *so een*, e.g.

- (420) *So een sal jy nie maklik weer vind nie.*
 'You won't easily find another one like that again.'

But 'such' before plural and mass nouns is *sulke* (often pronounced [sɔckə]), e.g.

- (421) *Ek hou nie van sulke mense nie.*
 'I don't like such people/people like that.'
 (422) *Jy maak sulke lekker koffie.*
 'You make such delicious coffee.'
 (423) *Sy praat sulke mooi Afrikaans.*
 'She speaks such lovely Afrikaans.'

If standing independently with reference to a plural noun *sulke* takes a plural -s, e.g.

- (424) *Sulkes is moeilik te kry.*
 'Ones like that are difficult to get.'

Diesulkes refers back to people previously mentioned. It is always plural and personal, and has a pejorative connotation (compare *people of that sort*), e.g.

- (425) *Diesulkes is mede-verantwoordelik vir die toestand waarin Afrikaans verkeer.*
 'People like that are partially responsible for the condition Afrikaans finds itself in' (referring to those who use too many Anglicisms).

Note *as sodanig* 'as such', which is just as commonly expressed by *as sulks*, widely considered an Anglicism.

20. 'Some (of)' is very commonly expressed by using the preposition *van* partitively. If *van* is not used in this way it must be replaced by *sommige/party* or *'n paar*, depending on the meaning (see 18 and 12 respectively for the distinction between the two), e.g.

- (426) *In hierdie verslag gee die joernalis van haar indrukke.*
 'In this report the journalist gives a few of her impressions.'
- (427) *Van die lede het die saal verlaat.*
 'Some of the members left the room.'
- (428) *Daar is van hulle wat ek nie wil aanraak nie.*
 'There are some that I don't want to touch.'
- (429) *Van die vroue het geloop en huil.*
 'Some of the women were walking along crying.'
- (430) *Daar is van die ANC-lede wat in ballingskap was wat Afrikaans praat.*
 'Some of the members of the ANC that were in exile speak Afrikaans.'
- (431) *Hy beweer dat hy onskuldig is en "geframe" was deur van sy eertydse vennote.*
 'He claims he is innocent and was framed by some of his former partners.'
- (432) *Hulle verkoop duur en boonop bedorwe vrugte wat in elk geval nooit van die heel beste was nie.*
 'They sell expensive, and what is more, rotten fruit which was never the best to begin with.'

Mass nouns cannot be followed by either *sommige/party* or *'n paar* and in such cases *van* must be used, e.g.

- (433) *Van die saad is onbruikbaar.*
 'Some of the seed is unusable.'
- (434) *Gunston, van die beste tabak wat 'n man kan kry.*
 'Gunston, some of the best tobacco a man can get.'
- (435) *Boere verkoop reeds van hul vee weens droogte.*
 'Farmers are already selling some of their cattle because of drought.'

21. The distinction between *verskeie* 'several' (see note 12) *verskillende* 'various, different' is similar to that between *several* and *various* and consequently there is often a degree of overlapping, e.g. *verskeie/verskillende*

kere 'several/various times'; strictly speaking the latter has the connotation 'different', but this subtlety is often ignored. When used independently, i.e. when not followed by a noun, the form *verskillendes* is commonly heard but frowned upon by purists (compare *sommiges* under 18).

22. The exceedingly common spoken form *dinges* can be regarded as an indefinite pronoun as it does overtime in Afrikaans replacing nouns when the name of the person or thing being referred to does not spring to mind, e.g.

(436) *Ek het nou die dag vir Dinges in die stad gesien.*

'I saw What's-his-name in town the other day.'

(437) *Sit hierdie brief asseblief in die dinges.*

'Please put this letter in the thingummy.'

When used in lieu of a person's name, it is capitalised. It is even used as a verb when the speaker cannot find the appropriate verb on the spur of the moment, e.g.

(438) *Wat het jy daarmee gedoen? Ag, ek het dit gedinges, jy weet.*

'What did you do with it? Oh, I thingumajigged it, you know.'

(439) *My kar het opgedinges (= opgepak).*

'My car has whatsed it' (packed up).

The diminutive of *ding*, (*die/'n*) *dingetjie*, can also render 'thingummy(jig)' but not so much in situations where one cannot find the right word, e.g.

(440) *Dit is 'n oulike dingetjie.*

'That's a lovely thingo/gadget' (pointing to someone's brooch etc. or even with reference to a pretty girl).

23. 'Some' followed by a plural noun is covered in notes 12 and 18 above, but when followed by a mass noun it is usually left untranslated, e.g.

(441) *Moenie vergeet om brood te koop nie.*

'Don't forget to buy some bread.'

(442) *Ek het vandag geld verdien.*

'I earnt some money today.'

Colloquially one often finds *'n bietjie* being used in such cases, e.g.

(443) *Ek het vandag 'n bietjie geld verdien.*

I earnt some/a bit of money today.

There are contexts where *van* can express 'some (of)' before mass nouns (see note 20).

5.7. Interrogative pronouns (see chapter 10)

6. Adjectives

Predicative adjectives are never inflected in Afrikaans, e.g.

- (444) *Dié meisietjie is skattig.*
‘That little girl is sweet.’
- (445) *Dié ouens is baie sterk.*
‘Those chaps are very strong.’

When used attributively before a noun, many adjectives take an *-e*, but many do not. Whether or not an ending is required has to do with the phonology of the adjective in question; if it satisfies the criteria for inflection, the adjective takes an *-e* whenever it stands before a noun, regardless of whether the noun is singular or plural, definite or indefinite.¹ There is still a degree of variability in Afrikaans with respect to whether certain adjectives are or are not inflected and the issue can occasionally also be related to the semantics of a given adjective, some adjectives having both an inflected and an uninflected form, depending on the meaning. There is also a lingering awareness that Dutch inflects more than Afrikaans does and thus inflection, where it is not otherwise required, can lend a formal ring to what is being said, particularly in the case of names, e.g. *Vrye Weekblad* (the name of a newspaper), *die Groote Kerk* (in central Cape Town) (see 6.2.3). Adjectival inflection is one of the most difficult issues in Afrikaans grammar and one which does not constitute a simplification compared with the historical situation (see Lass 1990).

6.1. Adjectives that take *-e*

Traditional grammars give two main rules for the inflection of adjectives:

- 1) adjectives of more than one syllable, which thus includes all derived adjectives.
- 2) monosyllabic adjectives ending in *d, f, g* and *s* (mnemonic *dog fees*).

6.1.1. Adjectives of more than one syllable

There are so few exceptions to the first rule that one will seldom be wrong if one is guided by it. Note that the spelling changes that apply to nouns forming their plural in *e* (see 4.1.2), also apply when *e* is added to adjectives, e.g. *aktueel* – *aktuele* ‘topical’, *belangrik* – *belangrike* ‘important’, *dankbaar* – *dankbare* ‘grateful’, *gemeen* – *gemene* ‘common’, *offisieel* – *offisiële* ‘official’, *perfek* – *perfekte* ‘perfect’, *privaat* – *private* ‘private’,² *relatief* – *relatiewe* ‘relative’, *vinnig* – *vinnige* ‘quick’.

¹ I make a point of this because the rules for adjectival inflection in Afrikaans are totally different from those that apply in Dutch and thus those that applied historically in Afrikaans.

² This adjective is often left uninflected, in which case it is sometimes written together with the noun, e.g. *privaatsektor* / *privaat sektor* / *private sektor*, *privaat* / *private eiendom* ‘private property’.

Exceptions:

a) adjectives which do not for phonological reasons inflect as simplexes, also take no ending when they form part of a compound adjective, despite the fact that they are then polysyllabic, e.g. *klein* 'small' and *nat* 'wet' don't inflect, therefore *piepklein* 'tiny' and *papnat* 'sopping wet' don't (see 6.8). Compounds formed from colours (see 6.10.1) like *donkergroen* 'dark green' and *ligblou* 'light blue' fall into this category too, as does *goedkoop* 'cheap', which does not exist as a simplex, and therefore none of them inflect.

b) adjectives ending in *-er*, although they are polysyllabic, follow the rule for adjectives ending in *r* and don't inflect (see 6.2.1.1), e.g. *ander* 'other', *bitter* 'bitter', *dapper* 'brave', *donker* 'dark', *lekker* 'delicious', *skugter* 'shy', and *suiwer* 'pure'.³ Comparatives, all of which end in *-er*, fall into this category too, e.g. 'n *belangriker mens* 'a more important person', but *later* 'later', *nader* 'nearer' and *verder* 'further' are inflected, e.g. *latere uitgawes* 'later editions',³ *by nadere nadenke* 'on further consideration',³ *verdere kortings* 'further reductions'³ (see the figurative use of *seker* and *yster* under 6.2.3.1 where they do take *-e*). Also *ieder* 'every', e.g. *iedere dag/jaar* 'every day/year'.

c) adjectives ending in *-el* (few in number) do not inflect, e.g. *dubbel* 'double', *edel* 'noble', *trippel* 'triple', *ydel* 'conceited'.⁴ *Sy edele* 'his honour' is an example of nominalisation (see 6.3). *Enkel* 'single' always takes an ending, except when used figuratively with *man* in the sense of 'unmarried', e.g.

- (446) *Ek het nie 'n enkele boek nie.*
'I haven't got a single book.'
- (447) *Nie 'n enkele man het opgedaag nie.*
'Not a single man turned up.'
- (448) *Hy is 'n enkel man.*
'He's a single man.'

Polysyllabic loanwords in *-el* like *formidabel* 'formidable' do inflect in accordance with the rule under 6.1.1.

6.1.2. Spelling changes to monosyllabic adjectives resulting from inflection

The real difficulty in adjectival inflection is firstly the spelling changes brought about by the addition of *-e* to monosyllabic adjectives and secondly the overall unreliability of the second rule (in other words there are many exceptions to it).

³ *Later*, *nader* and *verder*, as illustrated here, are used figuratively and although formally comparatives, they are not semantically.

⁴ The endings *-er* and *-el*, except in comparatives, are not really derivative endings and thus do not follow the rule of polysyllabic adjectives requiring inflection, but follow the rule given under 3.2.1.1. *Yster* 'iron' and *rubber*, apart from not requiring inflection anyway, are prefixed to the noun to form a compound, e.g. *ysterhek* 'iron gate', *rubberstempel* 'rubber stamp'.

6.1.2.1. Adjectives ending in *d*

If the adjective ends in a consonant cluster ending in *d*, there is no spelling change, e.g. *blind* – *blinde* ‘blind’, *hard* – *harde* ‘hard’, *vreemd* – *vreemde* ‘strange’, *wild* – *wilde* ‘wild’. If the adjective contains a short vowel, the *d* is doubled, in accordance with the spelling rules of Afrikaans (see 2.4.2), to preserve the short vowel in the preceding closed syllable, e.g. *glad* – *gladde* ‘smooth’, but if it contains a long vowel or diphthong, it is syncopated (as in the formation of the plural of nouns, see 4.1.2.7), the inflectional ending taking a diæresis if the root vowel ends in *e*, e.g. *breed* – *breë* ‘wide’, *dood* – *dooie* ‘dead’, *goed* – *goeie* ‘good’, *koude* – *koue* ‘cold’.

Exceptions: *wreed* – *wrede* ‘cruel’.⁵

6.1.2.2. Adjectives ending in *f*

If the adjective contains a short vowel, the final *f* is voiced when *-e* is added (i.e. $f > w$) and is doubled to preserve the short vowel in the preceding syllable (see 2.4.3), e.g. *dof* – *dowwe* ‘dull’, *laf* – *lawwe* ‘cowardly, silly’, and if it contains a long vowel or diphthong, or a consonant precedes the *f*, the same voicing takes place but only one *w* is written, e.g. *doof* – *dowe* ‘deaf’, *eksklusief* – *eksklusiewe* ‘exclusive’, *gaaf* – *gawe* ‘fine, good’, *styf* – *stywe* ‘stiff’, *half* – *halwe* ‘half’ (see 14.9.9).

Exceptions: none.

6.1.2.3. Adjectives ending in *g*

If the adjective contains a long vowel or diphthong, the final *g* is syncopated when *-e* is added and a diæresis is applied to the ending where necessary to preserve the distinction between syllables, e.g. *droog* – *droë* ‘dry’, *hoog* – *hoë* ‘high’,⁶ *laag* – *lae* ‘low’,⁷ *leeg* – *leë* ‘empty’, *moeg* – *moeë* ‘tired’, *ruig* – *ruie* ‘rugged, bushy’.

Adjectives which contain a short vowel either add *-te*⁸ or double the

⁵ It is difficult to explain why *wreed* should retain the *d* while in *breed* it is syncopated; *wrede* is the historically correct form, not *breë*. It could be that the Dutch form is retained in the more elevated word because of frequent occurrence in the Bible, and the Afrikaner’s traditional intimate acquaintance with the States Translation of the Bible (1637) has left him with an awareness of the “correct” form in this case.

⁶ Where the *g* is preserved in the inflected form, i.e. *hoge*, an irony/humour is being expressed as this is an archaic, more Dutch sounding form to a South African ear although in Dutch such intervocalic *g*’s are fricatives, not stops as in Afrikaans, e.g. *Ek staan verstom oor hierdie hoge (= hoë) diskussie* ‘I’m amazed by this highfalutin discussion’, *Ek het dit met my eie oë (= eie oë) gesien* ‘I saw it with my very own eyes’ (see 1.4.4). Note that *hoog* is not inflected in the expression *Dis hoog tyd dat...* ‘It’s high time that...’.

⁷ No diæresis is required here because *ae* is not a recognised spelling of a long *a* and thus the *a* and the *e* are automatically assumed to belong to separate syllables (see 2.5.1.1)

⁸ There are historical reasons for the addition of *-te* in such cases: the final *t* after

final *g* to preserve the short vowel in the preceding syllable (see 2.4.6.2), e.g. *eg* – *egte* ‘real’, *lig* – *ligte* ‘light’, *reg* – *regte* ‘right’, *sleg* – *slegte* ‘bad’; *stug* – *stugge* ‘morose’, *vlug* – *vlugge* ‘quick’.

Adjectives ending in *-ig* are polysyllabic and thus fall under 6.1, always taking *-e* without any syncope or doubling of the *g*, e.g. *stadig* – *stadige* ‘slow’.

Adjectives ending in *ng* inflect without any further change to the spelling, e.g. *streng* – *strengte* ‘strict’, but *bang* ‘afraid’ does not inflect (see *jonge* and *lange* under 6.2.2).

Exceptions: none, but the adjective *vroeg* ‘early’, which is normally always inflected, occurs both inflected and uninflected in the following idiom: *in die vroeë/vroeg vyftiger jare* ‘in the early fifties. Contrary to the above rule, the adjectives *reg* ‘right’, *sag* ‘soft’ and *sleg* ‘bad’ are sometimes not inflected when used emotively or in colloquial speech, most commonly with *sleg*, particularly, but not exclusively, in combination with *nie* and with reference to people, e.g.

- (449) *Hy is nie 'n sleg ou nie.*
‘He’s not a bad guy.’
- (450) *Nie 'n sleg(te) plek wat jy hier het nie.*
‘Not a bad place you’ve got here.’

6.1.2.4. Adjectives ending in *s*

These are the most problematical. Adjectives which historically ended in *-st*, but now end in *-s* due to apocope of final *t* (see footnote 8), take *-te*, e.g. *bewus* – *bewuste* ‘conscious’, *juis* – *juiste* ‘correct, exact’, *vas* – *vaste* ‘firm’, whereas those that had no *t* historically do not inflect, e.g. *fris* ‘cool’, *grys* ‘grey’, *los* ‘loose’, *pers* ‘purple’, *vars* ‘fresh’. Without a knowledge of Dutch there is no way the non-native-speaker can know which words had a *t* originally and which did not, except to say that all adjectives in *-s* derived from nouns did not end in *-t* and therefore simply take *-s*, e.g. *Joods* – *Joodse* ‘Jewish’, *Iers* – *Ierse* ‘Irish’, *aards* – *aardse* ‘earthly’ (see *ander[s]* under 6.13.f).

Adjectives which end in a consonant + *s*, take *-e*, e.g. *fluks* – *flukse* ‘smart’, *slaafs* – *slaafse* ‘servile’, *snaaks* – *snaakse* ‘funny’.

Exceptions: There are no exceptions to adjectives that historically ended in *st* or a consonant + *s* taking *-e*. Although the rule for all remaining adjectives ending in *s* is that they don’t inflect, there are numerous ones that do, or where there is a choice, e.g. *wys* – *wyse* ‘wise’; compare *grys*

certain consonants was apocopated in Afrikaans (compare Dutch *echt*, *licht*, *recht*, where Dutch *ch* = Afrikaans *g*), but when these adjectives are inflected, the *t* is no longer final and returns (see 15.1.2), whereas *stug* and *vlug* are also *stug* and *vlug* in Dutch. Without a knowledge of Dutch there is no way of the non-native-speaker knowing that the adjectives *stug* and *vlug* in Afrikaans were not historically **stucht* and **vlucht* (see the noun *vlug/vlugte* ‘flight/flights’ under 4.1.3). One can be consoled by the knowledge that there are very few adjectives like *stug*; most of those ending in *g* after a short vowel follow *eg* etc. and take *-te*.

'grey' above,⁹ *kras* – *kras* / *krasse* 'crass', *boos* – *bose* 'wicked, evil'.¹⁰

The adjective *laas*, which becomes *laaste* when inflected, is left uninflected when compounded with periods of time, e.g. *laasnag* 'last night', *laasweek* 'last week', *laasjaar* 'last year' (see 7.3).

See 6.13.e for *links* 'left' and *regs* 'right'.

See 6.13.f for *anders* and *eenders/eners* that also add *-te*.

6.1.2.5. Adjectives derived from weak past participles

Adjectives derived from weak past participles take *-de* or *-te*, but as they constitute only part of a larger issue their inflection is dealt with under 6.4.

6.2. Adjectives that don't take *-e*

6.2.1. Adjectives that do not inflect

In addition to the exceptions referred to under 6.1-6.1.2.4 which don't take *-e*, the following four categories (6.2.1.1-6.2.1.4) do not normally inflect.

6.2.1.1. Monosyllabic adjectives ending in *k, p, t, m, n, l, r*

Monosyllabic adjectives ending in the a) the voiceless stops *k, p, t*, b) the nasals *m, n* and c) the lateral/trill *l, r*,¹¹ e.g. a) *sterk* 'strong', *ryp* 'ripe', *groot* 'big',¹² b) *dom* 'stupid', *groen* 'green', c) *koel* 'cool', *swaar* 'heavy'.

Exceptions:

a) the adjective *stout* 'naughty' is inflected in direct speech for effect, e.g. *jou stoute kabouter/kind/ding* 'you naughty imp/child/thing', but *Hy is 'n stout kind* 'He's a naughty child' (neutral).

b) *elk* 'each/every'¹³ is always inflected, e.g. *elke dag* 'every day', *in elke geval* 'in every case', whereas in the standard expression *in elk geval* 'in any case, anyway' the historically correct form without inflection has been preserved.

c) *welk* 'which' (see 10.0) and *sulke* 'such' are always inflected, i.e. *welke* and *sulke* (usually pronounced [søkə] in natural speech).

⁹ The reason given in footnote 5 may apply here too, i.e. *die Drie Wyse Manne* 'the Three Wise Men'. *Wêreldwys* 'worldly-wise', being polysyllabic, takes *-e*.

¹⁰ As a predicative adjective *boos* can mean 'wicked' or 'angry', but when used attributively it is only used in the former meaning; 'angry' as an attributive adjective is *kwaai*, the predicative form of which is *kwaad* (see footnote 36).

¹¹ The phonetics of the final sound of adjectives that don't inflect are ultimately the key to the differentiation between them and those that do, as mentioned under 3.0.

¹² In proper nouns like *die Grootte Kerk* and *Grootte Schuur* (pronounced [sky:r]), both in Cape Town, the historically correct inflection has been preserved.

¹³ Afrikaans, similar to English 'each/every', has two totally synonymous adjectives *elk* and *ieder*, but the former is the more common, the latter sounding a little more formal.

d) *naak* 'naked' adds *-te* and has an alternative form when used predicatively, e.g. *die naakte man*, *die man was naak/nakend*. Note: '*n naak(beeld)*' 'a nude (figure)'.

e) see 6.2.3.

f) *dor* 'dry', [*on*]*guur* 'bleak, unsavoury' (see 6.13.g), *raar* 'strange'¹⁴ and *star* 'stiff, fixed, rigid' although theoretically requiring no ending, are nearly always inflected in practice because their semantic value is by definition affective, e.g. *die dorre Groot Karoo* 'the dry Great Karoo', [*on*]*gure weer* 'bleak weather', '*n rare voël*' 'a peculiar bird', *op 'n uiters starre wyse* 'in an extremely rigid way'.

6.2.1.2. Adjectives ending in a vowel or diphthong

Adjectives ending in a vowel or diphthong, e.g. *blou* 'blue', *mooi* 'pretty', *rooi* 'red'.

Exceptions: adjectives ending in *u* vacillate, e.g. *ru* – *ruwe* 'rough', *slu* – *sluwe* 'sly' but *sku* – *sku* 'timid'; *skuwe* exists too, but is less common.

6.2.1.3. Adjectives denoting materials

Adjectives denoting materials, whatever the final sound and however many syllables they consist of, do not inflect, but are written together with the noun they qualify (see 6.13.i).

6.2.2. The adjectives *jonk* 'young', *lank* 'long', *oud* 'old' and *nuut* 'new'

There are a few adjectives which, although they do not appear to take *-e*, change in form when used attributively because they were inflected historically, e.g. *jonk* – *jong* 'young', *lank* – *lang* 'long, tall', *oud* – *ou* 'old'. In the following compound adjectives the historical ending has been retained: *lewenslank* – *lewenslange* 'lifelong', *jarelank* – *jarelange* 'lasting for years', *dagoud* – *dagoue* 'day-old', *eeue-oud* – *eeue-oue* 'centuries old', *oeroud* – *oeroue* 'very old'. Adjectives formed from a period of time + *oud* also occur uninflected before the noun, e.g. '*n drie-dae-oud/oue kuiken*' 'a three day old chicken' (former more usual); also '*n drie-dae-lange joligheid*' 'a three day long festivity', *haar twee-jaar-lange huwelik* 'her marriage of two years standing' (compare *tien lange jare* under 6.2.3.1); use of the hyphen in such cases is inconsistent (see 6.12).

The adjective *nuut* 'new' goes *nuwe* 'new' in attributive position. Note too *Nieu-Seeland* 'New Zealand', *Nieu-Guinea* 'New Guinea', *Nieu-Grieks* 'Modern Greek', which preserve a Dutch form.¹⁵

¹⁴ Despite the insistence of prescriptive works that *raar* means 'strange', it is very commonly used as a synonym of *seldsaam* 'rare' under English influence, *eienaardig* being used to render 'strange, peculiar'.

¹⁵ *Hernu/hernieu* 'to renew' also preserve two different forms of this adjective.

6.2.3. Special uses of adjectives which require inflection

Many of the above adjectives that do not normally inflect may be inflected in two instances: a) when used figuratively or affectively, b) in standard expressions where the historically correct form still prevails.¹⁶ Neither the distinction between literal and figurative/affective on the one hand, nor between figurative/affective use and use in a standard expression is always clear-cut, e.g. *vol* 'full' is uninflected when meaning 'not empty' (*'n vol bottel*), but inflected in the phrases *jou volle naam* 'your full name', *in volle vertroue* 'in full confidence' and *by jou volle verstand* 'in possession of all your faculties'; is *jou grote* (also *lompe*) *lummel* 'you great oaf' to be regarded as a standard expression or an affective use of *groot*? – it qualifies on both counts in fact; in *'n ope brief* 'an open letter' (i.e. to a newspaper) and *'n ope dag* 'an open day' the adjective can be seen to be fulfilling a figurative function.

6.2.3.1. Figurative/affective usage

Jou arme ding 'you poor thing', *bittere tye* 'bitter times', *blote/skone toeval* 'sheer coincidence', *die blote feit* 'the mere fact', *diepe tevredenheid* 'deep satisfaction', *'n donkere toekoms* 'a dark future', *'n dure les* 'an expensive lesson', *'n gekke mengelmoes* 'a crazy mixture', *die kleine mens* 'insignificant man', *Sy is 'n mooie mens* 'She is a lovely person',¹⁷ *'n nare monster* 'an awful monster', *in noue assosiasie/samewerking met* 'in close association/collaboration with', *'n noue ontkoming* 'a narrow escape', *'n ryke erfenis/tradisie* 'a rich heritage/tradition',¹⁸ *in sekere gevalle* 'in certain cases', *'n sekere mnr. Du Toit* 'a certain Mr. Du Toit'¹⁹ (see 6.1.1.b), *'n slanke nek* 'a slender neck', *die stille vlaktes* 'the silent plains', *die stomme kind* 'the poor child', *iets met 'n sware hart doen* 'to do something against one's will'. *Heel* 'whole' only remains uninflected in the literal meaning of 'not broken', e.g. *Neem jy die heel beker, ek sal die stukkende neem* 'You take the whole beaker, I'll take the broken one', versus *die hele gesin* 'the whole family' and *die hele dag/nag/week* 'the whole day/night week' (= all day/night/week) but *die heel dag* etc. (see 7.3) also occurs: the inflected form is more emphatic, see *wat 'n mooie romp* 'what a lovely skirt', where the connotation is not literal versus figurative as exemplified above with *mooi*, but affective. This is also the case in *die mooie Italië/Stellenbosch* 'beautiful Italy/Stellenbosch' (see 3.1.1.11) and *tien lange jare* 'ten long years'.

¹⁶ Here, as in various other instances in Afrikaans, what the Afrikaans speaker perceives to be a more Dutch sounding form (usually correctly but sometimes incorrectly) has a more formal ring to it.

¹⁷ Compare: *Sy is 'n mooi mens* 'She's a pretty woman'.

¹⁸ In *skatryk* 'filthy rich', for example, *ryk* retains its literal meaning and is thus never inflected, but in *kleurryk* 'colourful' and *invloedryk* 'influential' it doesn't and is always inflected.

¹⁹ But in the expression *'n onseker(e) toekoms* 'an uncertain future' both forms are heard.

It is impossible to formulate water-tight rules for the inflection of adjectives under these circumstances.

6.2.3.2. Standard expressions

*Onder andere*²⁰ 'inter alia', *van korte duur* 'short-lived', *op die lang(e) duur* 'in the long run', *die oorgrote meerderheid* 'the overwhelming majority', *uit die ou(d)e doos* 'old-fashioned' (see 6.2.2), *die verre verlede* 'the distant past', *in die verre noorde* 'in the far north', *die Verre Ooste* 'the Far East', *op vrye voet stel* 'to be set free', *in my vrye tyd* 'in my free time',²¹ *ware kinders van God* 'true children of God', *ware gasvryheid* 'true hospitality'.

6.3. Nominalised adjectives

All adjectives take *-e* when used nominally after articles, demonstratives and possessives, e.g. *'n grote / die grote / hierdie grote / jou grote* 'a big one/the big one/this big one/your big one'. The plural of these forms is *die grotes* 'the big ones' etc.²² If the synonymous alternative construction with *een / ene / enetjie* (see 5.2.7) similar to the English is used, the above rules for inclusion or omission of *-e* apply as the adjective is once again used attributively and not nominally, e.g. *'n / die / hierdie / jou groot een* (or colloquial also *ene* or *enetjie*, in the latter case only if referring to something small); in non-standard speech one will hear these *een* constructions in the plural too, e.g. *[die] groot enes (= [die] grotes)* 'the big ones'.

See nominalised past participles under 6.4.3.

Comparatives can be nominalised in this way too, e.g.

- (451) *Die veselperskes kos 50 sent stuk maar die kleineres kos minder.*
'The mangoes cost 50 cents each but the smaller ones cost less.'

'The larger/smaller (one)' etc. when talking of two is not rendered by a comparative, but by a superlative, e.g. not **die grotere* 'the larger one', but *die grootste (een)* 'the largest/larger (one)', *die grootstes* 'the largest ones'. See 6.7 for why the superlative *die grootste* renders the English comparative 'the bigger (one)'.

²⁰ See footnote 22.

²¹ Compare *'n vry blaadjie* 'a free/gratis paper' and *'n vry slaaf* 'a free slave'. There are numerous figurative compounds formed from *-vry* which all inflect, e.g. *ulekurye staal* 'stainless steel'.

²² The only exception to this is *ander* 'other', which doesn't take an ending in either the singular or the plural when nominalised except in non-standard speech where an *-s* is sometimes used in the plural, e.g. *Die ander(s) het by die huis gebly* 'The others/other one/ones stayed at home'.

6.4. Adjectives derived from past participles

6.4.1. Historically weak past participles²³

The fact that many adjectives ending in *g* and *s* take a *-te* ending when inflected (see 6.2.1.3-4), rather than simply an *-e*, is due to a sound change that occurred on a wide plane in Afrikaans. With nouns and adjectives final *t* and *d* (pronounced [t]) were apocopated after voiceless consonants, but in weak past participles all final *t*'s and *d*'s were apocopated.²⁴ However, in cases where an *e* is added to the participle, and the *t* or *d* are thus no longer in final position, they return in the form of the endings *-te* or *-de*. The phenomenon of a returning *t* or *d* is best illustrated in the pluralisation of certain nouns (see 4.1.3), but also in adjectives. Those dealt with above under 6.1.2.3 and 6.1.2.4 are but two aspects of the phenomenon. It also has important repercussions for the adjectival use of past participles, an issue which can only be fully understood in the light of certain historical factors.

Weak verbs in Dutch form their past participle by the addition of a *ge-* prefix²⁵ and a *-t* or *-d* suffix to the stem of the verb; *-t* is added to stems ending in a voiceless consonant and *-d* to those ending in a voiced consonant or a vowel²⁶ (compare English *worked*, pronounced [kt] and *loved*, pronounced

²³ Use of the terms weak and strong with reference to verbs is traditional in Germanic languages. As far as the distinction is relevant in this context, the terms can be said to be synonymous with regular and irregular verbs respectively.

²⁴ Those weak past participles that take *d* in accordance with the rule that follows above, when used as predicative adjectives or adverbs, are found both with and without final *d*, e.g. *afgesonder(d)* 'isolated', *beleef(d)* 'polite', *bemin(d)* 'loved', *beskaaf(d)* 'civilised', *gekleed(d)* 'dressed', *teleurgestel(d)* 'disappointed', *vervreem(d)* 'estranged'. There is also a group of these past participles which are more commonly or exclusively used as adjectives that have retained the *d*, e.g. *beroemd* 'famous', *geleerd* 'learned', *getroud* 'married', *ontsteld* 'disgusted'. The AWS (p. 24) distinguishes clearly between the two sorts. Whether a *d* is added to a past participle in *-eer* or not has to do with whether it is regarded purely as an adjective or still has verbal qualities, e.g. *gesofistikeerd* 'sophisticated' and *geïnteresseerd* 'interested' but *geklassifiseer* 'classified' and *geïllustreer* 'illustrated': *Ek is geïnteresseerd* 'I am interested', *Dié boek is pragtig geïllustreer* 'That book is beautifully illustrated' (= has been beautifully illustrated). This issue is now generally speaking lexical rather than grammatical (see 8.14.1).

²⁵ The *ge-* is only omitted in the case of verbs that already begin with an unstressed prefix (see 8.2).

²⁶ The Dutch use *'t kofschip* as a mnemonic to remember what stems take *-t*, i.e. all those that end in *t*, *k*, *f*, *s*, *ch*, or *p*. This rule applies equally to Afrikaans except for *ch*. Verbal stems ending in *ch* or *g* (historically voiced but no longer the case in Dutch or Afrikaans) both end in *g* in Afrikaans, nevertheless the ending required can still be *-te* or *-de*, the former being used where Afrikaans *g* stands for a Dutch *ch*. There are cases in Afrikaans, however, where both endings are very common in practice, particularly with *g*, e.g. *aangehegte/-de* 'attached' (officially only *-te*), *geroeste/-de* 'rusted' (officially only *-te*). Resorting to comparison with Dutch to determine the correct ending in Afrikaans can pose the following problem: is the inflected past participle of *buig* 'to bend' (< Dutch: *buigen*) *gebuigte* or *gebuigde* when in Dutch it is inflected strong, i.e. *gebogen*, whence the Afrikaans *geboë* 'inflected' (figurative meaning). The presence of *g* in the Dutch indicates that *gebuigde* is the required form although that word as such does not exist in Dutch. The AWS (p. 24), while listing only the historically correct forms for these verbs ending in *f*, *g* or *s*, advises that the alternative form, be that *-de* or *-te*, should not be regarded as wrong.

[vd]), e.g. *hopen* – *gehoopt* ‘to hope’, *werken* – *gewerkt* ‘to work’, *horen* – *gehoord* ‘to hear’, *bouwen* – *gebouwd* ‘to build’. As verbs such forms appear in Afrikaans as *gehoop*, *gewerk*, *gehoor* and *gebou* (see 8.5) but when used as attributive adjectives, and thus inflected, they become *gehoopte*, *gewerkte*, *gehoorde* and *geboude*. To this point there is no problem.

One small difficulty in knowing whether to add *-t* or *-d* to a weak past participle in Dutch is presented by verbs with a *v* or *z* in the infinitive; verbs like *leven* ‘to live’ and *reizen* ‘to travel’, according to the rules of Dutch spelling, add *ge-* and *-d* to the stems *leef* and *reis* – these stems may end in voiceless consonants, but the *f* and *s* are derived from *v* and *z*, i.e. voiced consonants, and this fact determines the correct dental ending. But as such verbs in the infinitive form in Afrikaans are *leef* and *reis*, with no obvious sign of this *f* and *s* being derived from their voiced counterparts, it is difficult in such cases to know whether the correct inflected adjectival form of the verbal past participles *geleef* and *gereis* is *geleefte/gereiste* or *geleefde/gereisde*; only the latter are correct, although with more obscure verbs, Afrikaans speakers are often in doubt themselves; in such cases their ear can no longer tell them what sounds correct – [-ftə]/[-stə] or [-fdə]/[-sdə],²⁷ because in practice the voiced forms are seldom heard, they are only written.²⁸ In Afrikaans this difficulty of choice not only affects verbs ending in *f* and *s*, but also those ending in *g*, as a *g* can be derived from a Dutch *ch* (unvoiced) or a Dutch *g* (historically voiced), e.g. *verf* – *geverfde* (< Dutch *verven* ‘to paint’); *vonnis* – *gevonnisde* (< Dutch *vonnissen* ‘to sentence’), *opgeblaasde* (< Dutch *opblazen* ‘to blow up’), *jag* – *gejagte* (< Dutch *jachten* ‘to hurry’), *saag* – *gesaagde* (< Dutch *zagen* ‘to saw’).

The following is a reliable rule of thumb for remembering the difference: *-te* is added to verbs ending in *f*, *g* and *s* that contain a short stressed vowel in the preceding syllable, and *-de* is added when that syllable contains a long vowel or diphthong or ends in *-ig*, *-rf* or *-rg*, e.g. *verligte* ‘enlightened’, *vertraagde* ‘delayed’, *opgeloste* ‘(dis)solved’, *gevroesde* ‘frozen’, *gepynigde* ‘tortured’, *gekerfde* ‘carved’, *getergde* ‘irritated’.

6.4.2. Historically strong past participles

Afrikaans abounds with the past participles of historically irregular verbs but none of them, with the exception of *gehad*, is used verbally any more – where they exist they are used as, and are normally seen to be, adjectives.²⁹ Whereas *doen*, for example, has a past participle *gedoen*, the original irregular past participle *gedaan* in certain contexts is scarcely perceived any more to be connected with the verb ‘to do’, e.g. *Ek het die hele dag gewerk en nou is ek gedaan* ‘I’ve worked all day and now I’ve had it’.

²⁷ Historically the *f* and the *s* were voiced before *-de* too, which is what the distinction was originally based on, but this is certainly no longer the case in Afrikaans

²⁸ Despite this Combrink (1969) has illustrated that *d* is gaining ground in the written language and prescriptive works seem to be adopting a more tolerant attitude to either spelling in defiance of the recommendations of the AWS.

²⁹ Compare the forms *a stricken/sunken ship* which also only exist as adjectives.

Compare *Die kwaad is gedaan* 'The damage has been done', where *gedaan* may seem to have verbal overtones but is in fact part of a set expression; likewise *knap gedaan* 'well done', so *gesê so gedaan* 'no sooner said than done', *Dis makliker gesê as gedaan* 'It's easier said than done' (see 8.14.1).

This concept is more a lexical than a grammatical problem – one simply has to learn forms like those that follow as individual items of vocabulary, e.g. *gebroke* 'broken' – *breek* 'to break', *handgeskrewe* 'handwritten' – *skryf* 'to write', *gesoute* 'salted' – *sout* 'to salt', *verbode* 'forbidden' – *verbied* 'to forbid'. Note that adjectives derived from strong past participles usually end in *-e* (< Dutch *-en*).

But the issue is more complex than this. Many formerly strong verbs have lost their strong past participle and are now treated as if they have always been weak. This then raises the problem dealt with under 6.4.1 – do they take a *-te* or a *-de*, given that in Dutch, where the strong participle is still used, they end in neither, e.g. *aanbeveel* 'to recommend' – *aanbeveelde* (< Dutch *aanbevelen* – *aanbevoelen*); *afspreek* 'to arrange' – *afgespreekte* (< Dutch *afspreken* – *afgesproken*). The forms given are considered correct because the 't *kofschip* rule (see footnote 26) is applied to them as if they had been weak in Dutch too. But the originally strong forms of these two verbs – but also of many others – have not yet completely died out, i.e. *aanbevole* and *afgesproke*. Knowing where such forms have survived and where to use them, is difficult. With many other verbs the strong forms have not survived at all or are infrequently used, e.g. *bak* – *gebakte* (< Dutch *bakken* – *gebakken* 'to bake'), *vleg* – *gevlegte* (< Dutch *vlechten* – *gevlochten* 'to plait').

Generally speaking it can be said that the better one's education, the greater one's familiarity with the strong forms; the lower down the social ladder the more one is likely to find analogically formed weak adjectival past participles, e.g. *bevore/bevriesde* 'frozen', *gebonde/gebinde* 'bound', *voorgeskrewe/voorgeskryfde* 'prescribed', *verboë/verbuigde* 'inflected'. The tide of time is against the strong ones. But if all such weak forms, which after all did not exist in Dutch, still require that a choice be made between *-te* and *-de*, there is still room for error. Research has shown that Afrikaans speakers are very uncertain on this point, particularly with less familiar adjectives, whether originally weak or not.³⁰

In many instances the new analogically formed weak past participle exists side by side with the original strong form but with a distinction in meaning (unlike those in the previous paragraph), the strong form usually denoting the more figurative meaning, e.g. *breek* 'to break' – 'n *gebreekte koppie* 'a broken cup', 'n *gebroke hart/gesondheid* 'a broken heart/shattered health'; *buig* 'to bend' – 'n *gebuigde klerehanger* 'a bent clothes-hanger', *met geboë hoof* 'with a bowed head'; *slyp* 'to sharpen, whet' – 'n *geslypte diamant* 'a cut diamond', 'n *geslepe dief* 'cunning thief'; *sny* 'to cut' – *gesnyde* 'cut, sliced of foods', *gesnede* 'castrated, carved, engraved' (of wood, stone etc.).

Strong past participles that historically ended in *-eiden* and *-ouden* now

³⁰ Combrink (1969) deals with the results of a field work test conducted on this point.

have two forms, one in *-eie/-oue* (the strong form with syncope of intervocalic *d* after a diphthong) and one in *-de*, an analogical weak form, e.g. 'n *geskeie/geskeide persoon* 'a divorced person' (former no longer common), *die aangehoue/aangehoude bestuurder* 'the detained driver'. Compare 'n *getroude persoon* 'a married person' (< Dutch *getrouwd*, not a strong past participle).

6.4.3. Nominalisation of adjectival past participles (see 6.3)

Strong past participles, which historically ended in an *n* that was apocoped (compare English *stolen, ridden*), take *-ne* when nominalised, e.g. 'n *bekrompe persoon* 'a narrow-minded person' – *die bekrompene* 'the narrow-minded person/one' (see 15.1.3). When nominalised in this way, as they end in *-e*, they take *-s* in the plural, e.g. *die bekrompenes*.

Weak past participles, when used nominally, take either *-de* or *-te* in the singular and also add *-s* in the plural, e.g. *verkrampte kiesers* 'ultra-conservative voters', *die verkrampte* 'the ultra-conservative person/one', *die verkramptes*.³¹

See 6.7.1 for the comparative and superlative of past participles.

6.4.4. Prenominal adjectival phrases incorporating past participles

In very formal written style adjectival phrases ending in an inflected past participle can be placed before a noun where in speech and natural written style the content of such a phrase would be expressed in a relative clause, as it usually is in English, e.g.

- (452) *Driehonderd jaar gelede het die Hugenote 'n deur oorlog verskeurde Frankryk verlaat* = ...*het die Hugenote 'n Frankryk wat deur oorlog verskeur(d) was, verlaat* (with a relative clause).
'Three hundred years ago the Huguenots left a France which was torn apart by war.'

Sometimes it is possible in both Afrikaans and English to use simply a compound adjective, as in the previous example where it would have been possible to say 'n *oorlogverskeurde Frankryk* 'a war-torn France'. Also 'n *leergebinde boek* < 'n *in leer gebinde boek* 'a leather-bound book' 'n *staatsgefinansierde maatskappy* < 'n *deur die staat gefinansierde maatskappy* 'a state financed company', 'n *droogtegeteisterde gebied* < 'n *deur droogte geteisterde gebied* 'a drought-stricken area', 'n *Russiesgebore aktrise* < 'n *in Rusland gebore aktrise* 'a Russian born actress' (see 6.12).

A similar structure to the above occurs, although less frequently, where the verbal element in the adjectival phrase is an infinitive instead of a past participle, e.g.

³¹ *Bekrompe* and *verkrampt(te)* are both derived from the same historically strong verb, providing Afrikaans with two semantically closely related words.

- (453) *Die leiers van die te stigte linkse party was almal teenwoordig.*
 'The leaders of the leftist party, which is yet to be founded, were all present.'

6.5. Adjectival inflection in -s

Although traditional grammar states that when used after an indefinite pronoun an adjective takes -s, this ending is these days commonly omitted, particularly in speech, but omission of the ending is considered non-standard by many, e.g.

- (454) *Ek het vandag heelwat/iets interessants gehoor.*
 'I heard something interesting today.'
- (455) *Kan skrywers aan niks beters dink as seks om oor te skryf nie?*
 'Can't authors think of anything better than sex to write about?'
- (456) *Daar is niks weselik verskillends tussen hulle en ons nie.*
 'There's nothing essentially different between them and us.'

S inflection of the adjective is most commonly found after *iets* 'something' and *niks* 'nothing' but is now seldom heard after the pronouns *baie* 'a lot', *genoeg* 'enough', *iemand* 'someone' and *niemand* 'no-one', e.g.

- (457) *Die kans dat sy iemand spesiaal(s) sal ontmoet, is bitter skraal.*
 'The chance that she'll meet someone special is remote.'

S inflection applies to comparatives too, e.g. *iets kleiner* 'something smaller', but even after *iets* and *niks* it is now commonly omitted from comparatives, e.g. *iets interessanter* 'something more interesting', *Op 'n warm somersdag is daar niks lekkerder as swem in 'n swembad of in die see nie* 'On a hot summer's day there is nothing nicer than swimming in a pool or in the sea.' It is always omitted from *iets/niks ekstra*.

6.6. The comparative of the adjective

The basic rule for the formation of the comparative in Afrikaans is identical to that in English, i.e. by the addition of *-er*. But the following should be noted: a) addition of *-er* causes certain predictable spelling changes to the adjective (6.5.1); b) the English tendency to use a periphrastic formation with 'more' for adjectives of two or more syllables is not as prevalent in Afrikaans (see 6.7.1).

As mentioned under 6.1.1.a, comparatives are not inflected when used as attributive adjectives, e.g. *die nuwe kragtiger Toyota Hilux* 'the new, more powerful Toyota Hilux'.

6.6.1. Spelling changes resulting from the addition of *-er*

The following spelling changes apply when *-er* is added:

i) adjectives ending in *d* undergo the same changes in spelling as apply to the addition of *-e* discussed under 6.1.2.1, i.e. *blind* – *blinder* ‘blind’, *hard* – *harder* ‘hard’, *vreemd* – *vreemder* ‘strange’, *wild* – *wilder* ‘wild’; *glad* – *gladder* ‘smooth’; *breed* – *breër* ‘wide’, *koud* – *kouer* ‘cold’. Just as *wreed* ‘cruel’ does not follow *breed* when *-e* is added, so its comparative too differs, i.e. *wreder*.

ii) adjectives ending in *f* undergo the same changes in spelling as apply to the addition of *-e* discussed under 6.1.2.2, i.e. *dof* – *dowwer* ‘dull’, *laf* – *lawwer* ‘silly, cowardly’; *doof* – *dower* ‘deaf’, *gaaf* – *gawer* ‘fine, good’, *styf* – *stywer* ‘stiff’.

iii) adjectives ending in *u* (see 6.2.1.2) add *-wer* (pronounced [vər]), i.e. *ru* – *ruwer* ‘rough’, *slu* – *sluwer* ‘sly’.

iv) adjectives ending in *g* undergo the same changes in spelling as apply to the addition of *-e* discussed under 6.1.2.3, i.e. *droog* – *droër* ‘dry’, *laag* – *laer* ‘low’, *leeg* – *leër* ‘empty’, *moeg* – *moeër* ‘tired’; *eg* – *egter* ‘real’, *lig* – *ligter* ‘light’; *stug* – *stugger* ‘morose’, *vlug* – *vlugger* ‘quick’; *stadig* – *stadiger* ‘slow’, *jonk* – *jonger* ‘young’, *lank* – *langer* ‘long, tall’. In adjectives ending in *rg*, the fricative becomes a stop when *-er* is added, e.g. *erg* ‘bad’ (pronounced [ærx]) but *erger* (pronounced [ærgər]).

v) adjectives ending in *s* undergo the same changes in spelling as apply to the addition of *-e* discussed under 6.1.2.4, i.e. *juis* – *juister* ‘correct, exact’, *vas* – *vaster* ‘firm’; *fris* – *frisser* ‘cool’, *los* – *losser* ‘loose’; *fluks* – *flukser* ‘smart’, *grys* – *gryser* ‘grey’, *snaaks* – *snaakser* ‘funny’, *vars* – *varser* ‘fresh’.

vi) adjectives ending in *r* take *-der* (compare English *far* – *further*), e.g. *duur* – *duurder* ‘expensive’, *eetbaar* – *eetbaarder* ‘edible’, *lekker* – *lekkerder* ‘delicious’, *maer* – *maerder* ‘thin’, *nugter* – *nugterder* ‘sober’, *ver* – *verder* ‘far’. In non-standard Afrikaans *warm* – *warmder* ‘warmer’ also occurs.

6.6.2. Use of *meer* with comparatives (see 6.7.1)

6.6.3. Irregular comparatives (see 6.7.2)

6.6.4. Syntactical structures associated with comparatives

- (458) *Sy is net so lank soos hy.*
‘She is just as tall as he’ (see 5.1.1.4.1).
- (459) *Die twee van hulle is ewe lank.*
‘The two of them are the same height’ (= equally tall).
- (460) *Jy word steeds beter / beter en beter / al (hoe) beter.*
‘You’re getting better and better.’
- (461) *Sy kry al hoe meer aandag.*
‘She’s getting more and more attention.’

- (462) *Hoe meer jy oefen hoe fiker word jy / des te fiker word jy.*
 'The more you exercise the fitter you'll become.' (*Des te* is higher style.)
- (463) *Hierdie saak is ewe dringend.*
 'This issue is just as urgent.'
- (464) *Sy is (nog) langer as ek.*
 'She's (even) taller than I.'³²
- (465) *Sy is maerder as wat ek is.*
 'She's thinner than (what) I am' (see 9.4 note 5).

6.7. The superlative of the adjective

The basic rule for the formation of the superlative in Afrikaans is similar to that in English, i.e. by the addition of *-ste*. The superlative ending is actually the *-st*, to which is added the adjectival inflection *-e*. Unlike the addition of *-e* or *-er* to adjectives, the addition of *-st* causes no changes in spelling and there are no exceptions to the rule (see 6.7.1); even when an adjective already ends in *s*, the *s* is doubled when *-ste* is applied, e.g. *blindste, gladste, breedste, koudste, dofste, doofste, styfste, droogste, laagste, moegste, ligste, stugste, stadigste, strengste, jongste, vasste, frisste, grysste, snaaksste*.

Note the following difference between Afrikaans and English: *ons jongste seun* 'our younger/youngest son', *die kleinste van die twee/van die drie* 'the smaller of the two/smallest of the three'. Afrikaans uses the superlative in both cases after possessives and the definite article, although the following Anglicism is common:

- (466) *Hy is die kleiner een / die kleinere van die twee.*
 'He is the smaller (one)/the smaller of the two.'
- (467) *Daar ontwikkel 'n magsverhouding waarin die een taal op watter grond ook al, die sterkere word.*
 'A situation of relative power develops in which, for whatever reason, one language emerges as the stronger.'

It is permissible, however, to use a comparative after the indefinite article, e.g.

- (468) *Ek het 'n kleiner een.*
 'I have a smaller one.'

Compare:

- (469) *Ek het die kleinste van die twee.*
 'I have the smaller of the two' (see 6.3 and 6.7.3).

³² *Dan* is a very formal synonym of *as* in this sense and if used at all, is used to avoid confusion with other *as*'s.

6.7.1. Use of *meer* and *mees* with the comparative and superlative of the adjective

In practice polysyllabic adjectives ending in *e* form their comparative and superlative periphrastically with *meer* and *mees*, e.g. *tevrede* – *meer/mees tevrede* ‘more/most satisfied’. Prescriptive works also give forms with *-ner* and *-nste*,³³ e.g. *tevredener/tevredenste*, but such forms are not at all common. Although there are few true adjectives like *tevrede* that end in *e* (*beskeie* ‘modest’, *verleë* ‘shy’), a large number of strong past participles have survived into Afrikaans, no longer used as verbs, but still very much alive as adjectives,³⁴ e.g. *gespanne* ‘stretched, tense’, *verlate* ‘deserted’, *volwasse* ‘grown-up, adult’. Strictly speaking they form their comparative and superlative with *meer* and *mees*, but one does occasionally find the endings *-ner* and *-nste* being applied to them too, e.g. *meer/mees verlate* ‘more/most deserted’, *meer/mees volwasse* ‘more/most adult’, *meer/mees gespanne* ‘more/most tense’. It is difficult to generalise here because a) the frequency of the periphrastic formation versus the other can vary from adjective to adjective, b) the superlative in *-ste* may be more common than the comparative in *-ner* for a particular adjective, and c) the frequency of one form or the other may depend on whether it is used attributively or predicatively. A reasonably reliable rule of thumb for the non-native is to always use the forms in *meer* and *mees* with such adjectives; this will seldom be wrong even if the other is also possible.

What has just been said of adjectives formed from strong past participles applies to those formed from weak past participles too, but they can never take the endings *-er* and *-ste*, e.g. *gesog/meer gesog(te)/mees gesog(te)* ‘sought after’, *geïllustreerd/meer geïllustreerd(e)/mees geïllustreerd(e)* ‘illustrated’. Exception *gewildste* ‘most wanted’ which always takes *-ste*, but can’t take *-er*.

Adjectives formed from present participles ending in *-end* (see 15.3.2), on the other hand, usually take *meer* and *mees*, e.g. *meer/mees winsgewend* ‘profitable’.

The three categories of adjectives covered in the previous paragraphs are the only cases where formal grammar permits or even prescribes the use of *meer* and *mees*. There are, however, many instances of this construction being applied to adjectives not included in the above categories. This is commonly held, rightly or wrongly, to be due to the influence of English. Where an adjective consists of two or more syllables one is likely to hear *meer/mees* where grammar requires *-er/-ste*, more usually with less frequently used words, and very often with those of French/Latin origin, in which case the forms with *meer/mees* are more common,³⁵ e.g. *meer*

³³ Historically this adjective was *tevreden*, Afrikaans having apocopated final *n* after *e*; as with *nag/nagte* ‘night/nights’ and *sag/sagte* ‘soft’ (non-inflected/inflected), when the suffixes *-er* and *-ste* are added, the final sound of the historical form returns.

³⁴ Many such adjectives, like those formed from past participles (see 6.4), do not lend themselves to being used in the comparative and superlative, e.g. *handgeskrewe* ‘handwritten’, *verbode* ‘forbidden’.

³⁵ For example, *gemeen* ‘ordinary’ and *formeel* ‘formal’ are both bisyllabic and take

aggressief/aggressiewer 'more aggressive', *meer effektief/effektiewer* 'more effective', *meer suksesvol/suksesvoller* 'more successful', 'n *meer volledige/vollediger lys* 'a more complete list', *die mees noordelike/noordelikste deel van die land* 'the northernmost part of the country'. Despite the precedent of English *more/most important* and *more/most interesting*, these words are too commonly used for *meer/mees belangrik* and *meer/mees interessant* to be often heard in lieu of *belangriker/belangrikste* and *interessanter/interessantste*.

Also as in English, the above "incorrect" use of *meer* and *mees* can give rise in speech to tautological forms, e.g. *meer waardevoller* 'more valuable', *mees suksesvolste* 'most successful' (compare *more worthier*).

Onlangs 'recent' always forms its comparative and superlative in *meer* and *mees*. There are also other adjectives where the use of *meer* in the comparative is not paralleled by *mees* in the superlative, e.g. *meer korrek* but *mees korrek* or *korrekste* 'correct'.

6.7.2. Irregular adjectival comparatives and superlatives

<i>goed</i>	<i>beter</i>	<i>beste</i> 'good, better, best'
<i>kwaad</i>	<i>kwater</i>	<i>kwaadste</i> 'angry, angrier, angriest' ³⁶
<i>nuut</i>	<i>nuwer</i>	<i>nuutste</i> 'new, newer, newest'

6.7.3. Idiomatic uses of the superlative

Where in English the comparative is used after possessives and the definite article when comparing two items, in Afrikaans the superlative is used, as is commonly the case in spoken English, e.g.

- (470) *Wie is die langste van die twee?*
'Who is the taller (colloquial tallest) of the two?' (see 6.7).

The adjective *enig*, in the sense of 'only', although semantically superlative in itself, occurs as *enigste*, e.g.

- (471) *Sy is my enigste suster.*
'She is my only sister.'
(472) *Hy is 'n enigste kind.*
'He's an only child.'

The following adjectives formed from prepositions indicating place, always take the ending *-ste*, e.g. *boonste* 'top', *onderste* 'bottom', *middelste*

the stress on the second syllable but the former is an indigenous word while the latter is a loanword; only *gemener/gemeenste* are possible while both *formeler/formeelste* and *meer/mees formele* are permissible.

³⁶ There is also an adjective *kwaai* (*kwaaiër, kwaaieste*) meaning 'bad-tempered, angry' which one must not confuse with *kwaad* (see footnote 10). Note too *Dit gaan van kwaad na erger* 'It's going from bad to worse'.

'middle', *agterste* 'back', *voorst* 'front', e.g. *in die boonste laai* 'in the top drawer', *in die voorste ry* 'in the front row'. Compare *topmost*, *bottommost* etc. in English.

Note the idiom *die eerste die beste*, e.g. *die eerste die beste geleentheid/persoon* 'the first opportunity/person that comes along'.

The prefix *aller-* can be added to the superlative of many adjectives as a form of intensifier (see 6.8). The process is productive, e.g.

- (473) *Dis die allerlekkerste tert wat ek ooit geëet het.*
'It's absolutely the most delicious tart I've ever eaten.'
- (474) *Sy is die allermooiste meisie wat ek ooit gesien het.*
'She really is the prettiest girl I've ever seen.'

6.8. Adjectival intensifiers

Similes of the sort 'as white as snow' exist in Afrikaans too, e.g.

<i>so dood soos 'n mossie</i>	'as dead as a doornail' (literally 'sparrow')
<i>so doof soos 'n kwartel</i>	'as deaf as a post' (literally 'quail')
<i>so hard soos klip</i>	'as hard as stone'
<i>so lelik soos die nag</i>	'as ugly as sin' (literally 'night')
<i>so maer soos 'n riet</i>	'as thin as a rake' (literally 'straw')
<i>so oud soos die berge</i>	'as old as the hills'
<i>so reg soos 'n roer</i>	'as right as rain' (literally 'rudder')
<i>so skaars soos hoendertande</i>	'as scarce as hens' teeth'
<i>so wit soos sneeu</i>	'as white as snow' ³⁷

But more common in Afrikaans than structures of the above kind are those like *snow-white*, *dog-tired*, *dripping/soaking wet*, *brand new*. As in English, very few of the compound adjectives in the list below can also be expressed in *as...as* terms as *sneeuwit* can be; most are simply to be regarded as an intensified form of the root adjective, the prefix usually corresponding to 'very, terribly, really' etc.

Note that these adjectives are inflected or not according to what they would do if they were simplexes – the fact that they are polysyllabic does not have any effect on their inflection or lack thereof (see 6.1), e.g. *'n skatryk man* 'a very rich man', *'n rasegte Hollander* 'a true blue Dutchman', *'n bloedjong vrou* 'a really young woman'.

<i>alleen</i>	> <i>moedersielalleen</i> , <i>stoksielalleen</i> , <i>vingeralleen</i> 'alone, lonely'
<i>arm</i>	> <i>brandarm</i> 'poor'
<i>bekend</i>	> <i>alombekend</i> 'well-known'
<i>beroemd</i>	> <i>wêreldberoemd</i> 'famous'
<i>bitter</i>	> <i>galbitter</i> 'bitter'
<i>bleek</i>	> <i>doodsbleek</i> 'pale'
<i>blou</i>	> <i>potblou</i> 'blue'

³⁷ Note that the adverbial phrase 'as soon as possible', which does not differ formally from the above phrases in English, uses *as*, not *soos*, or even omits the conjunction altogether: *so gou (as) moontlik*.

breed > *hemelsbreed* 'wide'
donker > *stikdonker* 'dark'
dood > *morsdood* 'dead'
doof > *stokdoof* 'deaf'
dronk > *papdronk*, *smoordronk* 'drunk'
droog > *kurkdroog* 'dry'
dun > *plankdun* 'thin'
duur > *peperduur* 'expensive'
eg > *raseg* 'real'
ernstig > *doodernstig* 'serious'
fyn > *piekfyn* 'fine'
geel > *goudgeel* 'yellow'
gek > *stapelgek* 'mad, insane'
gesond > *kerngesond* 'healthy'
gewoon > *doodgewoon* 'ordinary'
glad > *seepglad*, *spieëlglad* 'smooth, slippery'
goedkoop > *spotgoedkoop* 'cheap'
graag > *dolgraag* 'willingly' (see 7.1.3 and 8.13.7 under *wil*)
groen > *grasgroen* 'green'
hard > *kliphard* 'hard'
heet > *snikheet* 'hot'
helder > *glashelder* 'clear'
hoog > *hemelhoog* 'high'
jonk > *bloedjonk* 'young'
kaal > *poedelkaal* 'naked'
kalm > *doodkalm* 'calm'
klein > *piepklein* 'small, little'
koud > *yskoud* 'cold'
kwaad > *smoorkwaad* 'angry'
lange > *ellelange* 'long' (used attributively only)
lekker > *smullekker* 'delicious, nice'
lewendig > *springlewendig* 'lively, alive'
maer > *brandmaer*, *vrekmaer*, *spookmaer* 'thin' (people only)
min > *bittermin* 'little, few'
moeg > *doodmoeg* 'tired'
nakend > *poedelnakend* 'naked'
nat > *kletsnat*, *pap(sop)nat*, *sopnat* 'wet'
nodig > *broodnodig* 'necessary'
nuut > *splinternuut* 'new'
(on)gelukkig > *dood(on)gelukkig* '(un)happy'
oop > *wawyd oop* (two words), *wydoop* 'wide open'
orent > *penorent* 'upright'
oud > *horingoud*, *stokoud* 'old'
regop > *penregop* 'straight up, upright'
rooi > *bloedrooi* 'red'
ryk > *skatryk* 'rich'
siek > *doodsiek* 'sick'
skerp > *vlymskerp* 'sharp'

skoon > *beeldskoon* 'beautiful' (but *skoon* 'clean')
snaaks > *skreeusnaaks* 'funny'
soet > *stroopsoet* 'sweet, good' (of children)
stil > *doodstil*, *tjoepstil* 'quiet'
styf > *stokstyf* 'stiff'
swaar > *klipswaar* 'heavy'
swart > *gitswart*, *pikswart* 'black'
taai > *rateltaai* 'as tough as leather, as hard as nails'
vaal > *asvaal* 'ashen, fair'
verlief > *dolverlief*, *smoorverlief* 'in love'
vet > *spekvet* 'fat'
vol > *stampvol* 'full'
vreemd > *wildvreemd* 'strange'
vrot > *papvrot* 'rotten'
vry > *voëlvry* 'free'
warm > *bloedig warm* (two words) 'hot'³⁸ (see *heet*)
wit > *sneeuwit*, *spierwit* 'white'
wyd > *wêreldwyd* 'wide'

6.9. Formation of adjectives (see 15.3)

6.10. Colours

<i>beige</i>	'beige' (pron. as in English)	<i>pers, purper</i>	'purple' ³⁹
<i>blou</i>	'blue'	<i>pienk</i>	'pink'
<i>bruin</i>	'brown'	<i>rooi</i>	'red'
<i>geel</i>	'yellow'	<i>skarlaken</i>	'scarlet'
<i>groen</i>	'green'	<i>swart</i>	'black'
<i>grys</i>	'gray'	<i>vaal</i>	'fawn'
<i>kakie</i>	'khaki'	<i>wit</i>	'white' ⁴⁰
<i>oranje</i>	'orange'		

6.10.1. Prefixes and suffixes added to colours

The following prefixes are applied to the above colours in a similar way to their English equivalents: *lig-* 'light', e.g. *ligblou* 'light blue'; *diep-* 'deep', e.g. *diepblou* 'deep blue'; *dof-* 'dull', e.g. *dofrooi* 'dull red'; *donker-* 'dark', e.g. *donkergroen* 'dark green'; *helder-* 'bright', e.g. *heldergeel* 'bright yellow'. These compound colour adjectives do not inflect, despite the fact that they are polysyllabic (see 6.1).

³⁸ As a swearword 'bloody' is rendered by *bleddie* or *blerrie*, e.g. *bleddie warm* (see appendix 3).

³⁹ The former is the more everyday word.

⁴⁰ Although *wit* is not normally inflected, the form *witte* does occur in lyrics, e.g. *'n skaap met witte voetjies* 'a sheep with white feet', *twee witte duifies* 'two little white doves'.

As in English, it is possible to speak of 'n *ligte/donker groen* 'a light/dark green' etc.

The suffix *-kleurig* 'coloured' is one means of rendering shades of colours from other parts of speech, e.g. *appelkooskleurig* 'apricot', *olyfkleurig* 'olive (-coloured)', *roomkleurig* 'cream(-coloured)', *effekleurig* 'all one colour'. In such compounds without a figurative meaning, *-kleurig* does not bear the stress (see 1.10.1.1.3).

'Black and white' is *wit-en-swart* or *swart-en-wit* whereas 'to have something in black and white' (i.e. on paper) is *iets swart op wit hê*.

'To beat someone black and blue' is either *iemand bont en blou slaan* or *pimpel en pers slaan*.

6.10.2. More prefixes and suffixes which render shades of colours

As in English many shades (*skakerings*) of colours have specific names; the Afrikaans colour spectrum has been influenced by English and therefore there are usually direct equivalents to be found (loan translations), e.g. *koningsblou* 'royal blue', *vlootblou* 'navy blue', *smaraggroen* 'emerald green', *hemelsblou* 'sky blue' (see 6.8 for more compounds incorporating colours).

The ending *-erig* renders '-ish', e.g. *rooierig* 'reddish', *blouerig* 'bluish'.

6.10.3. Inflection of adjectives of colour

None of the above adjectives is inflected when it is used attributively before a noun, e.g. *die rooi gevaar* 'the red peril', 'n *geel piesang* 'a yellow banana'. This has nothing to do with the fact that these adjectives all refer to colour but simply that the phonology of all of them coincidentally satisfies the criteria for non-inflection in Afrikaans (see 6.1). They can however, like all adjectives, take an *-e(s)* when used nominally, e.g. *die gele* (= *die geel een/ene/enetjie*) 'the yellow one', *die bloues* 'the blue ones' (see 6.3).

6.10.4. Colour with reference to race

It has recently been adopted as common practice in South Africa that adjectives of colour referring to racial types be written with small letters, including the word *kleurling* 'coloured'.

'White' with reference to race is usually *blank*, although occasionally one finds *wit* (i.e. *die witte[s]*) being used in this sense. Note *die blanke(s)* 'the white(s)', *die swarte(s)* 'the blacks', *die bruines*⁴¹ 'the coloureds' (also called *die kleurling[e]*); alternative forms are *witman/-vrou/-mense*, *swartman/-vrou/-mense*, *bruinman/-vrou/-mense* 'white man/people' etc. All these forms are used regularly by whites but these days there are coloureds, as well as whites, who object to such terms and who prefix

⁴¹ Never used in the singular, unlike *blanke* and *swarte*.

kleurling with *sogenaamde* 'so-called' indicating it is a government categorisation that they object to on ideological grounds. The same objections to *swarte(s)* and *swartman/-vrou/-mense* do not exist and many coloureds now prefer these terms to be applied to them out of solidarity with their fellow non-whites (*nie-blankes*). The terms *anderskleurige(s)/gekleurdes* are also sometimes used by whites as collectives for both blacks, coloureds and Asians (= Indians, see 4.5.2, note 3).

Note also 'n *swartetjie* 'a black', either condescending for an adult or unmarked for a child), and 'n *wittetjie* 'a white child', e.g.

- (475) *Die wittetjies speel graag met die swartetjies.*
'The white kids like playing with the black kids.'

6.11. Adjectives followed by a fixed preposition

Some of the following adjectives are derived from the past participle of weak and formerly strong verbs, the latter now existing only as adjectives. These adjectives can take up one of two positions in a clause in relation to the prepositional phrase dependent on them: they can either precede that phrase, like a true adjective (i.e. *trots op* 'proud of'), or they can follow that phrase, then standing at the end of the clause and thus resembling more closely the past participle from which they are derived, e.g.

- (476) *Ek is oortuig van sy onskuld/daarvan* or
Ek is van sy onskuld/daarvan oortuig.
'I am convinced of his innocence/of it.'

Participial adjectives which can take up either position are marked with an asterisk; adjectives not so marked can only precede the prepositional phrase, e.g.

- (477) *Suid-Afrika is ryk aan goud.*
'South Africa is rich in gold.'

(See 8.19 for verbs that take a prepositional object).

See 5.1.1.3.4 for the use of *daar* + preposition as a provisional prepositional object when what follows is a clause, not a noun or pronoun.

There are also several non-participial adjectives which allow both word orders, e.g.

- (478) *Lesotho is ekonomies afhanklik van Suid-Afrika* or *Lesotho is van Suid-Afrika ekonomies afhanklik.*
'Lesotho is economically dependent on South Africa.'

These are indicated by two asterisks.

It is possibly somewhat more common for all such adjectives to precede their complements and the non-native-speaker is unlikely to ever be wrong

if he/she sticks to this word order with all the adjectives in the list below (see 12.9 for the position of the independent preposition in infinitive clauses).

All the adjectives in the following list can follow the object dependent on them when inversion is applied for special emphasis (see 12.7 and also prepositional stranding under 12.8).

<i>aangewys/aangewese op*</i>	dependent on
<i>aanspreeklik vir**</i>	responsible, liable for
<i>aanneemlik vir**</i>	acceptable to
<i>(on)afhanklik van**</i>	(in)dependent of
<i>afkomstig van**</i>	descended from, hails from
<i>allergies vir</i>	allergic to
<i>analoog aan/met</i>	analogous to
<i>anders(te/ter) as</i>	different from, to
<i>arm aan</i>	poor in (= deficient) (e.g. minerals)
<i>bang vir</i>	afraid of
<i>bedag op*</i>	mindful of
<i>bedek met*</i>	covered with
<i>begerig na</i>	desirous of, eager for
<i>begroei met*</i>	overgrown with
<i>behep met*</i>	obsessed by, with
<i>bekend vir/weens*</i>	known for
<i>bekommerd oor*</i>	worried about
<i>belas met*</i>	charged with
<i>beroemd om/vir/weens*</i>	famous for
<i>besorg oor*</i>	concerned about
<i>bestand teen*</i>	resistant to
<i>bestemd vir*</i>	meant, intended for
<i>bevooroordeeld teenoor*</i>	prejudiced against
<i>bewus van*</i>	conscious of
<i>bleek van</i>	pale with (fright)
<i>blind vir</i>	blind to
<i>blou van</i>	blue with (cold)
<i>bly oor</i>	glad of, happy about
<i>dankbaar vir</i>	grateful for
<i>dik vir iemand</i>	fed up with someone
<i>dol oor</i>	mad on, crazy about
<i>dol van</i>	crazy, wild, mad with (rage, excitement)
<i>dood aan*</i>	died of (see 8.6)
<i>doof vir</i>	deaf to
<i>eie aan</i>	inherent in, peculiar to
<i>entoesiasties oor</i>	enthusiastic about
<i>ervare in*</i>	experienced at
<i>eweredig aan</i>	proportional to
<i>gatvol vir</i>	fed up with
<i>gedoem tot*</i>	doomed to
<i>geheg aan*</i>	attached, devoted to
<i>geïnteresseerd in*</i>	interested in

<i>gek na</i>	crazy about, mad about/on, fond of
<i>gekant teen*</i>	opposed to
<i>gelyk aan</i>	identical, equal to
<i>geneig tot*</i>	given, inclined to
<i>geregtig op*</i>	entitled to
<i>geskik vir*</i>	suited to
<i>gesteld op*</i>	proud, jealous of
<i>getroud met*</i>	married to
<i>(ge)trou aan</i>	faithful, true to
<i>(on)gevoelig vir**</i>	(in)sensitive to
<i>gewoond aan*</i>	used to (see comment at the end of this list)
<i>goed in</i>	good at (a school subject)
<i>goed met</i>	good with e.g. <i>Hy is goed met syfers / kinders.</i>
<i>goed vir</i>	good to (someone)
<i>identies aan / met</i>	identical to
<i>ingenome met*</i>	charmed, delighted with
<i>inheems aan</i>	indigenous to
<i>jaloers op</i>	jealous, envious of
<i>karakteristiek vir</i>	characteristic of
<i>keelvol vir</i>	fed up with
<i>kenmerkend van</i>	typical, characteristic of
<i>kil teenoor</i>	cold towards (someone)
<i>kwaad vir</i>	angry with
<i>lief vir</i>	fond of
<i>links van</i>	to the left of
<i>mal oor</i>	crazy, mad about
<i>medepligtig aan</i>	accessory to (a crime)
<i>moeg vir</i>	tired of, fed up with
<i>nuuskierig na</i>	curious about
<i>omring / omsingel deur*</i>	surrounded by
<i>onderhewig aan**</i>	subject to
<i>onderliggend aan</i>	underlying, subjacent to
<i>onderworpe aan*</i>	subject to
<i>ongerus oor</i>	anxious, worried about
<i>onsigbaar vir</i>	invisible to
<i>(on)trou aan</i>	(un)faithful to
<i>onverskillig teenoor</i>	indifferent to
<i>opgewonde oor*</i>	excited about
<i>optimisties oor</i>	optimistic about
<i>oorlede aan*</i>	died of (see 8.6)
<i>oortuig van*</i>	convinced of
<i>opgewasse teen*</i>	equal to, match up to
<i>parallel aan</i>	parallel to
<i>pessimisties oor</i>	pessimistic about
<i>regs van</i>	to the right of
<i>ryk aan</i>	rich in (minerals)
<i>sat vir</i>	fed up with
<i>sensitief vir</i>	sensitive to

<i>simpatiek teenoor</i>	sympathetic towards
<i>skaam oor</i>	ashamed of
<i>skadelik vir</i>	harmful, detrimental to
<i>skepties oor</i>	sceptical about
<i>skuldig aan</i>	guilty of
<i>sot op</i>	mad about
<i>swak in</i>	weak at
<i>teleurgesteld in*</i>	disappointed in (someone)
<i>teleurgesteld oor / met*</i>	disappointed at (things)
<i>tevrede met</i>	satisfied with
<i>tipies van</i>	typical of
<i>toeganklik vir**</i>	accessible to
<i>trots op</i>	proud of
<i>vatbaar vir**</i>	susceptible, predisposed to
<i>verantwoordelik vir**</i>	responsible for
<i>verbaas oor*</i>	amazed, astonished at/by
<i>verbonde aan*</i>	connected to, associated with
<i>vergeleke met*</i>	compared to/with
<i>vergesel deur / van*</i>	accompanied by
<i>verknog aan*</i>	attached, devoted to
<i>verlief op*</i>	in love with
<i>verskillend van</i>	different from/to
<i>verslaaf aan*</i>	addicted to
<i>versot op</i>	mad about
<i>verstom oor*</i>	amazed, astonished at/by
<i>verwant aan*</i>	related to (languages, issues)
<i>verwant met*</i>	related to (people)
<i>vies vir</i>	angry with, fed up with someone
<i>vreemd aan</i>	strange to (an area)
<i>vriendelik met / teenoor</i>	friendly to
<i>vrot van</i>	crawling with (colloquial)
<i>woedend vir</i>	furious with

Two adjectives, *vol* 'full of' and *werd* 'worthy of', take no preposition in Afrikaans, e.g.

- (479) *Die bottel is vol mampoer.*
 'The bottle is full of peach brandy.'
- (480) *Hulle is nie my vriendskap werd nie.*
 'They are not worthy of my friendship.'

Werd must follow the noun or pronoun to which it refers, as must *gewoond* when the preposition is omitted, e.g. *die moeite werd* 'worth the trouble/effort', *Ek is die hitte nie gewoond nie* 'I'm not used to the heat' (= *Ek is nie aan die hitte gewoond nie* = *Ek is nie gewoond aan die hitte nie*).

6.11.1. Adjectives that take a fixed preposition followed by *daar* + preposition when a dependent clause follows (see 5.1.1.3.4)

6.12. Prenominal adjectival phrases

Afrikaans, like English, tolerates quite long prenominal phrases, e.g.

'n tien jaar oue seuntjie 'a ten-year-old boy' (see 6.2.2)

'n twee weke pas 'a two-week pass'

'n uit-die-pad-dorpie 'an out of the way town'

'n ses voet muur 'a six foot wall'

die agtuur-nuus 'the eight o'clock news'

die 1917-revolusie 'the 1917 revolution'

Some such phrases, especially those incorporating a past participle (see 6.4.4) can otherwise be expressed by a relative clause, e.g. *'n handgeskrewe manuskrip* = *'n manuskrip wat met die hand geskryf is* 'a handwritten manuscript', but here too there is a parallel with English practice.

6.13. Some adjectival idiosyncrasies

a) The adjective *wyle*, meaning 'late' with reference to a deceased person, precedes the definite article and no article is necessary before titles like *Meneer*, *Mevrou* etc. or before proper names: *Dié aktrise herinner so sterk aan wyle die seksgodin Marilyn Monroe* 'That actress reminds one so much of the late sex goddess Marilyn Monroe', *wyle Meneer Sakkie van Staden* 'the late Mr. Sakkie van Staden', *wyle Marilyn* 'the late Marilyn'. A less formal way of expressing 'late' is *oorlede* (archaic *oorle*), e.g.

(481) *My oorlede pa het altyd gesê...*
'My late father always said...'

b) *Dors* 'thirst', *honger* 'hunger', *jammer* 'sorrow, pity' *lus* 'desire' and *spyt* 'sorrow, pity' are all formally nouns but are used as adjectives in combination with *wees* 'to be', e.g.

(482) *Ek is dors/honger.*
'I am thirsty/hungry' (more usual than the adjectival forms *dors-tig/hongerig*).

(483) *(Ek is) jammer dat ek op jou toon getrap het.*
'(I'm) sorry I trod on your toe.'

(484) *Ek is spyt dat...*
'I am sorry that...' (higher style than *jammer*).

(485) *Is jy lus om saam te gaan.*
'Do you feel like going along?'

(486) *Ek is lus vir 'n roomys.*
'I feel like an icecream.'

Comparative and superlative forms of *dors* and *honger* also occur, e.g. *Ek is dorser/hongerder as jy* 'I am thirstier/hungrier than you', *die dorsste/hongerste* 'the thirstiest/hungriest'. *Dors* and *honger* can also be used attributively (i.e. = *dorstige/hongerige*), e.g.

- (487) *Hier is 'n klomp honger kinders wat kos vra.*
'Here's a group of hungry children asking for food.'

Dors/honger hê are archaic but *lus hê* alternates with *lus wees* as a more formal variant in which case *lus* functions as a noun; the comparative and superlative are as follows:

- (488) *Ek is lusser vir appelsap* (colloquial).
Ek is/het meer lus vir appelsap.
'I'd prefer apple juice.'
- (489) *Ek is die lusste/die meeste lus vir roomys.*
Ek het die meeste lus vir roomys.
'Most of all I feel like icecream.'

c) The adjective *selfde* 'self' is always written together with the definite article, e.g. *dieselfde dogtertjie* 'the same little girl', but with the demonstrative forms *daardie* and *dié* is written separately, e.g. *op daardie/dié selfde oomblik* 'at that very same moment'.

d) As explained under 15.4 note 6, the ending *-tjies* is an adverbial ending but *netjies* (nice, neat), apart from being used as an adverb, also commonly occurs as an inflected attributive adjective, e.g. *'n netjiese stukkie werk* 'a nice little bit of work'.

e) The adjectives *links* 'left' and *regs* 'right' become *linker* and *regter* when they qualify a noun and are prefixed to that noun, e.g. *die regterkant* 'the right(-hand) side', *die linkeroewer* 'the left bank', *my regteroog* 'my right eye', *die meisie se linkerbeen* 'the girl's left leg'. When used before nouns with reference to political persuasion, however, they are inflected as normal adjectives and end in *-e*, e.g. *Die KP is 'n regse party* 'The CP is a right-wing party/party of the right', *die regses* 'those on the right'.

f) *Ander* 'different' has a different form when used predicatively (see also *naak* under 6.2.1.1.d), i.e. *anders*, e.g.

- (490) *Dis 'n ander romp, hierdie.*
'This is a different skirt.'
- (491) *Hierdie romp lyk anders.*
'This dress looks different.'

In both positions the form *anderste[r]*⁴ also occurs, but this is more common in colloquial speech than writing, e.g.

- (492) *Hy lyk vandag anderste[r] as gister.*
'He looks different today from yesterday.'

⁴ See 7.1.3 for other words that have alternative colloquial forms in *-te*.

The attributive form *anderste* can also have a different meaning, e.g.

- (493) *Dis 'n anderste motor, daai.*
 'That car's quite something' (positive or negative).

The opposite of *ander(s)*, *eenders/eners* 'of the same kind',⁴⁵ also has colloquial attributive and predicative variants in *-te*, e.g.

- (494) *Hulle lyk vir my almal eenders(te).*
 'They all look the same to me.'
 (495) *Daardie tweeling dra altyd eenders(t)e rokke.*
 'Those twins always wear similar dresses.'

g) The adjective (*on*)*guur* 'bleak' shows several peculiarities. *Gure/ongure weer* are identical in meaning, i.e. bleak weather, but only *onguur* occurs in predicative position, e.g. *Die weer is onguur*. The word is also used figurative with reference to people, in which case only *onguur* is possible, e.g.

- (496) *Hy is 'n onguure karakter.*
 'He's an unsavoury character.'

h) For peculiarities associated with the inflection of *half* see 14.3.

i) Adjectives denoting materials, whatever the final sound and however many syllables they consist of, do not inflect, but are written together with the noun they qualify, e.g. *fluweelgordyne* 'velvet curtains', *'n katoenhemp* 'a cotton shirt', *nylonkouse* 'nylon stockings', *'n plastieksak* 'a plastic bag', *'n porseleinkat* 'a china cat', *'n silwerlepeltjie* 'a silver spoon', *die woltrui* 'the woollen jumper'; also *edelmetaal* 'precious metal'. Exception: *goud* 'gold' (noun) > *goue* 'golden'.

Suggested reading

Raidt (1968). This the standard work on the inflection of the adjective in Afrikaans, although it is heavily diachronic.

⁴⁵ Because of assimilation of the *d* to the preceding *n* (see 1.9.1), *eenders* and *eners* usually fall together in pronunciation, i.e. [eɔnɔrs].

7. Adverbs

7.1. Adverbial use of adjectives

Generally speaking Afrikaans makes no morphological distinction between the adjective and the adverb, e.g.

- (497) *Jy is baie vinnig.*
'You are very quick.'
- (498) *Jy stap baie vinnig.*
'You are walking very quickly.'
- (499) *Sy is goed.*
'This is good.'
- (500) *My dogtertjie kan goed lees.*
'My daughter can read very well.'
- (501) *Hierdie woordeboek is sterk uitgebrei en volledig hersien.*
'This dictionary has been greatly expanded and completely revised.'
- (502) *Dis 'n sterk uitgebreide, volledig hersiene woordeboek.*
'It's a greatly expanded, completely revised dictionary.'

Also: 'n *goed gekwalifiseerde sekretaresse* 'a well qualified secretary' – compare 'n *goeie, gekwalifiseerde sekretaresse* 'a good, qualified secretary', *streng gesproke* 'strictly speaking'.

See 15.4 for the few adjectives which have a separate adverbial form.

7.1.1. The comparative of the adverb

The comparative of the adverb is identical to that of the adjective, e.g.

- (503) *Jy praat stadiger as ek.*
'You talk more slowly than I' (see 5.1.1.4.1).

Periphrastic forms with *meer* occur in the same cases where they do in the comparative of adjectives (see 6.7.1), e.g.

- (504) *Sy het die werk meer suksesvol (= suksevoller) afgehandel as hy.*
'She completed the work more successfully than he.'

(See 7.1.3 for irregular comparatives).

7.1.2. The superlative of the adverb

In formation the superlative of the adverb is identical to that of the adjective as far as the addition of an *-ste* ending is concerned or the periphrastic construction with *mees* (see 6.7.1). The superlative of adverbs is always preceded by *die* whereas in English *the* is optional in such cases, e.g.

- (505) *Die duurste motors hou hul waarde die beste.*
 'The dearest (superlative of the adjective) cars keep their value [the] best' (superlative of the adverb).
- (506) *Wie die laaste lag, lag die lekkerste.*
 'He who laughs [the] last, laughs [the] best.'
- (507) *Juis die lande en wêrelddele wat dit die minste kan bekostig, se bevolkings groei die vinnigste.*
 'The populations of those countries and continents which can afford it (the) least are growing (the) fastest.'

When a superlative adverb qualifies an attributive adjective, *die -ste* are omitted, e.g.

- (508) *Suid-Afrika se bes verkopende bakkie.*
 'South Africa's best selling pick-up truck.'

7.1.3. Irregular adverbial comparatives and superlatives

The irregular adjectival forms *goed/beter/beste* are also used adverbially rendering 'well/better/best': *goed/beter/die beste*. Otherwise only the following adverbs are irregular in this respect:

<i>baie/veel</i>	<i>meer</i>	<i>die meeste</i>	'many, more, most'
<i>na (aan)</i>	<i>nader (aan)</i>	<i>die naaste (aan)</i>	'near, nearer, nearest'
<i>weinig/min²</i>	<i>minder</i>	<i>die minste</i>	'little, less, least'
<i>graag</i>	<i>liewers</i>	<i>die graagste</i>	'gladly/preferably/most of all'

Graag is used as follows:

- (509) *Ek speel graag voetbal.*
 'I like playing football' (literally 'I play football gladly').
- (510) *Maar ek speel liewers hokkie .*
 'But I prefer playing hockey' (literally 'I play hockey more gladly' = preferably).
- (511) *En watter sport speel jy die graagste.*
 'And what sport do you like playing most?' (literally 'most gladly').

In more formal Afrikaans *liever(s)* is heard (and especially written) whereas in colloquial Afrikaans *lieverste(r)*³ occurs; also colloquial is the

¹ In this same category belong *hoogs* 'highly' and *uiters* 'extremely' which are derived from the superlative of the adverb in Afrikaans, e.g. '*n hoogs gekwalifiseerde man* 'a highly qualified man'; *Hy is uiters dom* 'He is exceedingly stupid' (qualifying a predicative adjective). In *jou (uiterste) bes doen* 'to do your (very) best', *bes* is a noun and *uiters* an inflected adjective.

² Although these two words are largely synonymous, *weinig* is very formal (see 5.6, note 17).

³ The adverbs *anders* 'otherwise' (see 6.13.f), *êrens/liewers* 'somewhere' and *oral(s)* 'everywhere' also have alternative forms in *-ste(r)*. These very colloquial variants, if ever written, sometimes end in an *r* which is never pronounced. *Anderste* and *lieverste* are somewhat more common and less stigmatised than the others and are recognised by the AWS.

analogical formation *graagter*. The historical superlative form, *liefs* (< Dutch *liefst*), now leads a separate existence as an adverb meaning 'preferably', e.g.

- (512) *Gaan jy vandag kerk toe? Liefs nie. Ek bly liewer(s) by die huis.*
 'Are you going to church today? Preferably not. I'd rather stay at home.'

Liefs and *liewers* are semantically quite close but the latter implies more strongly a choice between two options and is thus a true comparative, which *liefs* is not. *Liefs* is not often used outside the above expression. *Eerder* 'rather, sooner' (in the non-temporal sense) is a formal synonym of *liewer(s)*, e.g.

- (513) *Volgens ons oordeel sal sanksies die saak heelwat laat versleg eerder as verbeter.*
 'In our opinion sanctions will considerably cause the situation to deteriorate rather than improve.'

When 'least' qualifies an adjective, the form *mins* is used, not *minste*, e.g. *die mins moontlike ongerief* 'the least possible inconvenience' (compare *bes* under 7.1.2).

7.1.4. The comparative and superlative of prepositional adverbs (see 7.6 for adverbial use of prepositions)

Even (compound) prepositional adverbs whose final element is a preposition can take *-er* and *-ste* in the comparative and the superlative, e.g. *regop* 'upright' – *regopper/regopste*, *reguit* 'straight' – *reguiter/meer reguit*, but *reguitste*; *volop* 'abundant' – *volopper/volopste*, e.g.

- (514) *Die mens het later regopper begin loop.*
 'Man later began to walk more upright.'
 (515) *Die swartrenoster was eens die volopste van die wêreld se vyf renostersoorte.*
 'The black rhino was once the most abundant of the world's five species of rhinoceros.'

Likewise in the spoken language with the comparative of the adverbs *af* 'down', *op* 'up', and *boontoe* 'up, motion towards', e.g.

- (516) *Sit 'n bietjie affter/opper* (also *boontoeër*).
 'Sit further down/up' (i.e. in a stadium).
 (517) *Die plaas het opper/boontoeër gelê.*
 'The farm was higher up' (i.e. further north or further up a hill).

7.1.5. 'At my/your/his etc. prettiest/best, at the most, at [the] least'

Op my/jou/sy/ons/julle/hulle mooiste/beste = op die mooiste/beste 'at my/your/his etc. prettiest/best', e.g.

- (518) *Koevoet het op sy sterkste uit sowat 1000 manne bestaan.*
 'Koevoet (counter insurgency troops) consisted at its strongest of about a thousand men.'

The third person form *op sy beste* also renders 'at (the) best'.

Hoogstens 'at the most', *minstens* 'at (the) least', but also *ten minste*.

7.1.6. Archaic adverbial superlatives in standard expressions

A few superlative adverbial forms in *-ste* occur in combination with *ten* (< Dutch *te den* 'at the') in set expressions but these are no longer seen as superlatives as such and have passed into the realm of idiomatic expressions (compare English *at least*), e.g.

- (519) *Ons betreur dit ten seerste.*
 'We greatly regret that.'
- (520) *Jy kon my ten minste gehelp het.*
 'You could at least have helped me.'
- (521) *Hulle het dié produk ten sterkste aanbeveel.*
 'They strongly recommended that product.'
- (522) *Sy het ten duurste daarvoor betaal.*
 'She paid a lot for it.'

7.2. Adverbs of degree that qualify adjectives

Polysyllabic adjectives, when used as adverbial qualifiers of attributive adjectives, commonly take an adjectival *-e* ending by analogy with adjectives, although in theory the grammatical rules of Afrikaans state that adverbs in such positions remain uninflected. This practice is somewhat akin to the reverse phenomenon in English where the *-ly* ending is frequently omitted from such adverbs in colloquial speech, e.g. *a real(ly) good cook*, *terrible(-ly) tough meat*. It is not considered incorrect to inflect these adverbs in Afrikaans, unlike the reverse phenomenon in English;⁴ in fact, it is often considered stilted not to do so in the spoken language, but in formal written style such inflection of the adverb is avoided, e.g. *die geweldig(e) mooi baai* 'the tremendously beautiful bay', *'n ontsettend(e) lae rentekoers* 'an awfully low interest rate', *'n blakend(e) gesonde kind* 'a glowingly healthy child', *vreeslik(e) hoë bome* 'terribly tall trees'. There seems to be a connection between the ending on the adverb and whether or not the adjective

⁴ There seems to be a greater tolerance in American English to the dropping of *-ly* than in British English where it is still considered non-standard, however common it may be to do so

it qualifies is inflected: as a general rule of thumb one can say that if the adjective is inflected, the adverb is not, and vice versa, e.g. 'n *taamlike groot huis* 'a rather large house', 'n *taamlik betroubare man* 'a rather reliable man', but it is very common to hear both inflected in colloquial speech (often written too), e.g. 'n *taamlike betroubare man*; omitting the inflection of the adverb sounds more formal. Other examples: 'n *besondere knap regter* 'a particularly clever judge', 'n *oorweldigend positiewe reaksie* 'an overwhelmingly positive reaction', *die algemeen gebruiklike uitspraak* 'the generally accepted pronunciation', *oorweldigende groot getalle van hierdie studente* 'overwhelmingly large numbers of these students', *die hoogs moontlike groeikoers* 'the highest possible growth rate', 'n *unieke, medies goedgekeurde proses* 'a unique, medically approved process'. *Yslik* only combines with *groot* and is always inflected, whereas *groot* is not, e.g. 'n *yslike groot boom* 'a dreadfully tall tree'. Such colloquial inflection of the adverb means that a certain ambiguity can arise as to whether the inflected form is an adverb qualifying the following adjective, or another adjective qualifying the noun, e.g. 'n *onnatuurlik deftige grafsteen* 'an unnaturally formal gravestone', 'n *onnatuurlike deftige grafsteen* 'an unnatural(ly) formal gravestone'.

When used to qualify predicative adjectives, such adverbs, like the adjectives to which they refer, are never inflected, e.g.

(523) *Dié man is taamlik betroubaar.*

'That man is quite reliable.'

(524) *Hierdie boom is yslik groot.*

'This tree is awfully big.'

The following adverbs can all qualify both attributive and predicative adjectives, as well as other adverbs, e.g. *baie* 'very': 'n *baie vinnige trein* 'a very fast train', *Dié trein is baie vinnig* 'This train is very fast', *Hy ry baie vinnig* 'It travels very fast'.

'very':

The most usual word is *baie* (see 5.6 note 3 for *baie* meaning 'much/many'). Note that the adjective 'very' is rendered by *einste*, e.g. *die einste man* 'that very man'; this word can also be used adverbially, e.g.

(525) *Meer as 'n eeu gelede was dit einste dié stil vlaktes wat Olive Schreiner in haar roman beskryf het.*

'More than a century ago it was these very plains that OS described in her novel.'

erg, more emphatic than *baie*, e.g.

(526) *Hy was erg beïndruk.*

'He was very impressed.'

té/alte lekker, e.g. 'very nice' (of food, weather), also as in

- (527) *Dit was té wonderlik.*
 'It was too wonderful (SA English).'
 (528) *Alte Nederlands is ons nie meer nie.*
 'We're not all that/very Dutch any more.'

seer (literally 'very') is no longer productive and occurs only in a few archaic elevated expressions, e.g. *Seer geagte heer* 'Dear sir' (in a very formal letter), *seer seker* 'most certainly'. It must also be used instead of *baie* in the expressions *nie soseer nie* 'not so much' and *so seer so* 'so much so', e.g.

- (529) *Ek gee jou hierdie geld nie soseer omdat ek van jou hou nie, maar omdat jy dit duidelik nodig het.*
 'I'm giving you this money not so much because I like you, but because you obviously need it' (see *seer* under 13.8).

bra renders 'very' as illustrated in

- (530) *Ons het bra min van haar gehoor.*
 'We've heard very little from her.'
 (531) *Nêrens op die platteland nie en in bra min stede kom dit voor.*
 'Nowhere in the country and in very few cities does it occur.'

'quite':

heel, e.g. 'n *hele paar honderd rand* 'quite a few hundred rand'.
heel 'very' + superlative, e.g. *die heel grootste* 'the very biggest'.
nogal 'quite', e.g.

- (532) *Julle het seker nogal honger gely.*
 'You must have got quite hungry.'

taamlik 'rather, quite'

bra 'quite', e.g. *Jy is bra laat* 'You're rather late'. *Bra* commonly qualifies *min* 'little' (see 'very' above).

'terribly, frightfully, tremendously, awfully etc.':

ontsettend *ontsaglik*
verskriklik *ureeslik*
verstommend (literally 'amazingly') *yslik*

Afgrypslik is always followed by a negative adjective (compare *horribly*), which is not the case with the previous adverbs, e.g.

- (533) *Dis afgrypslik duur.*
 'It's frightfully expensive.'

'really':

When qualifying an adjective or adverb the following three adverbs are synonymous, *werklik*, *regtig* and *rêrig*, e.g.

- (534) *Ek is werklik moeg.*
'I am really tired.'
- (535) *Net egte seep maak regtig sag.*
'Only real soap makes really soft.'
- (536) *Hy is regtig oulik.*
'He's really nice.'
- (537) *Hy is rêrig stout.*
'He's really naughty.'

tamaai, an adjective which in itself means 'big', is used as an intensifier to qualify *groot*, 'n *tamaai groot boom* 'a very/really big tree'.

bleddie, *bloemen*, *flippen*, *fokken* are used in informal style exactly like the English words from which they are derived, e.g.

- (538) *Dis bleddie belaglik.*
'It's bloody ridiculous'⁵ (see appendix 3).

vrek 'damned, dashed' (colloquial), e.g.

- (539) *Dis vrek koud.*
'It's damned cold.'

hoogs 'highly', e.g.

- (540) *Ek vind dit hoogs verdag.*
'I find this highly suspicious.'

uiters/uitermate 'extremely', e.g. *uiters tevrede* 'extremely satisfied', *iets uitermate triestigs* 'something extremely sad', *Sy is uitermate dom* 'She's extremely stupid'.

ietwat 'somewhat', e.g.

- (541) *Ek is ietwat moeg.*
'I'm somewhat tired.'

aansienlik 'considerably', e.g.

- (542) *Dit het aansienlik beter geword.*
'It has got considerably better.'

te 'too', e.g.

- (543) *Dié romp is te kort.*
'That skirt is too short.'

veels te 'much too', e.g.

- (544) *Hy is veels te ryk.*
'He's much too rich.'

⁵ *Bleddie* is also used as an infix as in colloquial English, e.g. *abso-bleddie-luut* 'abso-bloody-lutely', *asse-bleddie-blijf* 'please bloody do it'.

stukke 'much', e.g.

- (545) *Ek voel nou stukke beter.*
'I now feel much better.'

heeltemal 'wholly, totally', e.g.

- (546) *Ek is heeltemal platsak.*
'I'm totally broke.'

geheel en al 'wholly, totally, completely' (higher style), e.g.

- (547) *Dit is geheel en al onjuis.*
'That is completely wrong.'

wesenlik 'essentially', e.g.

- (548) *Daar is niks wesenlik verskillends tussen hulle en ons nie.*
'There's nothing essentially different between them and us.'

so 'so', e.g.

- (549) *Jy het so maer geword.*
'You've got so thin.'

So has many other functions in Afrikaans.

7.3–7.5. Adverbs of time, manner and place

There are strict rules for the order of adverbs of time, manner and place in an Afrikaans sentence, rules which in several respects differ quite drastically from those that apply in English. How word order affects the expressions in 7.3–7.5 is dealt with under word order (see 12.6).

7.3 Adverbs of time (see omission of prepositions with adverbial expressions of time 11.8.1)

Periods of the day:

op 'n dag /oggend /aand, eendag /-oggend /-aand 'one day/morning/evening', e.g. *Op 'n dag /eendag toe hy tuiskom...* 'One day when he got home...'. *Eendag* also has the meaning 'sometime in the future', e.g. *Eendag sal ek jou terugkry* 'One day I'll get you back'. The construction with *een* is used exactly as in English, e.g. *een Vrydagoggend* 'one Friday morning', *een Kersfees* 'one Christmas'. *Eendag* also renders 'once upon a time' in fairy-tales, e.g. *Daar was eendag 'n...* 'Once upon a time there was a...'.
 heeldag (= *die hele dag = die heel dag*), *-jaar, -maand, -middag, -nag, -oggend, -week* 'all day, year, month, afternoon, night, morning, week'

elke dag, iedere dag, aldag 'every day'
al om die ander dag, elke tweede dag 'every second day'⁶
bedags, oordag, gedurende die dag 'during the day'
helder oordag 'in broad daylight'
dag en nag 'night and day'
oornag 'overnight'
(om) middernag '(at) midnight'

The expressions *in die oggend/middag/aand/nag* 'in the morning/afternoon' etc. are used with reference to one particular morning, afternoon etc., e.g. *Hy het in die oggend aangekom* 'He arrived in the morning'. When referring to repeated occurrences the following expressions are used: *(vroeg) soggens/smôrens* '(early) in the morning, every morning', *smiddags/smiddae* 'in the afternoons, every afternoon', *saans*⁷ 'in the evening, every evening', *snags* 'at night, every night'. 'Every morning' etc. can also be rendered literally, i.e. *elke oggend* etc.

vandag 'today'
vanmôre,⁸ *vanoggend* 'this morning'
vanmiddag 'this afternoon'
vannag,⁹ *laas nag, gisteraand* 'last night'¹⁰
vanaand (pronounced [fəna:nt]) 'this evening, tonight'¹⁰
laatnag 'late at night'

gister 'yesterday'
gistermôre, gisteroggend 'yesterday morning'
gistermiddag 'yesterday afternoon'
gisternag 'last night' (see footnote 9)
gisteraand 'last night' (see footnote 10)
eergister 'the day before yesterday'
die vorige dag 'the day before'

môre 'tomorrow'
môreoggend 'tomorrow morning'

⁶ The structure *al om die tiende* etc. is limited to expressions of time; otherwise *elke tiende* etc. is used, e.g. *elke tiende stoel* 'every tenth chair'.

⁷ These expressions are derived from the former Dutch genitives 's *avonds*, 's *middags*, 's *nachts* and 's *ochtends*. As 'evening' is *aand* and 'morning' is *oggend*, these contracted expressions are spelt as pronounced.

⁸ *More*, which on its own means both 'tomorrow' and 'morning' (in which case it is synonymous with *oggend*), is found both with and without a circumflex, representing the two possible pronunciations of the word. In all the compounds given here both forms occur. Only the greeting *goeiemôre* must always be written with a circumflex and in this expression *môre* is not interchangeable with *oggend*, nor can 'morning' be rendered by *môre* in the expression *môreoggend* (tomorrow morning).

⁹ Historically, and still in the Afrikaans of many, this can refer to both the night just past as well as the night ahead, but the previous meaning is waning (compare *nou-nou* under footnote 18). *Gisternag* refers unambiguously to 'last night'.

¹⁰ 'Last night' must be rendered by *gisteraand* if reference is being made to the previous evening rather than to the period after one had gone to bed. For the same reason 'tonight' is normally rendered by *vanaand* and not *vannag*.

môremiddag 'tomorrow afternoon'

môreaand 'tomorrow evening'

oormôre 'the day after tomorrow'

vandeeweek,¹¹ *hierdie/die week* 'this week'

vandeemaand, *hierdie/die maand* 'this month'

vandeajaar, *vanjaar*, *hierdie/die jaar* 'this year'

vanjaar 'this year'

verlede week/maand/jaar 'last week, month, year'

*laas week/maand/jaar*¹² 'last week, month, year'

voorverlede week/maand/jaar 'the week/month/year before last'

volgende week/maand/jaar 'next week/month/year'

aanstaande week/maand/jaar 'next week/month/year'

die laaste/vorige ses maande 'the last six months'

drie weke/maande/jare na mekaar 'three weeks etc. in a row'

die afgelope weke/maande/jare 'the past weeks etc.'

*oor twee dae/jaar/maande*¹³ 'in two days etc. time' (see 4.4 for use of *se*)

einde/begin verlede maand 'at the beginning/end of last month'

twee weke gelede/terug 'two weeks ago'

oor die eeue heen 'through the ages, over the centuries'

(oor) 'n jaar of agt 'in about eight years' time'

'n jaar of agt gelede 'about eight years ago'

Days of the week:

<i>Maandag</i>	'Monday'	<i>Vrydag</i>	'Friday'
<i>Dinsdag</i>	'Tuesday'	<i>Saterdag</i>	'Saturday'
<i>Woensdag</i>	'Wednesday'	<i>Sondag</i>	'Sunday'
<i>Donderdag</i>	'Thursday'		

Sondag/Sondae 'on Sunday/Sundays'

Hy het Sondag/op 'n Sondag gekom 'He came on Sunday/on a Sunday.'

Hy kom Sondag/nou Sondag 'He's coming on Sunday/this Sunday.'

volgende/aanstaande/(eers)komende Sondag 'next Sunday'

verlede/laas Sondag 'last Sunday'

volgende/verlede week Sondag 'Sunday next/last week'

week voor laas 'the week before last'

op werksdae 'on weekdays'

oor/in die naweek 'at/on/during the weekend'

oor 'n week/twee weke 'in a week('s) time), in a fortnight('s) time'

'n week/maand/jaar gelede 'a week/month/year ago'

¹¹ These forms in *vandeeweek* take the stress on *dees*.

¹² *Laas nag/week/maand/jaar* are thoroughly assimilated Anglicisms.

¹³ Note that whenever the nouns *jaar*, *keer* and *uur* are preceded by a numeral in such temporal expressions, they are used in the singular: mnemonic – all three end in *r* (see footnote 12 under 14.9).

Months of the year:

<i>Januarie</i>	<i>Jan.</i> ¹⁴	<i>Julie</i>	<i>Jul.</i>
<i>Februarie</i>	<i>Febr.</i>	<i>Augustus</i>	<i>Aug.</i>
<i>Maart</i>	<i>Mrt.</i>	<i>September</i>	<i>Sept.</i>
<i>April</i>	<i>Apr.</i>	<i>Oktober</i>	<i>Okt.</i>
<i>Mei</i>	–	<i>November</i>	<i>Nov.</i>
<i>Junie</i>	<i>Jun.</i>	<i>Desember</i>	<i>Des.</i>

The names of the months are also commonly referred to in speech as *Januariemaand*, *Juniemaand* etc.

volgende/aanstaande Januarie 'next January'
verlede Januarie/verlede jaar Januarie 'last January'
(aan) die begin/einde van Januarie 'at the beginning/end of January'
begin/eind(e) Januarie 'at the beginning/end of January'
in die middel van Januarie 'in the middle of January'
(op) die sesde Mei, (op) ses Mei 'on the sixth of May'

Seasons:

<i>die somer</i>	'summer'	(Dec. 1-Feb. 28 in South Africa)
<i>die herfs</i>	'autumn'	(Mar. 1-May 31 in South Africa)
<i>die winter</i>	'winter'	(Jun. 1-Aug. 31 in South Africa)
<i>die lente</i>	'spring'	(Sept. 1-Nov. 30 in South Africa)

in die somer/herfs/winter/lente 'in (the) summer, autumn' etc.

In die voorjaar/najaar also render 'in (the) spring/autumn' although they are a legacy of a northern hemisphere perception of the seasons. *Lentetyd*, *somertyd* etc. are also used as 'springtime, summertime' etc. are in English, e.g.

- (550) *In die lentetyd besoek baie mense Namakwaland om die veldblomme te sien.*
 'In springtime many people visit Namaqualand to see the wild flowers.'

Public holidays (*openbare vakansiedae*) :

Nuwejaarsdag 'New Year's Day'
Goeie Vrydag 'Good Friday'
Gesinsdag 'Family Day' (in April)
Stigtingsdag 'Founders' Day' (6 April)
Werkersdag 'Labour/Workers' Day' (1 May)
Hemelvaartdag 'Ascension Day'
Republiekdag 'Republic Day' (31 May)
Krugerdag 'Kruger Day' (10 Oct)
Geloftedag 'Day of the Vow' (16 Dec)
*Oukersdag*¹⁵ 'Christmas Eve'
*Kersdag*¹⁵, *Eerste Kersdag* 'Christmas Day'
Welwillendheidsdag, Tweede Kersdag 'Day of Goodwill' (26 Dec.)
*Oujaarsdag*¹⁵ 'New Year's Eve'

¹⁴ Pronounced [ˈjanɔvɑːri] or [ˈjanyɑːri]

¹⁵ The evening of the 24th is called *Oukersaand*, that of the 25th *Kersaand* and that of the 31st *Oujaarsaand*.

*Kersfees*¹⁶ 'Christmas'
*Pase/Paasfees*¹⁷ 'Easter'
Pinkster 'Whitsuntide'

- (551) *Wat doen jy (met/op) Kersfees?*
 'What are you doing for Christmas?'
 (552) *Wat gaan jy (oor die) Paasnaweek/in die Paastyd doen?*
 'What are you going to be doing at Easter?'
 (553) *Hulle kom Kersfees/Pase na ons toe.*
 'They're coming to us at Christmas/Easter.'
 (no preposition required)

Note too:

Moedersdag 'Mothers' Day' (2nd Sunday in May)
Vadersdag 'Fathers' Day' (2nd Sunday in June)

General expressions of time:

heelyd (= *die hele tyd*) 'all the time'
'n hele tyd 'quite a while'
al die tyd 'all the time'
teen dié tyd 'by that time' (see *teen die tyd wat* 'by the time [that]')
die een of ander tyd 'at some time or other'

deesdae 'these days, nowadays'
teenswoordig 'these days, nowadays'
huidiglik 'these days, nowadays' (disapproved of by some)
een keer 'n week 'once a week'
'n rukkie/bietjie/moment/oomblik 'a moment' (as in 'Wait -')
'n ruk(kie) gelede 'a moment/little while ago'
'n ruk(kie) daarna/na 'n rukkie 'a little while later'
(kort) daarna '(shortly) afterwards, (a little while) later, thereafter'
agterna 'afterwards, later'
by geleentheid 'occasionally, on occasion'
in 'n kits 'in a flash'
onverwyld 'without delay'
skielik, plotseling, ineens, eensklaps 'suddenly'
ewe skielik 'all of a sudden'
onmiddellik, meteen(s), dadelik 'immediately, at once'
aanstons 'presently, directly' (formal)
daar en dan 'then and there'
nou die dag/aand/môre 'the other day/evening/morning'
die ander dag/aand/môre 'the other day/evening/morning' (Anglicism)
aanvanklik, in die begin 'initially, to begin with' (compare *aan die begin van die storie* which indicates place, not time)

¹⁶ *Krismisboom* 'Christmas tree' and *Vader Krismis* 'Father Christmas' were previously commonly used for *Kersboom* and *Kersvader*, but these days they sound somewhat sub-standard.

¹⁷ In compounds Easter is *Paas-*, e.g. *Paaseier* 'Easter egg', *Paashasie* 'Easter Bunny', *Paasnaweek* 'Easter Weekend', *Paasvakansie* 'Easter holidays'.

van meet af aan 'from the beginning'
tegelyk, gelyktydig, terselfdertyd 'at the same time'
verby 'past, over'
dikwels, baiekeer, baiemaal, meermale, menigmaal 'often'
meermale 'frequently, more than once'
kort-kort 'frequently, every now and again'
toe 'then' (when action is in the past, see 8.6 and 9.4, note 4)
dan 'then' (with reference to the present and the future; also in the past when the action was repetitive), e.g.

- (554) *Daar was 'n epidemie en die mense was net drie dae siek en dan het hulle gesterf.*
 'There was a plague and the people were sick for only three days and then they died.'

toe al 'even then'
destyds 'then, at that time' (in the past)
indertyd 'then, at that time' (in the past)
sedertdien, sindsdien 'since (then)'
nou 'now'
tans 'now' (formal)
tot nou toe 'till now'
(tot) dusver 'so far, till now'
sover 'till now'

'in a moment, just now':

nou, e.g. *Ek is nou klaar* 'I'll be finished in a moment.'
nou-nou (SA English 'just now') is sooner than *netnou*; the latter can refer to both future and past time,¹⁸ e.g.

- (555) *Ek sal dit netnou doen.*
 'I'll do it in a moment.'
 (556) *Ek het hom nou-nou/netnou gesien.*
 'I saw him just now/a moment ago.'

(nou-)nou net, vaneffe, so pas, so ewe (formal) and *so* are synonymous and can refer only to past time, *nou net* and *netnou* being perhaps the most common variants, e.g.

- (557) *Ek het hom nou net/vaneffe/so pas gesien.*
 'I saw him just now/not long ago/a moment ago.'

'soon':

gou 'soon, quickly', e.g. *Doen dit gou* 'Do it soon, quickly.'
gou-gou 'quickly, soon' (i.e. even sooner than *gou*)
spoedig 'soon', e.g. *so spoedig moontlik* 'as soon as possible'
weldra 'soon, presently, before long' (formal)

¹⁸ Prescriptive works claim that *nou-nou* can also refer back in time but this meaning is no longer current (see *vannag* under footnote 9).

straks 'soon, shortly'

binnekort 'soon, shortly' (not the immediate future)

kort voor lank 'before long' (not immediate future)

mettertyd, naderhand, later aan (Anglicism) 'some time' (even later than the above)

vroeër of later 'sooner or later'

om die draai 'soon, not far off' (also an expression of place = 'nearby'), e.g.

Kersfees is om die draai 'It'll soon be Christmas.'

solank 'meantime, for the time being, so long' (SA English) e.g.

(558) *Ek gaan die kaartjies haal. Julle kan solank hier wag.*

'I'm going to fetch the tickets. You can wait here.'

intussen, onderwyl, in die tussentyd 'meanwhile, in the meantime'

onlangs, kort gelede 'recently' (see *laas nog* below)

te eniger tyd 'at any time'

te alle tye 'at all times, at any time'

enige tyd 'any time'

enige dag 'any day (= *binnekort*) 'soon, shortly', e.g.

(559) *Ons verwag hom enige dag.*

'We're expecting him any day.'

eers 'at first; also means 'not until' (see 13.9)

vereers, vir eers 'first of all, in the beginning'

(*net*) *betyds, tydig, op tyd* '(just) in time'

op die (laaste) nippertjie, op die nippertjie na 'in the nick of time'

altyd 'always'

altoos 'always' (formal and archaic)

nog, nog altyd / steeds 'still'

steeds weer 'time and time again'

weer 'again'

weer eens 'yet again'

opnuut 'once again'

telkens 'time and time again, continually, each time', e.g.

(560) *Doen hierdie oefening en begin telkens met die woordjie toe.*

'Do this exercise and beginning each time with *toe*.'

telkens, telkemale, oor en weer 'time and time again'

keer op keer 'time and time again'

'n keer of wat 'several times'

aanhoudend 'incessantly, continually'

voortdurend 'continually'

gedurig 'continually'

(*vir*) *eens en vir altyd* 'once and for all'

selde 'seldom'

mees(t)al 'mostly', e.g.

- (561) *Ek is meestal tuis.*
‘I’m usually at home.’

It is not used only in the temporal sense, i.e. it can also render mostly in the sense of ‘generally, for the most part’, e.g.

- (562) *Omtrent 1500 buitelandse studente, meesal uit Afrika, studeer in China.*
‘About 1500 foreign students, mostly from Africa, study in China.’

op die oomblik ‘at the moment’

laas keer ‘last time, on the last occasion’

volgende keer ‘next time’

gelede ‘ago’

laas ‘last’, e.g.

- (563) *Wanneer het jy hom laas gesien?*
‘When did you last see him?’
(564) *Ek het hom lank laas gesien.*
‘I last saw him a long time ago.’

However *laas nog* renders ‘recently’, e.g.

- (565) *Ek het hom laas nog gesien.*
‘I recently saw him.’

Note *Ek het hom twintig jaar laas gesien* ‘I last saw him twenty years ago’, where *laas* expresses both ‘last’ and ‘ago’.

(elke) nou en dan ‘(every) now and then’

(elke) dan en wan ‘(every) now and then’

(so) af en toe ‘(every) now and then’

soms, somtyds ‘sometimes’

partykeer, partymaal ‘sometimes’

een keer ‘once’, e.g.

- (566) *Ek gaan dit een keer probeer.*
‘I’m going to try it once.’

Compare *’n keer*, e.g.

- (567) *Ek gaan dit ’n keer probeer.*
‘I’m going to try it some time.’

eenmaal ‘once’, as in for example

- (568) *As jy eenmaal in die Kaap gewoon het, wil jy nêrens anders in Suid-Afrika bly nie.*
‘Once you’ve lived in the Cape, you never want to live anywhere else in South Africa.’

by tye 'at times'

van tyd tot tyd 'from time to time'

vir tyd en wyl 'for the time being, for a time' (see 9.4, note 20)

deurentyd 'all the time, all along'

mettertyd 'in the course of time'

met die loop van die tyd 'in the course of time'

met verloop van tyd 'in the course of time'

op die ou end/ent/einde 'in the long run'

op die (lang[e]) duur 'in the long run'

aan die einde van die dag 'in the long run, at the end of the day'

end-uit 'in the long run'

een van die dae 'one of these days' (at any time in the future)

eersdaags 'one of these days (soon)'

vir ewig/goed 'for ever/good'

voortaan 'in future, henceforth'

in die toekoms 'in (the) future'

ooit 'ever'

(*nog*) *nooit* 'never' (*nog* is optional but commonly precedes *nooit*, see 13.4)

al, reeds, alreeds 'already'.

Al klaar is an informal variant of *alreeds*, e.g.

- (569) *Ek het al klaar werk gekry.*
'I have already found work.'

But it is also a means of expressing the pluperfect tense, e.g.

- (570) *Hy het dit toe al klaar gedoen.*
'Had you already done it?' (see 8.7 and footnote 49 under 8.15.1.2).

Al is used in combination with *ooit* in questions, e.g.

- (571) *Al ooit gewonder waarom die beste sjefs altyd botter gebruik?*
'Ever wondered why the best chefs always use butter?'

Al followed by the present tense expresses an English perfect tense when followed by *for* and an expression of time, e.g.

- (572) *Sy bly al jare op Tulbagh.*
'She has lived in Tulbagh for years.'
(see 8.5.3.1 for this use of the present tense)

Al is also used in combination with *lank* to express duration of time in the past, e.g.

- (573) *Sonder hom was die plaas lankal op die afdraand.*
'Without him the farm would have started going downhill long ago.'

See *vir* under 11.1 for further examples of this use of *al* and *lank*.

The adverb *nou* can also be used in such constructions, e.g.

- (574) *Ek leer nou al tien weke lank Afrikaans.*
 'I have been learning Afrikaans for ten weeks now.'

In fact all the following combinations of the adverbs *al*, *lank* and *nou* occur in these present tense constructions which render English continuous perfects: *al*, *lank*, *al lank*, *nou al*, *nou lank*, *nou al lank*.

dae lank / *jare lank* / *maande lank* 'for days' etc., e.g.

- (575) *Ons was dae lank siek.*
 'We were sick for days.'

jare der jare '(for) years'

van kinds been (af) / *van kleins af* / *van jongs af* 'from childhood'

van oudsher 'from long ago'

van toeka se dae/tyd (af) 'from time immemorial'

in toeka se dae/tyd 'in the olden days'

ten slotte 'finally'

(uit)eindelik, *eindelik* 'finally', e.g.

- (576) *Uiteindelik het Suid-Afrika begin verander.*
 'Finally South Africa has begun to change.'

This is the word required for 'finally' when something for which one has waited a long time occurs, but when 'finally' means 'lastly, in conclusion', *ten slotte* is required, e.g.

- (577) *En ten slotte wil ek dit sê.*
 'And finally I'd like to say this.'

oplaas 'finally, eventually' (synonymous with *uiteindelik*).

eventueel / *uiteindelik*, *moontlik* 'eventually, possibly'. Prescriptive works insist that to use *eventueel* in the sense of 'eventually' is an Anglicism, but that is in fact now the only meaning of the word in Afrikaans. To use *eventueel* as in Dutch, i.e. in the sense of 'possibly', no longer occurs in the living language, e.g. *Hy kom Maandag of eventueel Dinsdag* 'He's coming on Monday or possibly on Tuesday'; here one now uses *moontlik*. Purists would maintain that 'eventually' must be expressed by *uiteindelik*, which is commonly used.

(van)tevore, *voorheen* 'before', e.g.

- (578) *U kans is nou beter as ooit (van)tevore.*
 'Your chances are now better than ever before.'
- (579) *Ek het dit al (van)tevore/voorheen gesien.*
 'I've seen this (once) before.'

nog nooit (van)tevore 'never before'.

In colloquial speech 'before (this/that)' is sometimes rendered by *voor dit* instead of *(van)tevore*, e.g. *die week (van)tevore/voor dit* (see 5.1.1.3.3).

7.4. Adverbs of manner

Adverbs of manner are too diverse and too numerous to attempt to list. One is advised to consult a dictionary for these expressions.

7.5. Adverbs of place

Links/regs '(on the) left/right', e.g.

- (580) *Hou links, ry regs verby.*
'Keep to the left, pass on the right.'

Note the following variants:

- (581) *Die huisie bestaan uit 'n voorkamer met 'n hoofslaapkamer (na) links en 'n klein slaapkamertjie onmiddellik op die regterhand (= regs).*
'The house consists of a front room with a main bedroom to the left and a small bedroom on the right.'

Na links/regs normally denotes motion towards.

iewers/êrens (anders) 'somewhere (else)'

elders 'elsewhere, somewhere else'

nêrens (anders) 'nowhere (else)'

oral(s) 'everywhere'. This word also renders 'anywhere', e.g.

- (582) *Vuurmaak orals langs hierdie pad verbode.*
'Lighting of fires anywhere along this road prohibited.'

Note too the following idiomatic usage which implies that there have been several or many places:

- (583) *Waar het jy orals gewoon?*
'Where have you lived?'
- (584) *Hy het (vir) my vertel waar hy oral gewerk het.*
'He told me of all the places he's worked.'

Compare a similar use of *alles* under 5.6 note 2.

van heinde en ver 'from near and far'

her en der 'here and there'

halfpad 'half-way'

naby 'near, nearby, close, close-by'

om die draai 'nearby, close-by' (also an expression of time = not far off)
*(hier-, daar-) langsaa*n 'next door', *die huis langsaa*n 'the house next-door',
 e.g. *Hy bly (hier)langsaa*n 'He lives next door'.

'n hanetree(tjie) van hier/daar af 'a stone's throw from here/there'

'n klipgooi van hier/daar af 'a stone's throw from here/there'

'n ent(jie) 'a little way(s)'

'n hele ent 'a long way'

in die boendoe(s)/grammadoelas 'in the sticks/wilds/boondocks'

doer 'right out/away', e.g. *Hy bly doer in die Kaap/boendoe* 'He lives right
 out there in the Cape/sticks', *daar doer* 'right over/out there'

oorsee 'overseas'

in die buiteland 'abroad', e.g. *Hy bly al lank in die buiteland* 'He's been
 living abroad for years' (see 7.5.1).

in/van - se wêreld 'renders in/from the region/area of', e.g. *in Namakwaland
 se wêreld* 'in Namaqualand', *Hy kom van Knysna se wêreld af* 'He
 comes from Knysna/the Knysna area'.

landwyd 'throughout the country'

rondom 'all around'

in die stad/dorp 'in town' (see 7.5.1)

in die kerk 'in church' (see 7.5.1)

binne 'inside'¹⁹ (see 7.5.1 and 7.6)

buite 'outside' (see 7.5.1 and 7.6)

bo 'upstairs, at the top' (see 7.5.1 and 7.6)

onder 'downstairs, at the bottom', e.g. *Kyk na die nommers onder* 'Look at
 the numbers at the bottom' (see 7.5.1 and 7.6).

agter 'behind, at the back' (see 7.5.1 and 7.6)

voor 'ahead', e.g. *padwerke voor* 'roadworks ahead' (see 7.5.1 and 7.6)

hier/hierso 'here'²⁰ (see 7.5.1)

daar/daarso 'there'²⁰ (see 7.5.1)

7.5.1. Adverbs indicating motion towards a place

Unlike English, a distinction is made in Afrikaans between adverbs indicating stationary place and those indicating motion towards a place. This is usually done by means of the preposition *toe* which either follows or is suffixed to the adverbs, but *toe* is commonly interchangeable with *na*, which precedes the adverb. This applies to the above adverbs *binne*, *buite*, *bo* and *onder* which become *binnetoe*, *buitetoe*, *boontoe* and *ondertoe* when motion is implied, e.g.

¹⁹ These adverbs and several others also function as prepositions (see 11.5).

²⁰ This *so*, which is pronounced [sɔ] as opposed to the adverb *so* 'in this way' which is pronounced [soɔ], is commonly suffixed to *hier* and *daar* (also *waar*) in colloquial Afrikaans without having any effect on the meaning; it is actually never written. Compare *Ry so* [rɔisoɔ] 'Drive this way/inthis direction'.

- (585) *Toe hardloop hy binnetoe / boontoe (= na binne / bo).*
 'He then ran inside/upstairs.'
- (586) *Op pad ondertoe val hy en breek (hy) sy been.*
 'On the way down (stairs, mountain) he fell and broke his leg.'
- (587) *Toe kyk hy na bo.*
 'He then looked up.'

Agter and *voor* also have alternative forms, *agtertoe* and *vorentoe*, to indicate motion, e.g.

- (588) *Staan jy meer agtertoe.*
 'You stand more to the back.'
- (589) *Ry agteruit.*
 'Drive backwards.'
- (590) *Ry vorentoe.*
 'Drive forward.'

Vorentoe is also used figuratively, e.g. *baie geluk vorentoe* 'all the best for the future'.

The distinction between 'home' (motion towards) and 'at home' (place) is not observed in the expressions *by die huis kom / tuis kom* 'to come home', e.g.

- (591) *Hoe laat het jy by die huis gekom / tuis gekom?*
 'What time did you get home?' (motion).

Compare

- (592) *Ek bly vanaand by die huis / tuis.*
 'I'm staying at home tonight' (place).

Otherwise 'home' with verbs of motion is *huis toe*, e.g.

- (593) *Ek gaan / ry nou huis toe.*
 'I'm now going/driving home.'

The adverbs *hier*, *daar* and *waar* (see 10.0) take the suffixes *heen* or *natoe* when used with verbs that indicate direction; synonymous with *daarheen* and *daarnatoe* is *soontoe*, the most common of the three, e.g.

- (594) *Ek sal mal word as ons hierheen / hiernatoe verhuis.*
 'I'll go mad if we move here.'
- (595) *Sy gaan alleen soontoe / daarheen / daarnatoe.*
 'She's going there alone.'
- (596) *Waarheen / waarnatoe moet ek haar neem?*
 'Where do I have to take her (to)?'²¹

²¹ The meaning behind these compulsory suffixes in such cases is comparable to that of this optional English 'to'.

Just with *kom* it is also possible to say *Kom hier(so)* without either of the above suffixes (see *van hier af/hiervandaan* under 11.12.2).

*dokter/dorp/grens/kerk/sitkamer/stad*²² *toe* = *na die dokter/dorp/grens/kerk* etc. *toe* 'to the doctor/to town/to the border/to church/to the lounge room/to town'

buiteland toe, e.g. *Hy gaan buiteland toe* (= *oorsee* if leaving Africa) 'He's going abroad'.

See *toe* under 11.10.1 and 11.12.1.

7.6. Adverbial use of prepositions

See 11.5 as well as 7.1.4 for the comparative and superlative of these adverbs.

Many prepositions are also used as adverbs, but this is the case in English too, e.g.

- (597) *Is die stoof nog aan? Nee hy is lankal af.*
'Is the stove still on? No, it's been off for ages.'
- (598) *Ek is deur.*
'I'm through' (i.e. passed an exam).
- (599) *Die son is al op.*
'The sun is up already.'
- (600) *Sy is uit.*
'She's out.'

Binne 'inside', *buite* 'outside', *bo* 'above, over', *onder* 'below, beneath, underneath', *agter* 'behind' and *voor* 'ahead', all of which have been mentioned above in another context (see 7.5), are also examples of words that have both an adverbial and a prepositional function. They can be compounded with other prepositions, the new word also fulfilling both functions:

binne-in '(right) inside/within', e.g.

- (601) *Dis nie aan die buitekant maar binne-in.*
'It's not on the outside but inside.'

buite-om 'around the outside', e.g.

- (602) *As die hek toe is, sal jy buite-om (= buitekant om) moet gaan.*
'If the gate is locked, you'll have to go around (the outside).'

²² It is not usual in South Africa to talk of villages: *dorp* means 'town' and *stad* means 'city', thus it is quite permissible to say *Ek gaan dorp toe* even with reference to the centre of a metropolis like Johannesburg. A one-horse town in the middle of the veld is a *dorp(ie)*, not a *stad*, whereas a *stat* is a traditional native village, in which case the word 'village' is used.

bo-aan 'at the head/top', e.g.

- (603) *Die adres is bo-aan.*
'The address is at the top.'

bo-oor '(right) over/on top', e.g.

- (604) *Sny die omelet in wte en strooi met pieterselie bo-oor.*
'Cut the omelette into wedges and sprinkle parsley on top.'

onderaan '(right) at the bottom', e.g.

- (605) *Die bladsynommers is onderaan.*
'The page numbers are at the bottom.'

bo-op 'on top', e.g.

- (606) *Dit is die kas en jy sal die skildery bo-op vind.*
'This is the cupboard and you'll find the painting on top (of it).'

agteraan 'at the back/end', e.g.

- (607) *Dit was 'n lang tou en ek het agteraan gestaan.*
'It was a long queue and I was waiting at the back.'

vooraan 'at the front/head/ahead', e.g.

- (608) *Hy hardloop vooraan en sy boetie kom agteraan.*
'He's running ahead and his brother is following on behind.'

vooroor 'forwards', e.g.

- (609) *Hy het vooroor geval.*
'He fell over' (i.e. forwards).

The adverbs *bo*, *onder*, *agter* and *voor* can be qualified by *heel* to render 'right' or 'very', e.g. *heel bo/onder/agter/voor* 'right at the top, at the very top' etc.

Anderkant 'the other side', *diékant* 'this side' and *oorkant* 'opposite' are also both adverbs and prepositions, e.g.

- (610) *Ek gaan anderkant staan. Bly jy diékant.*
'I'm going to stand on the other side. You stay on this side.'
- (611) *Hy bly oorkant.*
'He lives opposite.'

Similarly *eenkant* 'on/to one side', which does not however function as a preposition, e.g.

- (612) *Sy hou haar eenkant.*
'She keeps to herself' (figurative use).

These adverbs can also be used in combination with *toe* to render motion (see 7.5.1), e.g.

- (613) *Gaan anderkant/eenkant toe.*
'Go to the other side/one side.'

Binne and *buite* both have alternative forms in *-kant* which are synonymous with the simplexes, e.g.

- (614) *Kan julle nie buite[kant] speel nie?*
'Can't you play outside?'

7.7. Adverbs of modality

The following are frequently used adverbs of modality: (*'n*) *bietjie*, *dalk*, *darem*, *glo*, *maar*, *mos*, *sommer*, *wel*.

(*'n*) *Bietjie*, apart from rendering 'a (little) bit', its literal meaning (see 5.6, note 4), functions as a softener rendering '(just) a moment/while/bit', e.g.

- (615) *Wag 'n bietjie.*
'Wait (just) a moment.'
- (616) *Dit is so ver van die waarheid dat 'n mens wonder of sy nie maar eers ('n) bietjie moet navorsing doen nie.*
'That is so far from the truth one wonders whether she shouldn't first do some research.'

The fact that *'n bietjie* and *navorsing* are not adjacent implies that the meaning here is not simply 'a bit of research'; *maar* also has modal meaning here (see below).

Dalk is often interchangeable with *miskien* 'perhaps'. It implies an element of doubt, e.g.

- (617) *Is u dalk meneer Schutte?*
'Are you Mr. S. by any chance?'
- (618) *Hy kom dalk môre.*
'He might come tomorrow.'
- (619) *Dit sal dalk nooit ontdek word nie.*
'It may never be discovered.'

Darem is extremely common and its meaning is difficult to get a grip on, so it is best illustrated by examples; it often gives exclamatory or emphatic force to a statement, e.g.

- (620) *Hoeveel kos dit? R500. Dis darem baie geld.*
'How much is it? R500. Gee, that's a lot of money.'
- (621) *Ek wil jou nog iets vra. Jy is darem nuuskierig vandag.*
'I want to ask you something else. (Boy), but you are curious today.'
- (622) *Al twee woorde is goed maar jy moet darem konsekwent wees.*
'Both words are all right but you really should be consistent.'

- (623) *Klein Sarel gryp 'n slag sy kop vas wanneer Pa die bande darem te vreeslik laat skreeu.*
 'Little Sarel cringes whenever Dad **really** screeches the tyres.'
- (624) *Ek kon hom nie sien nie maar ek kon hom darem hoor.*
 'I couldn't see him but I could **at least** hear him' (compare this with the second example under *wel* below).

Glo implies that what is being said is mere opinion, e.g.

- (625) *Hy het glo nie 'n sent van die erfenis gekry nie.*
 'Apparently/I believe he didn't even get a cent of the inheritance.'

Maar, in addition to rendering the conjunction 'but' (see 9.1), is used as an adverb of modality whose meaning is difficult to generalise about, e.g.

- (626) *Lag/wag maar, ek sal jou terugkry.*
 'Laugh if you wish/just you wait, I'll get you back.'
- (627) *As hy maar hier was.*
 'If only he were here.'
- (628) *Jy kan maar praat.*
 'You can talk.'
- (629) *Dis maar menslik.*
 'It's only human' (see also the second example under '*n bietjie* above).

Mos, like *darem*, defies easy translation and is ubiquitous, which are probably the reasons why both are so commonly used in colloquial SA English too. It means something like 'after all', 'when it's all said and done', 'this is something you should know', e.g.

- (630) *Dit moet 'n profyt toon, anders is dit mos nie die moeite werd nie.*
 'It must show a profit, otherwise, **you must admit**, it's not worth the effort.'
- (631) *Dis mos die lewe: lê in die son op 'n Griekse eiland.*
 'Now **that's** life, lying in the sun on a Greek island.'
- (632) *Dit was 'n ek-het-jou-mos-gesê-kyk.*
 'It was a I-told-you-so (**didn't I?**) look.'
- (633) *Matieland.²² Dis mos studenteland.*
 'The University of Stellenbosch, that's student country, **as everyone knows.**'

Sommer too is very common and also occurs in SA English. It most usually corresponds with 'just, simply', e.g.

- (634) *Hulle het dit sommer aangeneem.*
 'They simply accepted it/They accepted it without any further ado.'
- (635) *'n Brak is 'n nie opreg geteelde hond; dis sommer enige ou hond.*
 'A mongrel isn't a pedigree dog, it's just any old dog.'

²² A *Matie* is a student of this university (see 4.2.3.j).

- (636) *Die groei van Kaaps-Hollands tot die Afrikaans wat ons vandag ken, het nie sommer so maklik tot stand gekom nie.*
 'The growth of Cape Dutch into the Afrikaans that we know today didn't just happen.'
- (637) *Na die operasie het dit gevoel of dit nie net my bors was wat nuut gevorm is nie, maar sommer die hele ek.*
 'After the operation it felt as if it wasn't only my breast that had been newly formed, but the complete me' (where *sommer* is untranslatable).

Wel is used:

1) to reverse the negation of a verb where in English the verb (often an auxiliary) is stressed, e.g.

- (638) *Jy het dit nog nie gedoen nie. Ek het dit wel gedoen.*
 'You haven't done it yet. I **have** (done it).'
- (639) *Ek kon hom nie sien nie maar ek kon hom wel hoor.*
 'I couldn't see him but I could **hear** him.'
- (640) *Ek wel, jy nie?*
 'I am/do, aren't/don't **you**?' (see 13.13).

2) in combination with *sal* 'will' it renders 'probably', e.g

- (641) *Hy sal wel moeg wees.*
 'He's probably/sure to be quite tired.'

3) as in the following sentences where information is offered which is a more specific qualification of what has just been said and where in English we simply pause:

- (642) *Hy is verbonde aan die UK en wel in die fakulteit opvoedkunde.*
 'He's at UCT, in the faculty of education.'
- (643) *Die kongres word van 12 tot 15 April gehou en wel in Kimberley.*
 'The conference is being held from the 12th-15th of April, in Kimberley.'

The above modal adverbs also occur in combination with each other, e.g.

- (644) *Hy is darem maar nog klein.*
 'He is still small' (< *Hy is nog klein*).

7.8. Conjunctional adverbs (see 9.2)

a) Many adverbs stand at the beginning of clauses fulfilling the role of connectors and thus resemble conjunctions, e.g. *anders* 'otherwise', *bowendien/buitendien* 'in addition', *daarom/derhalwe/dus* 'thus, therefore', *daarenteë* 'on the other hand', *derhalwe* 'therefore', *gevolglik* 'consequently, as a result', *intendeel* 'on the contrary', *nietemin/nogtans* 'nevertheless', *tog/dog* 'but, yet, nevertheless'. Being adverbs, however, they cause inversion

of subject and verb as they function as the first idea in the clause in which they stand, e.g.

- (645) *Hy is siek, daarom lê hy in die bed.*
 'He's sick, therefore he's lying in bed.'

These words can all also be placed after the finite verb in the second clause, e.g. *Hy lê daarom in die bed.*

b) There are just a few conjunctive adverbs, i.e. *altans* 'at least, at any rate', *immers* 'but, as you know' and *trouens* 'indeed, as a matter of fact', that do not necessarily cause inversion if they introduce a new clause; they differ from co-ordinating conjunctions (see 9.1), however, by also being able to be placed after the finite verb, e.g.

- (646) *Jy het vandag nie baie hard gewerk nie, trouens jy werk nooit hard nie = ... jy werk trouens nooit hard nie.*
 'You didn't work very hard today, as a matter of fact you never work hard.'

c) *Egter* 'however' is not a conjunctive adverb in Afrikaans, unlike in English and thus always follows the finite verb, e.g.

- (647) *Hy het 'n verskriklike groot bek, hy kan dit egter nie verhelp nie.*
 'He's got a terribly big mouth, however he can't help it.'

7.9. Interrogative adverbs (see 10.00)

7.10. Formation of adverbs (see 15.4)

8. Verbs

8.1. Paradigm of the present and past tenses of a typical verb

Typically the conjugation of a verb in the present and past (= preterite or perfect) tenses is as follows:

infinitive: *werk* 'to work'

a) present tense:

ek werk 'I work, I am working, I do work'

jy werk

hy/sy/dit werk

ons werk

julle werk

hulle werk

interrogative: *werk ek?* 'am I working, do I work?'

negative: *ek werk nie* 'I don't/am not working'

negative interrogative: *werk ek nie?* 'aren't I working, don't I work?'

b) imperative:

werk 'work'

negative imperative:

moenie werk nie 'don't work'

c) past tense:¹

ek het gewerk 'I worked, I was working, I did work'

'I have worked, I have been working'

'I had worked, I had been working'

jy het gewerk

hy/sy/dit het gewerk

ons het gewerk

julle het gewerk

hulle het gewerk

interrogative:

het ek gewerk? 'was I working, did I work?'

'have I worked, have I been working?'

'had I worked, had I been working?' etc.

negative:

ek het nie gewerk nie 'I wasn't working/didn't work/haven't worked'

negative interrogative:

het ek nie gewerk nie? 'wasn't I working/didn't I work/haven't I worked?'

¹ See 1.10.3 for how to stress the past tense of a verb depending on the connotation.

8.2. Alternative forms of the stem of a verb

With the exception of the verbs 'to be' and 'to have', which do have a separate finite form from the infinitive, there is a certain artificiality in talking of the infinitive and the finite form of a verb in Afrikaans, as both forms are the same.² Such a distinction may have a diachronic validity but not a synchronic one, e.g. when explaining the existence of the two forms *slaan* and *slaat*. One can say that there are, with very few exceptions, only two forms of the verb in Afrikaans, the stem/root/base form – whatever one chooses to call it – and the past participle from which the past tense is formed; and yet for many verbs even the stem, the term I will use, and the past participle are the same, e.g. *ontmoet*, *besoek*, *probeer*. But the stem and the participle are only the same in verbs with the unstressed prefixes *be-*, *er-*, *ge-*, *her-*, *ont-* and *ver-* (see 8.15.2.3) as well as in those that end in the stressed foreign ending *-eer*.³

The stem of an Afrikaans verb is identical to its stem in Dutch, only in that language the stem is derived from the infinitive by dropping the final *-en*, the marker of an infinitive, e.g. Dutch *lopen*, Afrikaans *loop*. Only the verbs *doen*, *gaan*, *sien*, *slaan* and *staan*, which are monosyllabic in Dutch too, have a stem in Afrikaans which is identical to the Dutch infinitive.⁴ But the verbs *doen*, *gaan*, *sien* and *slaan* have an alternative infinitive/stem form ending in *t* which has its origin in the second and third person singular of the present tense in Dutch, e.g. *doet*, *gaat*, *siet*, *slaat* and *staat* (in the case of *slaan* there is also an alternative, less common past participle *geslaat*). These alternative forms in *t* are not considered standard Afrikaans but they still occur in speech, particularly the speech of older people – they are definitely now on the wane, the most commonly heard form being *slaat* / *geslaat* (see 1.2.1).

There are several other cases of Afrikaans verbs ending in a *t* which is derived from the conjugation of the present tense in Dutch, e.g. *begint*, *behoort* and *reent*. *Begint* exists in variation with *begin*, under circumstances similar to those applying to the historically monosyllabic verbs described in the previous paragraph (i.e. it is non-standard). *Reent* alternates with *reën*, but unlike the other forms in *t*, it is considered standard Afrikaans and thus alternates freely with *reën* in both speech and writing. The verb *behoort* 'should' (see 8.13.6) always ends in *t* and has no corresponding form without *t*. Presumably the explanation for the existence of a form *behoort* instead of the form one would expect, i.e. **behoor* (< Dutch *behoren*), is that this verb is frequently used impersonally in the third person, and thus the most commonly heard conjugation is the only form that has

² A similar artificiality exists with regard to the distinction imperfect/perfect (see 8.5).

³ In very colloquial Afrikaans verbs with these prefixes can take *ge-* too (see 8.5.1.1) and with verbs ending in *-eer* one often has the choice of whether to add *ge-* to the participle or not (see 8.5.1.2) (see also Ponelis 1979:191-2).

⁴ Dutch has a sixth monosyllabic infinitive, *zijn* 'to be', which does not occur in Afrikaans. There is an alternative, less common infinitive in Dutch to *zijn*, i.e. *wezen*, from which Afrikaans has derived its infinitive of 'to be', *wees*. In both Dutch and Afrikaans the imperative, *wees*, is derived from this verb (see 8.11).

survived. The existence of *begint* beside *begin* can be explained in a similar way.⁵

De Villiers (1971:9) complains that various verbal forms have erroneously been labelled “tense forms” in Afrikaans grammars; this label is often incorrect, given the alternation of forms (e.g. *kan/kon*, *sal/sou* etc. and the historic present/perfect). He also maintains that there is as yet no definite standing tradition with regard to such alternate forms as *kan/kon* in Afrikaans but that it is certainly incorrect to apply tense categories from other European languages to cognate verbal forms in Afrikaans – it is precisely on the question of verbal forms and their use that Afrikaans differs drastically from other European languages. The alternation of *kan* with *kon*, *moet* with *moes* and *wil* with *wou* after *sou* (see 8.12.4), and the alternation of *het* (historically a finite form of the verb ‘to have’) with *hê* (derived from the historical infinitive) in compound constructions (see footnote 21) indicate that even the concept of what constitutes an infinitive diverges markedly in Afrikaans from other European languages.

8.2.1. Other verbs with alternative forms of the stem

Verbs ending in *f* with a long vowel in the stem, or in *rf* with a short vowel in the stem, have alternative verbal forms (infinitive, finite form and past participle) ending in *w*, e.g. *leef/lewe* ‘to live’, *geleef/gelewe* ‘lived’; *beloof/belowe* ‘to promise, promised’; *sterf/sterwe* ‘to die’, *gestarf/gesterwe* ‘died’; *vergeef/vergewe* ‘to forgive, forgiven’.

Use of these forms: although prescriptive works often mention such alternative forms, they seldom comment on the respective frequency of such variants. With some very common verbs like the first three mentioned above, use of one or the other seems to depend on rhythm in certain contexts, or simply on personal preference, whereas in the case of *vergeef/vergewe* the former is commonly heard in the imperative – possibly because of its use in the Lord’s Prayer, i.e. *Vergeef ons ons sondes* ‘Forgive us our sins’, whereas otherwise *vergewe* is by far the more usual form, e.g. *Gaan jy my vergewe? Ek het jou al vergewe* ‘Are you going to forgive me? I have already forgiven you’. *Sôre/gesôre* (= *sorg/gesorg* ‘to care’) and its derivative *versôre* (= *versorg* ‘to look after’), on the other hand, are considered dialectal or archaic, e.g. *Die Here sal vir jou sorg/sôre* ‘The Lord will take care of you’. *Beef* for *bewe* ‘to tremble’ and *(be)graaf* for *(be)grawe* ‘to dig, (bury)’ are rare, whereas *erwe* for *erf* ‘to inherit’ is not frequently heard. It seems the frequency of the variants varies from word to word.

⁵ A similar and yet different case is preserved in the verb *verloor* ‘to lose’ where the infinitive in Dutch is *verliezen*, the imperfect is *verloor/verloren* and the past participle is *verloren*. As one normally refers to something already being lost (i.e. in the past tense), rather than to the act of losing it in the present tense, the past tense form in Dutch has been preserved in Afrikaans as the only form of this verb, both past and present.

8.3. Progressive or continuous constructions

The English translations of the verbal forms in the paradigms given under 8.1 suggest that the English progressive or continuous forms 'I am/was working, I have/had been working' are rendered simply by *ek werk, ek het gewerk*. Although that is the most usual way of rendering those structures in Afrikaans, it is not the only way. Only when a certain emphasis is put on the continuity of an action is it rendered in one of the following ways.

8.3.1. Progressive constructions formed from *lê, loop, sit* and *staan*

Lê, loop, sit and *staan* can be used in combination with the verb that one wishes to express in the progressive, e.g.

- (648) *Wat doen jy? Ek sit en lees.*
 'What are you doing? I'm reading.'
 (649) *Ek lê en slaap.*
 'I'm sleeping.'
 (650) *Hy loop en sing.*
 'He's walking along singing.'⁶

In the interrogative one has a choice of word order:

- (651) *Wat lê en dink jy? / Wat lê jy en dink?*
 'What are you lying there thinking about?'

Where the subject is stressed, only the second option is possible, e.g.

- (652) *Wat staan hulle en doen? 'What are they doing?'*

The use of such constructions in Afrikaans does not always correspond exactly to a continuous form in English, e.g.

- (653) *Sy staan / sit vir ure en praat as sy niks anders te doen het nie.*
 'She talks for hours if she has nothing else to do.'

Although the *staan* and *sit* do not necessarily have to correspond exactly with whether the action being performed is being done in a standing or sitting position, this is most usually the case and *sit, staan* and *lê* can only be used with reference to actions that can feasibly be performed in those positions as *Ek lê en slaap* illustrates. Although *ek lê en dink* 'I am thinking is not impossible', *ek sit / staan en dink* would be a more usual rendition of that English statement, but *ek dink* would not be incorrect either.

See 12.3 for the various word orders possible with these constructions when the verb for which *lê, loop, sit* and *staan* are acting as auxiliaries, has an object or is qualified by an adverbial expression.

⁶ Dialectically forms without *en* occur, e.g. *Hy sit slaap die hele tyd.*

In colloquial, narrative Afrikaans *loop* is often used to enliven an anecdote without there being any literal connotation of walking, e.g.

- (654) *Toe loop sê ek vir hom...*
 'Then/so I said to him...'

In the written language, if such an auxiliary is called for at all, which would only be when a motion is implied, one would be more likely to use *gaan*, e.g.

- (655) *Toe het ek vir hom gaan sê...*
 'I then went and told him...'

See 8.5.3 for the past tense of these progressive constructions.

8.3.2. Progressive constructions formed from *wees + aan + die + verb*

There is an alternative means of expressing the progressive to the options given under 8.3.1: *wees + aan + die + verb* renders the same idea, e.g.

- (656) *Moenie my nou steur nie. Ek is 'n brief aan die skryf.*
 = *Ek sit en skryf 'n brief.*
 'Don't disturb me at the moment. I am writing a letter.'

An older form of this structure still found in the written language is *Ek is 'n brief aan't skryf.*⁷

The past tense of *aan die/aan't* structures is formed by simply using the imperfect of *wees*, e.g.

- (657) *Sy was 'n boek aan't/die lees.*
 'She was reading a book.'

Addition of the tautological *gewees* described under 8.9 is possible here too, but then only with *aan die* as *aan't* is too formal to be used in combination with this colloquial *gewees*.

Aan die/aan't structures also occur in combination with the verbs *bly*, *gaan*, *hê*, *hou*, *kom*, *kry*, *raak* and *sit* rendering 'to keep, start etc. + verb + -ing', e.g.

- (658) *Die dogtertjies bly aan die giggel.*
 'The little girls keep/don't stop giggling.'
 (659) *Die hoenders het aan die kekkel gegaan.*
 'The chickens started clucking.'
 (660) *Jan Spies het die hele land aan die lag.*
 'Jan Spies has the the whole country laughing.'

⁷ 't is a vestige of the Dutch neuter article, *het*. As awareness of this has died out in the mind of most speakers, *aan* and 't are usually written as one word and are now simply regarded as an idiomatic, more formal way of expressing *aan die*. In the expression *as't ware* 'as it were', 't is a vestige of the Dutch subject pronoun *het*, a homonym of the above.

- (661) *Ek het hulle aan die werk / raai gehou.*
'I kept them working/guessing.'
- (662) *Ek kom nie aan die skryf / werk nie.*
'I can't get down to writing/work.'
- (663) *Ek het hom aan die lag gekry / gesit.*
'I got him laughing.'
- (664) *Ek het aan die bewe geraak.*
'I started trembling/to tremble.'
- (665) *Toe raak sy aan die slaap.*
'Then she fell asleep.'

8.3.3. Progressive constructions formed from *besig wees te + verb*

A third way of expressing progressive action is by the use of *besig wees te + verb* = 'to be busy/in the process of doing something', e.g.

- (666) *Die woord is besig om uit die taal te verdwyn.*
'That word is disappearing from the language.'
- (667) *Ek is besig om 'n brief te skryf.*
'I am writing a letter.'

Very often the use of this structure corresponds to its literal equivalent in English, e.g.

- (668) *Ek is besig om die skottelgoed te was.*
'I am (busy) doing the washing-up.'

This construction can also be used in the past, e.g.

- (669) *Ek is / was besig gewees om 'n brief te skryf.*
'I was writing a letter.'

8.4. Vestiges of the imperfect

With the few exceptions dealt with in this paragraph, the imperfect of all verbs in Afrikaans has disappeared. In addition to the imperfect of modal auxiliary verbs having survived – note that these are verbs of which the past participle has not survived – there is a handful of other historically irregular verbs whose imperfect still survives today, as well as the past participle. The imperfect and the perfect of these verbs alternate more or less equally commonly, depending on the verb concerned. They are *dink* (*dag/dog*,⁸ *gedag/gedog/gedink*) 'to think', *weet* (*wis, geweet*) 'to know', *hê* (*had, gehad*) 'to have', *wees* (*was, gewees*) 'to be'.

De Villiers (1971:24) says of *wis* that it is "becoming rare" and of *had*

⁸ In Dutch the imperfect of *denken* is *dacht*, but dialectically *docht* also occurs; Afrikaans has retained both forms as complete synonyms, but (*ge*)*dog* is more common than (*ge*)*dag*.

that it "is already rare".⁹ They are forms one may hear in the speech of older people or meet in literary Afrikaans but not in natural speech.

The imperfect forms of *dink* are very frequently used. All five forms of the past tense of *dink* can be synonymous and completely interchangeable, e.g.

- (670) *Hy dag/dog ek sou eers môre kom* or
Hy het gedag/gedog/gedink ek sou eers môre kom.
 'He thought I wouldn't be coming until tomorrow.'

Although *dag/dog* and *gedag/gedog* can alternate with *gedink* without any differentiation in meaning, as in the above example, there can be a semantic distinction between *dag/dog* and *gedag/gedog* (all four are interchangeable) on the one hand and *gedink* on the other; it is not possible to use the former when 'thinking of' someone or something, e.g.

- (671) *Ek het die hele dag aan jou gedink.*
 'I thought of you all day.'

Nor is it in fact possible to use those forms when referring to the mental activity of thinking, e.g.

- (672) *Descartes het te veel in sy lewe gedink.*
 'Descartes thought too much in his life.'

They can only alternate as an irrealis in contexts such as the following: *Ek het gedag/gedog/gedink hy was jou broer* 'I thought (= believed) he was your brother'. De Villiers (1971:24) maintains that the *(ge)dag/(ge)dog* forms are particularly common in the spoken language.

The imperfect forms of *hê* 'to have' and *wees* 'to be' are dealt with under 8.12 and 8.11 respectively.

8.5. The perfect tense

Due to the almost total demise of the imperfect tense in Afrikaans (see 8.4 for the exceptions), the "perfect tense" is commonly called simply the "past tense" or the "preterite".

As the historical distinction between regular and irregular verbs has died out in Afrikaans in favour of the former, the perfect of virtually all verbs is formed in the following way: the finite form of *hê*, namely *het*, plus the past participle. The past participle is formed by prefixing *ge-* to the stem/infinitive of the verb, e.g. *gaan-gegaan*, *loop-geloop*, *leef/lewe-geleef/gelewe*. The only exceptions to this formation are *dink* (see 8.4) and *hê*, which has preserved an original irregular form, *gehad*; even the verb 'to be', *wees*, goes *gewees*. As the example of *leef/lewe* illustrates, those verbs which for historical reasons have preserved two stem/infinitive forms (see 8.2–8.2.1), the past participle can be formed from either, thus even the

⁹ *Had* also occurs in regional speech in the Eastern Cape.

colloquial variants *doet*, *siet* and *slaat* (< *doen*, *sien*, *slaan*) occur in past participles: *gedoen*/*gedoet*, *gesien*/*gesiet*, *geslaan*/*geslaat*.

8.5.1. Verbs that don't take the prefix *ge-* in the past tense

The only verbs that do not take a *ge-* prefix to form the participle, but whose participle is identical to the stem/infinitive, are as follows:

8.5.1.1. Verbs with unstressed prefixes

Verbs that contain an unstressed prefix (i.e. *aan-*, *agter-*, *deur-*, *om-*, *onder-*, *oor-*, *voor-* or *be-*, *er-*, *ge-*, *her-*, *ont-*, *ver-*),¹⁰ e.g.

- (673) *Hy aanvaar dit nie / Hy het dit nie aanvaar nie.*
'He doesn't accept it/He hasn't accepted it.'
- (674) *Ek belowe jou / Ek het jou belowe.*
'I promise you/I promised you.'
- (675) *Sy verstaan dit nie / Sy het nie verstaan nie.*
'She doesn't understand/She hasn't understood.'

See 8.15.2.1–8.15.2.3.

8.5.1.2. Verbs ending in *-eer*

Verbs ending in *-eer*, many but not all of which are of foreign origin (e.g. *halveer* 'to halve'), can theoretically dispense with the perfective prefix¹¹ but it is more usual to apply it, except in the case of a few very common bisyllabic verbs, where it is not uncommon to omit it, e.g.

- (676) *Die land word sleg (ge)regeer.*
'The country is being governed badly.'
- (677) *Ek het die hele dag (ge)studeer.*
'I have been studying all day.'
- (678) *Ek het dit al probeer.*
'I have already tried it.'

Probeer in particular is more often used without *ge-* than with it. Other verbs that regularly occur without *ge-* are: *blameer* 'to blame', *hanteer* 'to

¹⁰ In very colloquial Afrikaans the perfective prefix *ge-* is sometimes added to verbs with inseparable prefixes, e.g. *geontmoet*, *gebegrawe* (see 8.15.2.3.2).

¹¹ The dropping of *ge-* is connected with the fact that the ending *-eer* is stressed, with only a secondary stress on the first syllable. There are several other verbs of foreign origin where *ge-* is often dropped for the same reason, e.g. *baklei* 'to fight', *baljaar* 'to frolic', *galop* 'to gallop', *kapok* 'to snow', *karwei* 'to transport', *kasty* 'to chastise' (see 8.15.2.3.3). The AWS (p. 14) recognises forms both with and without *ge-* but gives preference to it being used.

handle', *loseer* 'to stay with', *makeer* 'to lack', *parkeer* 'to park', *sorteer* 'to sort', *spandeer* 'to spend', *waardeer* 'to appreciate', whereas less everyday, more learned words like *argumenteer* 'to argue', *ignoreer* 'to ignore', *installeer* 'to install', *manipuleer* 'to manipulate' and *stimuleer* 'to stimulate' are always used with *ge-*. *Finansier*, which ends in stressed *-ier*, also behaves like an *-eer* verb of the second category.

The most recent edition of the AWS (p. 13) advocates that the past participles of bisyllabic verbs in *-eer* may be written with or without *ge*, although preference is given to it being applied. There is likely to be considerable opposition to this advice as it is in conflict with common practice in the case of certain verbs, notably *probeer*. The AWS furthermore recognises only past participles in *ge-* for verbs of three syllables or more ending in *-eer*.

When the past participle of the verbs in *-eer* is used adjectivally (see 6.4.1), they all take *ge-*, e.g. *al die geparkeerde karre* 'all the parked cars', *'n ryk geïllustreerde tydskrif* 'a richly illustrated magazine'.

8.5.2. Double infinitive constructions

Double infinitive constructions are those where a verb in the perfect is followed by an infinitive and where, instead of the past participle of the first verb preceding the infinitive, as the English equivalent would suggest, the infinitive of that verb is used, e.g.

(679) *Dit het opgehou.*
'It stopped.'

but

(680) *Dit het ophou reën (< opgehou reën).*
'It stopped raining.'

(681) *Hy het gaan slaap (< *gegaan slaap)*
'He went off to bed.'

(682) *Ek moes na die uitstalling gaan kyk het maar ek was te moeg*
(**gegaan kyk het*).
'I should have gone to see the exhibition but I was too tired.'

but

(683) *Ek moes na die uitstalling ge gaan het.*
'I should have gone to the exhibition.'

(684) *In die middel van die straat, waar hy op die tremspoor gaan staan het, begin hy gil (< *gegaan staan het).*
'In the middle of the tram tracks where he had placed himself, he began to yell.'

One does hear *ge-* being used in such constructions, but it is considered non-standard, e.g.

(685) *Hy het gebly praat.*
'He kept on talking.'

- (686) *Hulle het dit gelaat staan.*
'They left it alone.'

However it is not considered non-standard in the following idiom:

- (687) *Hy is so gemaak en so gelaat staan.*
'That's the way he is and there's nothing you can do about it.'

Common to all double infinitive constructions is the absence of (*om*) *te* before the second infinitive (see 8.16.1.3).

8.5.3. The perfect of progressive or continuous constructions

In the perfect of progressive or continuous constructions (e.g. *Ek staan en praat*, see 8.3.1), the *ge-* is optionally added to the stem of the first verb in the couplet (and thus this verb group is almost analogous to those under 8.5.2 in this respect, but here *en* always stands between the two verbs concerned), for example:

- (688) *Hy het (ge)lê en slaap / lê en slaap.*
'He was sleeping.'
(689) *Hy het (ge)staan en praat / staan en praat.*
'He was (standing) talking.'
(690) *Hy het (ge)sit en skryf / sit en skryf.*
'He was (sitting) writing.'
(691) *Hy het (ge)loop en fluit / loop en fluit.*
'He was (walking along) whistling.'

Compare this to the following where by adding a *ge-* to both verbs, they are marked as separate, consecutive actions and are thus not part of a progressive construction, e.g.

- (692) *Hy het 'n bietjie gelees en geslaap.*
'He read and slept a little.'

Besides, as explained in 8.3.1, such progressives are always only formed from *lê*, *loop*, *sit* and *staan* plus another verb. Comparison of the following sentences illustrates the difference between consecutive and simultaneous action:

- (693) *Hy het op die muur 'n Windhoek-lager (ge)sit en drink.*
'He was sitting drinking a Windhoek lager on the wall' (focus on the drinking)
(694) *Hy het op die muur gesit en 'n Windhoek-lager gedrink.*
'He sat on the wall and drank a Windhoek lager' (equal focus on both actions) (see 12.3 and 12.5.4).

8.5.3.1. Use of the present tense in Afrikaans to render a continuous perfect in English

The English continuous perfect followed by an expression of time introduced by 'for' is rendered by the present tense + *al* in Afrikaans as the action has not been completed and is thus seen as lasting right up to the present, e.g.

- (695) *Sy bly al jare op Springfontein.*
 'She's been living in Springfontein for years.'
- (696) *Die vroumense huil al vandat hulle van die dorp weg is.*
 'The women have been crying since they left town.'

Compare the following sentence where the reference is to completed action:

- (697) *Sy het jare lank op Springfontein gebly.*
 'She lived in Springfontein for years.'

Al is commonly used in combination with *vir* or *lank* and the present tense (see *vir* under 11.1).

8.5.4. Two or more past participles dependent on *het*

Note that the auxiliary *het* can have two or more past participles dependent on it, with the possibility of the second even belonging to a separate (coordinate) clause, e.g.

- (698) *Hy het dit self gebou en geverf.*
 'He (has) built and painted it himself' (same clause).
- (699) *Hy het dit gemaak en toe later weggegooi (= en het dit toe later weggegooi).*
 'He made it and then later threw it away' (different clause).

This is the same as in Eng, compare 'He's written the letter and (has) posted it already.' The following example illustrates the same concept in a subordinate clause where the *het* on which both past participles depend occurs at the end of the clause:

- (700) *Toe wyle president Machel se straalvliegtuig van koers **geraak** en Suid-Afrikaanse grondgebied in die Oos-Transvaal **betree het**, het niemand wou glo dat...*
 'When President Machel's jet went off course and ended up in South Africa territory, no-one wanted to believe that...'
- (701) *Die jong Wes-Duitser het daarin geslaag om Moskou ongemerk te bereik omdat hy altyd laag **gevlieg** en die radar van die Russiese lugverdediging **ontduik het**.*
 'The young West German succeeded in reaching Moscow unnoticed because he had flown low and had dodged the Russian air defence radar.'

- (702) *Eerder as om hul geloof prys te gee, het ongeveer 250, 000 Hugenote Frankryk verlaat en hulle in lande soos Duitsland en Nederland gaan vestig.*

'Rather than give up their faith, about 250,000 Huguenots left France and went and settled in countries like Germany and Holland.'

(See final paragraph of 8.14 for a similar phenomenon as well as 12.1.12.5).

8.6. The historic present

The preterite is frequently avoided when relating past events if it is obvious from the context that the action occurred in the past, e.g.

- (703) *Sy gaan toe sit. Onder die tas sien sy duidelik die hef van 'n mes uitsteek.*

'She then sat down. From under the bag she clearly saw the handle of a knife sticking out.'

Particularly when a clause is introduced by the conjunction *toe* (= 'when', on one occasion in the past, see 9.4, note 4) or contains the adverb *toe* ('then' in the past, see 7.3), the present tense is most usually used in that clause, whereas the verb in the main clause can be either in the present or the past, e.g.

- (704) *Toe hy tuis kom, sien hy dat sy vrou die hele dag niks gedoen het nie.*

'When he got home he saw that his wife hadn't done anything all day' (present + present with *toe* clause first).

- (705) *Die wêreld is warm toe ons Maandag in Fraserburg stilhou.*

'It was hot when we stopped in Fraserburg' (present + present with *toe* clause second).

- (706) *Toe hy tuis kom, het hy gesien dat sy vrou die hele dag niks gedoen het nie.*

'When he got home he saw that his wife hadn't done anything all day' (present + past).

In colloquial narrative style it is common to insert an adverbial *toe* (i.e. 'then') in the main clause, while starting the subordinate clause with a conjunctive *toe* (i.e. 'when'), thereby doing away with any necessity for a past tense in the main clause, e.g. *Toe (when) hy tuis kom, toe (then) sien hy dat...*, *Toe (then) sien 'n TV-agent haar raak op die dag toe (when) sy haar diploma kry* 'Then a TV agent noticed her on the day she received her diploma'.

The following summarises all the possible sequences of tense used in combination with the conjunction *toe*:

- (707) *Toe hy daar aankom, groet die ou omie hom.*

'When he arrived there, the old guy greeted him.'

- (708) *Toe hy daar aankom, het die ou omie hom gegroet.*
 (709) *Toe hy daar aangekom het, het die ou omie hom gegroet.*
 (710) *Toe hy daar aangekom het, groet die ou omie hom.*

In another context the use of the past in the second clause in 718) could render the pluperfect (see 8.7), e.g.

- (711) *Toe hy daar aankom, het die ou omie reeds huis toe gegaan.*
 'When he got there, the old guy had already gone home.'

The only situation in which conjunctive *toe* must be followed by a past tense, is when its clause contains the adverb *laas* 'last', in which case the second clause must also be in the past, e.g.

- (712) *Toe ek hom laas gesien het, het hy op Stellenbosch gebly.*
 'When I last saw him, he was living in Stellenbosch.'

The use of the present tense can indicate that there is more to come, which is not necessarily the case with the past tense, e.g.

- (713) *Ek sien gister my buurman en...*
 'I saw my neighbour yesterday and...'

Compare

- (714) *Ek het gister my buurman gesien.*
 'I saw my neighbour yesterday.'

The expressions *weg wees* 'to leave' and *dood/oorlede wees* 'to die' are always used in the present tense with past tense meaning, e.g.

- (715) *Hoe laat is julle van Pietersburg weg?*
 'What time did you leave Pietersburg?'
 (716) *Sy pa is Maandag dood/oorlede.*
 'His dad died on Monday (see footnote 16).

but

- (717) *Hy is dood.*
 'He is dead.'

Also

- (718) *Hy is Kaap toe.*
 'He's gone to the Cape.'

Use of *was* with *dood/oorlede* renders either the pluperfect or the adjective 'dead', e.g.

- (719) *Sy pa was Maandag al dood/oorlede.*
 'His father had already died/was already dead by Monday.'

The present tense is so frequently used in combination with *toe* in both meanings of the word (i.e. 'when' and 'then') because historically Dutch *toen* 'when' replaced *als/wanneer*, and *toen* 'then' replaced *dan*, only when the verb was in the past and referred to one particular occasion or point of time in the past. Therefore, as these words are by definition only used with reference to past events, it is no longer considered necessary in Afrikaans to leave the verb in the past – the conjunction/adverb itself is indication enough. This is in keeping with the strong tendency anyway in Afrikaans to revert to the present tense, even with reference to events that occurred in the past, at every possible opportunity. Compare the same tendency in very colloquial English narrative, e.g. 'Yesterday I come home and I find the wife has cleared out. I ring the police but do they bloody help?'

In the following sentence the fact that reference is being made to the past is established in the first clause, leaving it optional whether the verb in the main clause that follows is put in the past or not, e.g.

- (720) *As hy 'n ding wou doen, dan doen hy dit/dan het hy dit gedoen.*
'If he wanted to do anything, then he did it.'

See the texts in appendix 1 for examples of the use of the tenses in running prose.

8.6.1. Use of the present tense in clauses dependent on main clauses in the past

Where a dependent clause follows a main clause in the past, and the action in the dependent clause is also past, use of the present or past for auxiliary verbs in that dependent clause is optional, e.g.

- (721) *Hy het sy ma gevra of hy kan/kon saamgaan.*
'He asked his mother if he could go along.'¹²
(722) *Die dominee het gevra of ek siek is/was.*
'The minister asked if I was sick.'

Note the alternation of tense in the following example where both *sal* and the second *is* are in the present because they are subordinate to the second *was*:

- (723) *Sy pa is dood toe hy nege was en hy was altyd bang die ander seuns sal dink hy is 'n sissie.*
'His father died when he was nine and he was always afraid the other boys would think he was a sissy.'

If, under the same circumstances, the verb in the dependent clause is not an auxiliary verb as in the previous examples, the finite verb must be used in the present, e.g.

¹² If *mag* were used instead of *kan/kon*, there would be only one possibility as the imperfect of *mag* has died out, e.g. *Hy het sy ma gevra of hy mag saamgaan* 'He asked his mother if he was allowed to go along' (see 8.13.2).

- (724) *Hy het gevra of ek siek voel.*
 'He asked if I was feeling sick.'
- (725) *Hy het gesê dat ek hard werk.*
 'He said that I was working very hard.'

Putting the verb in the dependent clause in the past in such cases renders a pluperfect, e.g.

- (726) *Hy het gevra of ek siek gevoel het.*
 'He asked if I had been feeling sick.'
- (727) *Hy het gesê dat ek hard gewerk het.*
 'He said that I had been working very hard.'

(See 8.7).

8.7. The pluperfect tense

There is no difference between the perfect and the pluperfect in form, and therefore one usually talks of Afrikaans having no pluperfect. However, because of the very common practice in Afrikaans of expressing past events in the present tense (see 8.6), there are occasions where the perfect (or the imperfect of those few verbs that have retained one) alternates with such a present and has the function, if not the form, of a pluperfect, e.g.

- (728) *Ek kon voel dat die kat by my voete ingekruip het en heftig bewe.*
 'I could feel that the cat had crept in around my feet and was trembling dreadfully.'
- (729) *Hy was nooit 'n dik man nie, maar nou dat sy hom in 'n pak sien, lyk dit vir haar asof hy gekrimp het.*
 'He had never been a fat man but now that she saw in a suit, it seemed to her that he had shrunk' (where *was* is the equivalent of the perfect of any other verb, i.e. it is the same tense as *het gekrimp*).
- (730) *Nadat hy die kind 'n pak slae gegee het en betreur het dat hy dit gedoen het, vra hy verskoning.*
 'After he had given the child a beating and regretted that he had done it, he asked for forgiveness.'

Compare the previous example where the use of the perfect in the first clause expresses a pluperfect, with the following example where the present tense is used to express an action which is simultaneous with that in the second clause:

- (731) *Hy gee die kind 'n pak slae en vra toe verskoning.*
 'He hit the child and then asked for forgiveness.'

The distinction between the preterite and the pluperfect is often not of great importance in Afrikaans, as the following example illustrates:

- (732) *Ek wens ek het 'n bromponie gehad.*
'I wish I had a moped/had had a moped.'

Adverbs of time (given in bold) are a common means of indicating the sequence of events in order to express a pluperfect tense, e.g.

- (733) *Die saak is toe ernstiger as wat die regering gemeen het.*
'The matter was more serious than the government had thought.'
(where *is* + *toe* = *was*).
- (734) *Waar hy vroeër baie ryk was, was hy nou brandarm.*
'Where he had previously been rich, he was now as poor as a church-mouse.'

The adverb *al* 'already' is particularly commonly used in this way, e.g.

- (735) *Toe ek hom sien, was hy al tien maande siek.*
'When I saw him he had been sick for ten months.'
- (736) *Voordat dit begin reën het, het sy al reeds haar reënjas aangetrek.*
'Before it began to rain, she had already put her raincoat on.'

Al + *klaar* is a very common adverbial means of expressing a pluperfect, e.g.

- (737) *Hy het dit toe al klaar gedoen.*
'He had already done it' (see footnote 49).

In conditional clauses introduced by *as* 'if', the use of *sou* + past participle + *het* (= would have + past participle) in the main clause makes it obvious that a past tense in the 'if' clause renders a pluperfect, e.g.

- (738) *As hy geleef het, sou hy nou tagtig gewees het.*
'If he had lived he would have been eighty now.'
- (739) *As hulle hom in die Kaap laat bly het, sou hierdie dinge nooit gebeur het nie.*
'If they had let him stay in the Cape, these things would never have happened.'
- (740) *Hy sou beslis die Teken die Kasteel-kompetisie gewen het as daar een was.*
'He would definitely have won the Draw the Castle competition if there had been one.'

In the previous example, because *was* is the normal way of rendering the past tense of 'to be', rather than **het gewees*, the imperfect *was* stands in here for the pluperfect.¹³ Compare also *As dit nie vir ... was nie* 'If it weren't/hadn't been for...'. *Was gewees*, possibly the most common way of

¹³ The same applies to *Ek kon gegaan het as ek wou* 'I could have gone if I'd wanted to', where *wou* is the normal past tense formation of 'to want'. In non-standard Afrikaans one might hear *gewou het* here with the same meaning as *wou*, but in standard Afrikaans the past participle of modal verbs has to all intents and purposes died out (see 8.13.3).

expressing the past tense of 'to be' in a main clause (i.e. when *was* stands in second position), and which is historically a pluperfect form, does not necessarily render a pluperfect in Afrikaans, e.g.

- (741) *Hy was baie siek gewees.*
'He was/had been very sick.'

If its use corresponds with the pluperfect in English in a given context, this is by coincidence, not design (see tenses of *wees* 8.11 and 8.14 for the pluperfect in the passive).

The above English pluperfects in 'if' clauses followed by 'would' clauses are in fact old imperfect subjunctives which fell together in English (and Dutch) with imperfect indicatives. In Afrikaans this subjunctivity of the pluperfect can either be ignored by simply using the past tense and by the 'had' being implied by the context as shown above, or, as is often done, a *sou* can be inserted in the 'if' clause too, e.g.

- (742) *As jy minder geëet het, sou jy nie nou siek voel nie = As jy minder sou geëet het, sou jy nie nou siek voel nie.*
'If you had (= were to have) eaten less you would not feel sick now.'

Use of *sou* in the 'if' clause particularly emphasises the subjunctivity of the action, and is thus identical in feeling to the English 'were to have'.¹⁴ Compare the following constructions where *as* is omitted and the finite verb in the 'if' clause assumes first position; all three variants have direct equivalents in English: *As hy nie daar bly staan het nie = Het hy nie daar bly staan nie = Sou hy nie daar bly staan het nie, sou ek hom vrek geskiet het = het ek hom vrek geskiet* (or any combination thereof) 'If he hadn't stayed put = Had he not stayed put = Should he not (= were he not to) have stayed put, I would have shot him'.

It was stated above that there is no difference in form between the perfect and the pluperfect. There is one exception to this. The following structure occurs occasionally in both speech and writing when one wants to emphasise that a particular action had occurred prior to another: *Hy het dit toe al gedoen gehad (= Hy het dit toe al klaar gedoen)* 'He had already done it then'; i.e. the perfect of *hê* (in effect the equivalent of the English imperfect 'had') is employed as the auxiliary of the verb which is being put in the pluperfect.¹⁵

¹⁴ *Sou* can be inserted for the same reasons in 'if' clauses in the imperfect (actually the imperfect subjunctive), not just the pluperfect (see *sou* under 8.13.7).

¹⁵ It is interesting to note here that in Yiddish, another language in which the perfect has replaced the imperfect entirely, the norm is to form the pluperfect in this way. It occurs in southern German dialects and Pennsylvania Dutch too for the same reason.

8.8. The conditional tense

Conditional 'would' is expressed by *sou*, e.g.

- (743) *As ek jy was, sou ek dit doen.*
 'If I were you, I would do it' (see 8.13.7 for the use of *sou* in 'if clauses').

When an 'if' clause precedes a clause in the conditional, it is usual to insert a *dan* before the *sou* in the conditional clause, e.g.

- (744) *As jy minder sou eet, (dan) sou jy nie so vet wees nie.*
 'If you ate less you would not be so fat.'

Was can serve as a contracted *sou wees* in such clauses, e.g.

- (745) *As jy minder sou eet, (dan) was jy nie nou nie so vet nie.*
 'If you ate less you wouldn't be so fat' (see *kon* under 8.13.7).

The **conditional perfect tense** is dealt with under 8.13.5.1 (see 8.13.5.9 for the sequence of tenses required with a conditional perfect).

8.9. The imperative

The imperative is identical to the stem of the verb regardless of whether one is addressing someone in the polite or familiar form or whether it is singular or plural, e.g.

- (746) *Hou jou bek.*
 'Hold your mouth.'
 (747) *Gaan sit.*
 'Sit down.'
 (748) *Lig jou voete op.*
 'Lift your feet up.'

The negative of the imperative is expressed by the auxiliary *moenie* (= don't), e.g.

- (749) *Moenie dit vir hom gee nie.*
 'Don't give it to him.'

For emphasis *moet* and *nie* can be separated, e.g.

- (750) *Moet dit nie vir hom gee nie.*
 'Don't give it to him' (see 13.11).

Just as in English, it is possible to insert a second person pronoun when uttering an emphatic imperative, but inversion of the pronoun and the verb takes place in Afrikaans in such cases, e.g.

- (751) *Neem jy die groot een.*
 'You take the big one.'
- (752) *Doen jy dit dan.*
 'You do it then' (where *jy* is stressed).

First person imperatives rendered by 'let's/let me + verb' take either the subject or the object pronoun, which is one and the same thing in the plural, but not in the singular, e.g.

- (753) *Laat ons gaan.*
 'Let's go.'
- (754) *Laat ek/my dink.*
 'Let me think.' (but the form with the subject pronoun is the more usual (see 5.1.1.4.1).

This form is also possible in the third person in both languages and once again in Afrikaans one can choose between the subject and the object pronoun in Afrikaans, e.g.

- (755) *Laat hy/hom dit doen.*
 'Let him do it' (but the former is the more usual).

When *laat* means 'allow', however, only the object pronoun is possible, e.g.

- (756) *Laat hom dit doen.*
 'Let/allow him do it.'

A colloquial first person plural imperative is formed from *kom ons* + verb, e.g.

- (757) *Kom ons gaan bietjie lees.*
 'Let's read for a while.'
- (758) *Kom ons ry maar weer.*
 'Let's hit the road again.'

See 8.13.7 for imperative functions of the auxiliaries *mag* and *sal*.
 See footnote 44.

8.10. The future and future perfect tenses

As in English, the future is expressed in three ways, i.e. by use of the auxiliary *sal* 'will', by *gaan* 'going to' or by the present tense. The distinction between the three and their relative frequency is more or less identical to English, for example:

- (759) *Ek sal dit doen as ek tyd het.*
 'I'll do it if I have the time.'
- (760) *Ek gaan dit môre doen.*
 'I'm going to do it tomorrow.'

- (761) *Ek doen dit môre.*
'I'm doing it tomorrow.'

If there is any difference at all in the frequency of these three forms of expressing the future between English and Afrikaans, that difference lies in 'will' being somewhat more commonly used than *sal*, in which case Afrikaans gives preference to the present tense, e.g.

- (762) *Ek is bang iemand vind daarvan uit.*
'I'm afraid someone will find out about it.'
- (763) *Solank as wat lone en salarisse verhoog word om tred te hou met inflasie, duur hierdie verarming voort.*
'As long as wages and salaries are raised to keep up with inflation, this impoverishment will continue.'

It is impossible to formulate a rule for where Afrikaans gives preference to the present tense over use of the auxiliary *sal* to render the future.

See 8.13.7 for further comments on the functions of *sal*.

Gaan is used exactly as in English to express the future.

The **future perfect** is expressed by *sal* + past participle + *het*, e.g.

- (764) *Hy sal dit teen dié tyd al gedoen het.*
'He will have done it by that then.'

8.11. *Wees* 'to be'

The infinitive of 'to be' is *wees*. Only *wees*, of all the verbs that used/use 'to be' as their auxiliary in the perfect in Dutch, still requires 'to be' as its auxiliary in Afrikaans in the past tense.¹⁶ The forms of *wees* are as follows:

imperative	<i>wees</i>
present	<i>is</i>
imperfect	<i>was</i>
perfect	<i>was gewees</i> ¹⁷
present participle	<i>synde</i>
present subjunctive	<i>sy</i>
imperfect subjunctive	<i>ware</i>

As with the few other non-modal verbs whose imperfect has survived

¹⁶ In older texts one occasionally comes across word 'to become' still utilising *wees* as its auxiliary in the perfect, e.g. *Hy is siek geword* = *Hy het siek geword* 'He got sick'. The expression *Hy is oorlede* 'He has died' is also historically a case of a verb being conjugated with 'to be' in the perfect but is no longer perceived to be such in Afrikaans where it is equated with *Hy is dood* and is thus perceived to consist of *wees* plus an adjective (see 8.6). Note 'n *Vrou is dié naweek aan Kongokoors in Pretoria oorlede/dood* 'A woman died of Congo Fever in Pretoria this weekend'.

¹⁷ The historically strong past participle *gewese* is used adjectivally, as in Dutch, meaning 'former, late, ex-', e.g. *die gewese leier van die Nasionale Party* 'the former leader of the National Party'.

(see 8.4), *was* and *was gewees* are interchangeable and synonymous, e.g.

- (765) *Ek was gister op Lydenburg*
Ek was gister op Lydenburg gewees
 'I was in Lydenburg yesterday.'

Although purists may maintain that the addition of *gewees* after *was* is tautological, *was gewees* is the form most frequently used, certainly in speech. Although *was gewees* corresponds in form with what was historically the pluperfect of 'to be', that connotation is no longer present in the form as it is used in Afrikaans (see 8.14 where there is some debate as to whether *was* does after all render a pluperfect in passive constructions).

With all the simplification and analogy that has occurred within the verbal system of Afrikaans, it is in a way amazing that only this verb has retained *wees* as its auxiliary in the perfect while all others have adopted *hê*.¹⁸ It is therefore not surprising that the form *het gewees* is sometimes heard. It is the result of an analogy with the overwhelming majority of other verbs that take *hê* and is not considered standard Afrikaans. The variants *is gewees* in main clauses and *gewees het* in subordinate and relative clauses (but never *gewees is* or *gewees was*) are sometimes found but are not usual,¹⁹ e.g.

- (766) *Ek is siek gewees.*
 'I was/have been sick.'
 (767) *Hulle het nie geweet dat ek siek gewees het nie.*
 'They didn't know that I was/had been sick.'

A simple *was* in subordinate and relative clauses, alternating with *was [gewees]* in main clauses, is the norm, e.g.

- (768) *Ek was siek (gewees).*
 'I was/have been/had been sick.'
 (769) *Hulle het nie geweet dat ek siek was nie.*
 'They didn't know that I was/have been/had been sick.'

Notice in the previous example that even a simple *was* can stand for the pluperfect of the English translation,²⁰ as indeed it can for an English perfect too, e.g.

- (770) *Julle kan nie sê dat julle Suid-Afrika ken as julle nog nie op 'n boereplaas was nie.*
 'You can't say you know South Africa if you haven't yet been on a farm.'

In compounds involving modal verbs the form *gewees het* must be used, never **gewees is/was*, as here too the auxiliary follows the past participle,

¹⁸ See footnote 16.

¹⁹ See Ponelis (1979:269-270) and Van Schoor (1983:144) for more on this issue.

²⁰ See Ponelis (1979:269-70).

but in such constructions it is not in any way avoided, unlike in the construction described in the previous paragraph, e.g. *kan/moet gewees het* 'can/must have been', *kon/moes gewees het* 'could/should have been'²¹ (see 8.13.5).

To summarise the tenses of *wees*:

- (771) *Hy is siek.*
'He is sick.'
- (772) *Ek weet dat hy siek is.*
'I know that he is sick.'
- (773) *Hy was siek.*
'He was sick.'
- (774) *Ek weet dat hy siek was.*
'I know he was sick.'
- (775) *Hy was siek gewees.*
'He was/has been/had been sick.'
- (776) *Ek weet dat hy siek was.*
'I know he was sick/has been/had been sick.'
- (777) *Hy kon siek gewees het.*
'He could have been sick.'
- (778) *Ek weet dat hy siek kon gewees het.*
'I know he could have been sick.'

Subordinating *dat* is optional in Afrikaans, as it is in English (see 9.4, note 21); if it were omitted from the above examples, the verbs would be as in the corresponding main clauses, e.g. *Hy was siek gewees* – *Ek weet hy was siek gewees* (= *dat hy siek was*).

See 8.8 for the use of *was* (= 'would be') in the conditional tense.

8.11.1. Use of the present participle *synde*

Synde, although meaning 'being', is normally expressed in other ways in English and is limited to higher style in Afrikaans, e.g.

- (779) *Toe kom die Orlams na SWA, synde die reste van die Khoenstamme.*
'Then the Orlams, who were the remainder of the Khoi tribes, arrived' (literally 'being the remainder of the Khoi tribes').
- (780) *Ek het dit opgevat as synde 'n geval van uitbuiting.*
'I interpreted it as (being) a case of exploitation.'

²¹ As the English translations of these constructions indicate, *het*, a finite form, renders the English infinitive 'have', something which is peculiar to its use as an auxiliary in compound tenses (see 'to have', 8.12). This phenomenon, along with the alternation of *kan* with *kon*, *moet* with *moes* and *wil* with *wou* after *sou* (see 8.13.4) indicate that the concept of what constitutes an infinitive differs greatly in Afrikaans from other European languages.

8.11.2. Use of the subjunctive forms *sy* and *ware*

The third person singular of the present subjunctive, *sy*, is still very slightly productive in learned Afrikaans, e.g.

- (781) *Dié slange bestaan nog, sy dit in veel geringer mate as pofadders.*
 'Those snakes still exist, although (literally 'be it, albeit') to a lesser extent than puff-adders.'
 (782) *Hoe dit (ook [al]) sy, ...*
 'Whatever the case may be, ...'

Also the standard expression *God sy met u* (also *wees*) 'God be with you'.²²

The imperfect subjunctive of *wees* has only survived in the idiomatic expression *as't ware* 'as it were'. The following examples illustrate that otherwise the imperfect subjunctive has been replaced by the imperfect, as in spoken English, e.g.

- (783) *Ek wens ek was ryk.*
 'I wish I was/were rich.'
 (784) *Was dit maar waar.*
 'If only it were true.'
 (785) *As ek jy was, was ek lankal in die Kaap.*
 'If I were you, I would have been in the Cape long ago.'

8.12. *Hê* 'to have'

The verbs *hê* 'to have' and *wees* 'to be' are the only verbs where the finite form differs from the infinitive and where forming the past participle is not simply a matter of prefixing *ge-* to the infinitive (historically the stem of the verb). The forms of *hê* are as follows:

present	<i>het</i>
imperfect	<i>had</i> (archaic)
perfect	<i>het gehad</i>
present participle	<i>hebbend(e)</i>

Although the infinitive 'to have' is always rendered by *hê* when used in combination with the present and imperfect of modal verbs (e.g. *Ek wil dit hê* 'I want to have it', *Jy sal dit een dag hê* 'You will have it one day'), in compound tenses where it is acting as an auxiliary, only the finite form *het* is used, where in other European languages an infinitive is required, e.g.

- (786) *Hy moet die bok geskiet het.*
 'He must have shot the buck.'

²² It probably correct to say that *sy* is as productive in Afrikaans as the subject form 'be' is in English, most uses of both being limited to contexts one might better call fixed expressions.

- (787) *Ek sal dit voor dié tyd gedoen het.*
 'I will have done before then.'
 (788) *Jy behoort dit al te betaal het.*
 'You should have already paid it.'

The imperfect form *had* is never heard in speech any more and is very rarely written; it is occasionally found in literature, very high style and journalistic writing, and also occurs dialectically in the Cape, e.g.

- (789) *Jy kon net toegang kry as jy een van die deftig gedrukte uitnodigings in die hand had.*
 'You could only gain admittance with one of the poshly printed invitations in your hand' (formal style).

The demise of *had* in Afrikaans brought with it the demise of the pluperfect in the active (see 8.7).

The present participle of *hê*, *hebbend(e)*, no longer has verbal functions and is only found in compound adjectives, e.g. *gesaghebbend* 'authoritative', literally 'having authority' (see 15.1.1 and 15.3.2).

8.13. Modal auxiliary verbs

The terms present, imperfect, perfect and conditional perfect that follow often refer more to the form of these verbs in a given context than to their function, as the form of an auxiliary (or any verb for that matter) required to express a particular tense in Afrikaans frequently differs from what one traditionally expects in a European language. There are five classic modal verbs: *kan* 'to be able, can', *mag* 'to be allowed to, may', *moet* 'to have to, must', *sal* 'will', *wil* 'to want to'. There are several other verbs that also have modal functions (see 8.13.6).

In all the following paradigms of the tenses of modal verbs *doen* is used as a representative of the verb for which the modals are acting as auxiliary.

8.13.1. The present tense of modal verbs

Ek kan/mag/moet/sal/wil dit doen 'I can/may/must/will/want to do it' (= 'I am able to/allowed to/have to do it' etc.).

8.13.2. The imperfect tense of modal verbs

Ek kon/mog/moes/sou/wou dit doen 'I could/was allowed to/had to/would, was going to/wanted to do it'.

The above *mog* is now considered archaic and is replaced in practice by *is/was toegelaat*, e.g.

- (790) *Ek is/was nie toegelaat om dit te doen nie.*
 'I wasn't allowed to do it.'

Theoretically only *is* is correct here but *was* (an Anglicism) is commonly heard in the imperfect passive (see 8.14). Another option is to render the past of *mag* as follows: *Ek mag (mog)²³ dit nie gedoen het nie* (see 8.13.5.2 for the same alternation of tense forms with other modal verbs). But *mag gedoen het* also expresses possibility, i.e. may have done, e.g.

- (791) *Hy mag sy motor dalk al verkoop het.*
 'He may already have sold his car.'

In such cases the periphrastic form with *toegelaat* is preferred to indicate permission if ambiguity is likely; it is also the preferred form in the written language. Possible ambiguity with *may have done* constructions can be avoided by using *kon gedoen het*, e.g.

- (792) *Hy kon sy motor dalk al verkoop het.*
 'He could have (= may have) already sold his car.'

De Villiers (1968:86) also mentions a preference for the present tense where context implies that the imperfect of *mag* is intended, e.g.

- (793) *Sy het vir hom die hond gegee maar hy mag nie sy naam verander nie*
 = *mag sy naam nie verander het nie*
 = *is/was nie toegelaat om sy naam te verander nie*
 'She gave him the dog but he wasn't allowed to change its name.'

8.13.3. The perfect tense of modal verbs

<i>Ek het dit altyd kan/kon doen</i>	'I have always been able to do it.'
" <i>mag doen</i>	'I have always been allowed to do it.'
" <i>moet/moes doen</i>	'I have always had to do it.'
" <i>wil/wou doen</i>	'I have always wanted to do it.'

In practice the imperfect is preferred²⁴ to these perfect forms which are rarely used, but if they are used, *kon*, *moes* and *wou* are more commonly heard than the infinitive forms *kan*, *moet* and *wil*²⁵ (compare the constructions with *sou* under 8.13.5). This use of imperfect forms in a compound past tense construction where historically and logically one expects an

²³ The variant with *mog* is rare. See 8.13.7 for other uses of *mog*.

²⁴ It is surprising, because of the historical preference in Afrikaans for the perfect over the imperfect, that the perfect of modal verbs should have ceded to the imperfect. This preference may on the other hand explain the popularity of the forms *mag/moes/wou gedoen het* as the past tense of these modals (see 8.13.5.2).

²⁵ Other than with modal verbs, there is not any attempt in Afrikaans to avoid double infinitive constructions (see 8.5.2) in the perfect tense, e.g. *Ek het toe gaan slaap* 'I then went to bed.'

infinitive, is what Ponelis (1979:270) calls “preteritive assimilation.”²⁶

The past participle of modal verbs – not very commonly used in Dutch either as such verbs when used in perfect tenses normally require a double infinitive construction (see 8.5.2 and 8.16.1.3) – has not survived at all in Afrikaans with the following exception:

i) usually with reference to God, chance, providence etc. the past participle of *wil* has been preserved, e.g.

(794) *Die toeval het dit so gewil.*
‘Chance willed it so.’

(795) *Die Here het gewil dat...*
‘God wanted...’

The divine does not necessarily have to be involved, however, e.g.

(796) *Ons het nie soontoe getrek omdat ek dit gewil het nie.*
‘We didn’t move there because I wanted to.’²⁷

In non-standard Afrikaans a form *gewou* also occurs (see footnote 13).

8.13.4. The conditional tense of modal verbs

<i>Ek sou dit kan / kon doen</i>	‘I would be able to do it.’
<i>Ek sou dit mag doen</i>	‘I would be allowed to do it.’
<i>Ek sou dit moet / moes doen</i>	‘I would have to do it.’
<i>Ek sou dit wil / wou doen</i>	‘I would like to do it.’

In the conditional, the above structures with *kan / moet / wil*, but not *mag* (see 8.13.2), have died out in the spoken language to all intents and purposes, unlike in the perfect tense (see 8.13.3) where they may still be found in as far as the perfect tense of modals is still used at all; they have ceded to *kon / moes / wou*,²⁸ e.g.

(797) *Dit is iets wat ek baie graag sou wou uitvind.*
‘That’s something I would like to find out.’

In conditional perfects the infinitives *kan / moet / wil* are never used, e.g.

²⁶ See footnote 28 for the use of *kon / moes / wou* in *om te* clauses in combination with main clauses in the past tense.

²⁷ The original Dutch form, *gewild*, has also been preserved, but only as an adjective meaning ‘popular, in demand’.

²⁸ De Villiers (1971:30-31) comments that the attraction between *kon / moes / wou* and other past tense forms in the sentence, what Ponelis (1979:270) calls “preteritive assimilation”, is so strong that in what is traditionally called infinitive clauses introduced by *om te*, the imperfect of the modal is sometimes used instead of the infinitive, e.g. *Dit was so lekker om jou weer by ons te kon hê vir 'n kuiertjie* ‘It was so nice to be able to have you visit us again’ (because of the presence of *was* in the main clause). He says this occurs quite commonly in the speech of many individuals (in particular with *kon*) but is definitely less common than *kan / moet / wil* and “should not be encouraged”.

- (798) *Ek sou dit nie kon / moes / wou gedoen het nie.*
 'I would not have been able to/had to/wanted to do it.'

8.13.4.1. The sequence of tenses with the conditional

The sequence of tenses required with the conditional is identical to English, e.g.

- (799) *Sou jy nie tevrede wees as jy in so 'n huis kon bly nie?*
 'Wouldn't you be satisfied if you could live in a house like that?'

(Compare the conditional perfect under 8.13.5.9).

8.13.5. The conditional perfect of modals

<i>Ek sou dit gedoen het</i>	'I would have done it.' ²⁹
<i>Ek moes dit gedoen het</i>	'I should have done it.'
<i>Ek wou dit gedoen het</i>	'I would have liked/wanted to do it.'
<i>Ek kon dit gedoen het</i>	'I could have done it.'
<i>Ek moes dit kon gedoen het</i>	'I should have been able to do it.'

Synonymous with the previous example, but less usual, is *Ek sou dit moes kon gedoen het*. 'I could have had to do it' is not however **Ek kon dit moes gedoen het*, but is circumscribed, i.e. *Dit is moontlik dat ek dit moes gedoen het*.

Because the imperfect of *mag*, *mog*, has died out **mog gedoen het* is not part of the above paradigm (see 8.13.2).

8.13.5.1. The conditional perfect of non-modal verbs

Sou + past participle + *het* ('would have' + past participle) is required to form the conditional perfect of any verb, e.g.

- (800) *Hy sou die leeu geskiet het as hy hom raakgesien het / As hy hom raakgesien het, sou hy...*
 'He would have shot the lion if he had caught sight of it/If he had caught sight of it, he would...'

Colloquially *het* may stand in for *sou het* where context makes the meaning clear, e.g.

- (801) *As ek jy was, het ek dit gedoen.*
 'If I had been you I would have done it.'

²⁹ In Britain this 'I/we would' is commonly expressed 'I/we should'. I use 'would' and 'should' here in the Irish and colonial sense, i.e. would = conditional, should = obligation; the British use of 'should' is unknown in most of the English-speaking world.

Sou gedoen het also renders 'was going to' (see *sou* under 8.13.7).

8.13.5.2. Use of perfective modal constructions in lieu of the imperfect

Moes gedoen het: although *moes gedoen het* theoretically and usually means 'should have done' (an irrealis, i.e. the action never occurred), it, as well as *wou gedoen het* and *kon gedoen het*, can alternate with the imperfect (i.e. not an irrealis but something that actually happened) of the modals concerned without any distinction in meaning,³⁰ e.g.

- (802) *Ek het alles gedoen wat ek moes gedoen het (= moes doen).*
'I did everything I had to do.'

The following examples illustrate how even in English the two tenses can be very close in meaning:

- (803) *Ek moes gister drie-uur daar gewees het maar ek was 5 minute laat.*
'I should have been there at 3 o'clock yesterday but I was 5 minutes late.'
- (804) *Ek moes gister drie-uur daar wees maar ek was 5 minute laat.*
'I had to be there at 3 o'clock yesterday but I was 5 minutes late'
(not essentially different from 'should have been').

The use of what is formally the conditional perfect where one logically expects an imperfect, is more common in the case of *wou* than *moes*, and more common in the case of *moes* than *kon* (see 8.13.5.3 for *wou* and 8.13.5.4 for *kon*).

This use of the perfective constructions *kon/moes/wou gedoen het* where historically and logically one expects an imperfect – which is possible in this case because *wou* has survived – has a parallel in the use of *mag/mog gedoen het* (but more commonly *mag*) to render the past tense of *mag, mog* having become rather rare in speech (see 8.13.2). Use of these construction where an imperfect is used in English is more frequent in the spoken than the written language (see Ponelis 1979:272).

8.13.5.3. The semantic distinction between *wou gedoen het* and *wou*

Wou gedoen het must be used instead of the imperfect – i.e. as a translation of 'wanted to' – when the intention was there but was not fulfilled; if it was fulfilled, either the same construction or the imperfect is used, e.g.

³⁰ Ponelis (1979:270) calls this "preteritive replacement" but I feel "perfective assimilation" may be a more appropriate term (see Ponelis' use of the term preterite assimilation under 8.13.3 and 8.13.5.7) as this practice has the effect of the few imperfects that have survived being avoided in preference for perfective constructions (even though they may be conditional perfects in form) and thus there is in a sense an analogy with the past tense of all other verbs. Even the use of the so-called tautological *gewees* with *was* to form the past tense of *wees* (see 8.11) might be seen as a further extension of the same development.

- (805) *Ek wou altyd op reis gegaan het (maar ek het nooit so ver gekom nie).*
 'I always wanted to travel' (but never pulled it off).
- (806) *Ek wou altyd op reis gaan (= Ek wou altyd op reis gegaan het) en ek het dit uiteindelik reggekry.*
 'I always wanted to travel and eventually managed to.'

There is a semantic parallel here with *moes/moes gedoen het*; compare *Ek het alles gedoen wat ek moes gedoen het* (given under 8.13.5.2) with *Ek het alles gedoen wat ek wou gedoen het = wou doen*). Also compare the following examples with the couplet given under 8.13.5.2: *Ek wou nou net gaan slaap toe julle hier aankom* 'I just wanted to go to bed when you arrived' (= was on the point of going) or *Ek wou net gaan slaap het toe julle hier aankom/aangekom het*.³¹

'Would have liked to do/to have done it' (the latter only in spoken English) is also rendered by this structure, e.g.

- (807) *Ek wou baie graag gegaan het.*
 'I would very much have liked to go/to have gone.'

8.13.5.4. *Kon gedoen het versus kon*

Kon gedoen het 'could have done' (an irrealis, i.e. the action never occurred) can replace *kon doen* (i.e. not an irrealis but something that actually happened), but this substitution is not nearly as common as with *moes* and particularly with *wou*, e.g.

- (808) *Kon jy nie die hek oopgekry het nie.*
 'Couldn't you get the gate open?'

8.13.5.5. *Kan/moet/wil gedoen het in lieu of kon/moes/wou gedoen het*

Where an irrealis is implied with the above *kon/moes/wou gedoen het* constructions, one will occasionally hear them being substituted in speech with *kan/moet/wil gedoen het*, e.g.

- (809) *Ek kan dit gedoen het as jy my die tyd gegee het.*
 'I could have done it if you had given me time.'
- (810) *Ek moet na die uitstalling gegaan het maar ek het nie die tyd gehad nie.*
 'I should have gone to the exhibition but I didn't have time.'
- (811) *Ek wil na dié flik gegaan het maar dit speel nie meer nie.*
 'I wanted to go and see that film but it's no longer showing.'

³¹ This is in fact synonymous with *Ek sou net gaan slaap het toe julle hier aankom/aangekom het* (see non-conditional uses of *sou* under 8.13.7).

An identical substitution of *sal* for *sou* also occurs, e.g.

- (812) *Ek sal haar gaan besoek het maar ek het nie die tyd gehad nie.*
 'I was going to visit her but I didn't have time.'

8.13.5.6. *Sou kon/moes/wou gedoen het in lieu of kon/moes/wou gedoen het*

An alternative synonymous structure to *Ek kon/moes/wou dit gedoen het* 'I could/should/would (have wanted to do it) have done it', where they are not synonymous with the imperfect but are conditional perfects, is *Ek sou dit kon/moes/wou gedoen het*.

8.13.5.7. *Moet gedoen het in lieu of moes gedoen het*

Even the form *moet gedoen het* 'must have done' can be affected by preteritive assimilation and be expressed by *moes gedoen het*, in which case it falls together in form with 'should have done'; the distinction between 'must have done' and 'should have done' is then lost. But this is in keeping with the lack of sharp distinction between the tenses that is so typical of Afrikaans, for example:

- (813) *Daar moet/moes iets in mev. Malherbe se lewe gebeur het om haar so sinies te maak.*
 'Something must have happened in Mrs. Malherbe's life to make her so cynical.'

A parallel structure to *moet gedoen het* for *kan*, i.e. *kan gedoen het*, although theoretically possible and considered grammatically correct, is not at all common,³² and is usually expressed by *kon gedoen het*, e.g.

- (814) *Hy kan/kon nog nie die heining herstel het nie.*
 'He can't have repaired the fence yet.'

8.13.5.8. Summary of the semantics of the conditional perfect forms of *kan*, *moet* and *wil*

To summarise, the conditional perfect constructions of *kan*, *moet* and *wil* can mean the following:

kan

Sy kon dit gedoen het can mean

- 'She could have done it' (if she'd had the time or it's possible she did it).
- 'She could do it' (and she did or didn't; = *kon*, perfective assimilation).
- 'She can have done it' (= *kan*, preteritive assimilation).

³² De Villiers (1968:94) does give an example but concedes that it is not really part of the living language.

moet

Sy moes dit gedoen het can mean

- a) 'She should have done it.'
- b) 'She had to do it' (and she did or didn't; = *moes*, perfective assimilation).
- c) 'She must have done it' (= *moet*, preteritive assimilation).

wil

Sy wou dit gedoen het can mean

- a) 'She wanted to do it/would have liked to do it' (and didn't).
- b) 'She wanted to do it' (and did; = *wou*, perfective assimilation).

Meanings b) and c) of *moet* occur mainly in the spoken language, as does meaning b) of *kan* and *wil*, although *wou gedoen het* in lieu of the imperfect (i.e. meaning b) is considerably more common than is the case with *moes gedoen het* or *kon gedoen het*, of which in turn the latter is also less common than the former.

8.13.5.9. The sequence of tenses with the conditional perfect

The sequence of tenses required with the conditional perfect is identical to English, e.g.

- (815) *Sou jy nie tevrede gewees het as jy in so 'n huis kon gebly het nie.*
'Wouldn't you have been satisfied if you could have lived in a house like that?'

Compare the conditional under 8.13.4.1.

8.13.6. The modals *behoort*, *durf* and *hoef*

The verbs *behoort* 'should/ought to', *durf* 'to dare', and *hoef* '(not) to need', which also function as modals although they are always followed by *te*, are used as follows in the present and past tenses:

present

- (816) *Jy behoort haar te help.*
'You should/ought to help her.'
- (817) *Jy hoef haar nie te help nie.*
'You don't need (to) help her.'
- (818) *Jy durf haar nie (te) help nie.*
'You don't dare (to) help her.'³³

³³ It is an idiosyncrasy of *durf*, just as with 'dare' and modal 'need' in English, that *te* is optional in the present but in the past tense formed with a double infinitive construction it must be omitted, e.g. *Ek het dit nie durf doen nie* 'I didn't dare (to) do it'.

past(819) *Jy behoort haar te gehelp het.*³⁴

'You should have helped her.'

(820) *Jy hoef haar nie te gehelp het nie.*³⁴

'You didn't have/need to help her.'

or

(821) *Dit was nie nodig om haar te help nie* (a common periphrastic rendition)

or

(822) *Jy het nie nodig gehad om haar te help nie.*

'You didn't need to help her.'

(823) *Jy durf haar nie te gehelp het nie.*³⁴

'You didn't dare (to) help her.'

or

(824) *Jy het haar nie durf help nie* (a double infinitive construction),

which is the more usual construction³⁵ (see 8.13.3 for examples of this construction with other modal verbs). The former construction is formed by analogy with *behoort*, *hoef* and other modals.

Jy behoort haar te gehelp het differs in connotation from *Jy moes haar gehelp het*, 'You should have helped her', in emphasising that one had a definite obligation to help. The latter is more usual. 'Should', as opposed to 'should have', is always expressed by *behoort*, not *moes*, e.g.

(825) *Jy behoort haar te help.*

'You should help her.'

When one negates *must/have to* in English, there are two possibilities depending on the connotation, i.e. *You must/have to help her* becomes *You don't have/need to help her* or *You mustn't help her*, the former implying that there is no obligation whereas the latter is a form of imperative. These two connotations are rendered by *hoef* and *moet* respectively in Afrikaans, e.g. *Jy hoef haar nie te help nie*, *Jy moet haar nie help nie*.

To need as a transitive verb is always rendered by *nodig hê*³⁶ but it is not uncommon to hear this verb also being used as an auxiliary verb instead of *hoef*, e.g.

³⁴ There is a parallel here in the way these verbs are expressed in the past with an alternative way of expressing *kon*, *moet* and *wil* in the past when the simple imperfect is avoided (see 8.13.5.2). It also follows the usual past tense formation of *mag* (see 8.13.2).

³⁵ *Durf* is a rather formal sounding word. *Waag*, not a modal verb, is more common, e.g. *Jy het (dit) nie gewaag om haar te help nie*. *Durf waag* also occurs, e.g. *As jy dit tog durf waag* 'Just you dare!'

³⁶ Transitive *nodig hê* is in turn often replaced in officialese by *benodig* (but only for concrete requirements), a word which numerous prescriptive works maintain does not exist in Afrikaans as a verb, e.g. *Shell benodig 'n bestuurder* 'Shell is looking for a manager'.

- (826) *Hy het 'n vrou nodig.*
 'He needs a wife' (transitive).
- (827) *Hulle het nie nodig om Zoeloe te leer nie.*
 = *Hulle hoef nie Zoeloe te leer nie.*
 'They don't need to learn Zulu.'

8.13.7. Other functions of modal verbs

In addition to the primary functions and meanings of the modal verbs *kan*, *mag*, *moet*, *sal* and *wil* described in sections 8.13.1–8.13.5.9, each has additional semantic idiosyncrasies which are described below.

kan

In keeping with what was said in 8.13 about the form and function of verbs (and in particular of modal verbs) not always being consistent in Afrikaans, one finds *kan* being used after *wens* 'to wish' in the main clause where logically one would expect *kon*, e.g.

- (828) *Ek wens ek kan/kon.*
 'I wish I could.'
- (829) *Baie mense wens waarskynlik dat hulle hul werk so kan/kon geniet.*
 'Lots of people wish that they could enjoy their work so much.'

Here *kan* does not refer to an actual event in the past but is an irrealis and is therefore interchangeable with *kon*.

kon

Where English *could* means 'would be able' in a conditional clause, it is rendered by *sou kon*, e.g. *Ek sou jou kon help as...* 'I could help you if...'. But *could* in an *if* clause is normally rendered by *kon* alone with *sou* only being inserted if one is emphasising the subjunctivity, e.g.

- (830) *As ek jou (sou) kon help, (dan) sou ek.*
 'If I could help you, I would.'

This optional use of *sou* is discussed under 8.7.

mag

The pedantic distinction sometimes made in English between *can* and *may* is paralleled in Afr; theoretically when permission to do something is being requested, *mag* is used, but one just as commonly hears *kan*, e.g.

- (831) *Mag/kan ek met mnr. Smuts praat?*
 'May/can I speak to Mr. Smuts?'

The biblical *thou shalt* is rendered by *jy mag*, e.g.

- (832) *Jy mag nie steel nie.*
 'Thou shalt not steal.'

Mustn't in the following example is rendered by *mag*, although *moet* is also possible. *Mag* adds the connotation 'you can't afford not to', e.g.

- (833) *Uys se jongste toneelstuk is puik teater wat 'n mens nie mag misloop nie.*
 'Uys' latest play is first class theatre which one mustn't miss.'

Otherwise the connotations of *mag* are identical to those of 'may', i.e.

1) permission, e.g.

- (834) *Jy mag nog nie huis toe gaan nie.*
 'You may not go home yet.'

2) possibility (= *kan moontlik* 'can possibly'), e.g.

- (835) *Ek mag verkeerd wees, maar...*
 'I may be wrong but...'
 (836) *Die moordenaar mag nog in die omgewing wees.*
 'The murderer may still be in the vicinity.'
 (837) *Hoe onmoontlik dit ook al mag klink.*
 'However impossible this may sound.'

mog

There are two vestiges of the subjunctive use of *mog*, identical in form but different in meaning from the obsolete *mog* which was historically the imperfect of *mag* (see 8.13.2). The one is synonymous with English 'should' (= were to) which can replace an *if* clause in higher style, e.g.

- (838) *Mog jy dit doen, (dan) sou jy ryk word.*
 'Should you do that (= were you to do that), you'd be rich.'

This is a rather literary sounding form, this *mog* more usually being replaced by *sou* (see *sou* below). Even more formal sounding is its use in the following context where in the everyday language it would be replaced by *mag*, e.g.

- (839) *Wat dit dan ook al mog wees.*
 'Whatever it might be.'

moet

When someone 'wants' someone else to do something, a periphrastic structure with *moet* is used in Afrikaans, e.g.

- (840) *Ek wil hê jy moet my help.*
 'I want you to help me.'³⁷

When *dat* is omitted (see 9.4 note 21), *moet* must be used, but when it is included, use of *moet* is optional although it is more common to insert it, e.g.

- (841) *Ek wil hê dat jy my (moet) help.*
 'I want you to help me.'

³⁷ Compare the Yiddish American construction 'I want you should help me'. The use of *wil hê* in this construction is discussed under *wil* below.

When *wil* in this context is in the past, either the present or the past of *moet* can follow, e.g.

- (842) *Ek wou hê (= wou gehad het) dat jy my moet / moes help.*
 'I wanted you to help me.'
- (843) *Wat wou jy hê moes ek doen? (= dat ek moes doen).*
 'What did you want/expect me to do?'
- (844) *As jy liewer nie wil hê ek moet kom nie.*
 'If you'd rather I didn't come' (= don't want me to come).
- (845) *Ek kan nie wag dat die bouery klaar moet kom nie.*
 'I can't wait for the building work to be finished.'

In the previous example *moet* is used because the building is to be done by someone else and therefore there is still the connotation of wanting someone to do something for you; omitting *moet* would imply one is doing the building oneself.

Moet + nie, normally contracted to *moenie*, is the usual way of expressing the negative of the imperative and thus renders 'don't', e.g.

- (846) *Moenie rook nie.*
 'Don't smoke' (see 8.9).

Moenie dat renders the imperative 'don't let', e.g.

- (847) *Moenie dat hulle jou inhaal nie.*
 'Don't let them overtake you.'

But use of *moenie* is not limited to the imperative; any *moet* can be, and usually is, negated in this way e.g.

- (848) *Ag nee man, ek het (vir) jou gesê jy moenie dit doen nie.*
 'Oh no man, I told you you shouldn't do it' (see 13.11).

One of the additional functions of *moet* that has no direct parallel in English is to express empathy, e.g.

- (849) *Ek kan nie begryp waarom só 'n kleinigheid hulle so buitensporig moes ontstel nie.*
 'I can't understand why something so insignificant outraged them so much.'

Moet also serves to pre-empt future action, e.g.

- (850) *Om daar op die stasie vier ure in die moordende son te staan en wag dat dr. Malan se trein moet verbykom, was 'n teken van die volk se geesdrif.*
 'Standing at the station for four hours in the grueling sun till Dr. Malan's train passed by, was a sign of the people's enthusiasm.'

The idiom 'How should I know', and transformations thereof, is expressed by the present tense of *moet*, i.e. *Hoe moet ek weet?*

Under English influence the following nouns have been derived from the verb *moet*: 'n *moet* 'a must', *die moets en moenies* 'the do's and don'ts'.

In imitation of the colloquial English 'better' (< I/you'd better etc.) it is extremely common in spoken Afrikaans to use *beter* as a verb in exactly the same way, e.g.

- (851) *Jy beter dit doen.*
'You('d) better do it.'
(852) *Jy beter uitkyk.*
'You('d) better look out.'

In this sense it usually replaces *moet*.

sal

The connotations of the present tense of *sal* are identical to those of 'will', i.e.

- 1) futurity, e.g. *Ek sal jou help* 'I'll help you' (see 8.10).
- 2) willingness, e.g. *Sal jy asseblief die venster toemaak?* 'Will you please shut the window?'

The now somewhat archaic 'shall' with imperative overtones is also rendered by *sal*, e.g.

- (853) *Jy sal dit beslis doen.*
'You shall definitely do it.'

But the 'shalt not' of the ten commandments, also an imperative, is *mag nie* (see *mag* above).

The 'shall' that is used in combination with first person pronouns in interrogatives, is also expressed by *sal*, e.g.

- (854) *Sal ons nou gaan?*
'Shall we go now?'
(855) *Sal ek dit nou doen?*
'Shall I do it now?'

sou

In addition to expressing 'would' in the conditional, *sou* renders 'was going to, intended to', e.g.

- (856) *Ek sou môre 'n voordrag hou maar...*
'I was reading (= was going to read) a paper tomorrow but...'
(857) *Ek sou my tannie gisteraand besoek het, maar toe kom 'n vriend vir my kuier.*
'I was going to visit/intended visiting my auntie last night but then a friend popped in.'

(see 8.13.5.5 for substitution of this *sou* with *sal*). The construction in the second example is identical in Afrikaans to 'would have visited', this and 'was going to visit' being semantically very close in English too.

There is also a quotative *sou* which is a means of expressing 'it is said/claimed that', e.g.

- (858) *Hy sê hy het ervaring. Hy sou vroeër in Suid-Wes geboer het.*
 'He says he's got experience. He's said to have previously been a farmer in South West.'
- (859) *Swart inwoners van Johannesburg word gruwelik deur huis- en woonstelblokeienaars uitgebuit omdat hulle dan onwettig daar sou wees.*
 'Black inhabitants of Johannesburg are dreadfully exploited by house and flat owners because they are living there *illegally*, so it's said/supposedly.'
- (860) *In sy verslag noem hy dokumente wat sou verdwyn het.*
 'In his report he mentions documents which are supposed to have disappeared.'

Whereas 'should' expressing obligation is expressed by *behoort* (8.13.6), 'should' meaning 'were to' is rendered by *sou*, e.g.

- (861) *Daar is nog die vrees vir vergeldingsaksies, sou Swapo die verkiesing wen.*
 'There is still a fear of reprisals should Swapo win the election.'
- (862) *Sou jy dit doen, (dan) sou jy ryk word.*
 'Should you (= were you to) do it, you would be rich.'³⁸

(see the pluperfect under 8.7 where further examples are given).

The imperfect in an 'if' clause in English is an imperfect subjunctive in origin. Because the imperfect has not survived in Afrikaans but the feeling for this subjunctivity is still alive, such imperfects are rendered by *sou* + verb, e.g.

- (863) *As jy minder sou eet, (dan) sou jy nie so vet wees nie.*
 'If you ate less you would not be so fat.'
- (864) *As hy sou weier, (dan) sou dit lastig wees.*
 'If he refused, it would be awkward.'

Compare

- (865) *As hy weier, sal dit lastig wees.*
 'If he refuses, it will be awkward.'

'Had' as an auxiliary verb in 'if' clauses is usually rendered simply by *het* but here too *sou* can be inserted for the above effect, e.g.

- (866) *As die Afrikaner sou volgehou het met Nederlands, is dit onwaarskynlik dat Nederlands as voertaal teen Engels sou staande gebly het.*
 'If the Afrikaner had (= were to have) persevered with Dutch, it is unlikely that Dutch would have been able to stand up to English.'

³⁸ Compare the following where the same construction is applied to the present tense, a construction which has no parallel in English: *As jy dit doen, sal ek baie dankbaar wees* = *Doen jy dit, dan sal ek baie dankbaar wees* 'If you do it I will be very grateful'. See also *mog* above for a synonymous construction.

wil

Although 'will (not/won't)' is normally expressed by *sal (nie)* (see above), a 'won't' which does not express futurity, but rather refusal, is rendered by *wou nie*, e.g.

- (867) *Dié kindjie huil al langer as 'n uur. Hy wil net nie ophou nie.*
 'That child has been crying for more than hour. He just won't stop.'

Sou wou (and less frequently *sou wil*) expresses 'would like',³⁹ e.g.

- (868) *Sy sou (baie) graag in die Kaap wou bly.*
 'She would (very much) like to live in the Cape.'

Note that more often than not *graag* is used in combination with *sou wou* to emphasise the desire implied. One will also hear 'would like' being expressed by *sal wil*, the implication being that the desire is more definite and less hypothetical than is the case with *sou wou*, e.g.

- (869) *Daar is so baie dinge wat ek (graag) sal wil doen nou dat ek afgetree het.*
 'There are so many things I would like to do now that I'm retired' (implication: and I am going to).

When someone 'wants' someone else to do something this 'want' is expressed by *wil hê*, e.g.

- (870) *Ek wil hê dat jy my moet help.*
 'I want you to help me.'
 (871) *Ek wou gehad het dat jy my moet / moes help.*
 'I wanted you to help me.'

As usual, *dat* is optional in such constructions, e.g.

- (872) *Ek wil hê jy moet my help.*

(see *moet* above for details on the use of *moet* in this construction).

There is a specific compound construction with *wil* which is limited to 'if' clauses and is thus in fact a pluperfect subjunctive, e.g.

- (873) *As ek 'n kind (sou) wou gehad het, sou my loopbaan beslis tweede gekom het.*
 'If I had wanted a child, my career would certainly have come second.'

'It would appear that/it appears to me that' is expressed idiomatically by *wil*, e.g.

- (874) *Dit wil (my) voorkom asof...*
 'It appears (to me) that/as if...'

³⁹ British English commonly expresses this with 'should like' where in colonial English only 'would like' is possible.

- (875) *Dit wil so voorkom.*
'It seems so.'

Related to the function of *wil* in the previous paragraph, i.e. a *wil* which expresses a doubt, i.e. leaves open to question whether something is in fact the case, is its use with *hê* in the following example, e.g.

- (876) *Wilde gerugte wil nou hê dat hy deur 'n lid van die sokkerspan geskiet is.*
'According to wild rumours he was shot by a member of the soccer team.'

Note that *wil hê* in this sense is not followed by *moet* in the next clause, unlike the construction described under *moet* above.

Wil also occurs in the following standard expressions without there being any implication of volition:

- (877) *Dit wil sê.*
'That is to say, that means, to wit.'
- (878) *Dit wil gedoen wees / word.*
'It takes some doing.'

See 15.7.2 for the connotations of *wil* when reduplicated.

8.13.8. Independent use of auxiliary verbs where the main verb is understood

As in English, the modal auxiliary verbs *kan/mag/moet/sal/wil*, as well as the auxiliaries *beter* (see final paragraph of *moet* under 8.13.7), *gaan* (in the future tense), *word* (in the passive) and *hê/wees* (the past tense) can all stand alone when affirming, negating or questioning something just said where the verb they are acting as auxiliary for has been mentioned and is thus not required to be repeated, for example:

- (879) *Kan jy nie 'n bietjie skuif nie? Nee, ek kan nie.*
'Can't you move up a bit? No, I can't.'
- (880) *Jy moes my kom help het. Moes ek?*
'You should have helped me. Should I (have)?'
- (881) *Sal ek dit doen? Jy moenie/Moenie.*
'Shall I do it? You mustn't/Don't.'
- (882) *Jy moet jouself help. Ek het al.*
'You must help yourself. I have already.'
- (883) *Sou hy dit al gedoen het? Ja, Hy sou/Nee, hy sou nie.*
'Will/would he already have done it? Yes, he will/would (have)/No, he won't (have).'
- (884) *Hy beter sy sokkies optrek. Ja, hy beter.*
'He('d) better pull up his socks. Yes, he('d) better.'
- (885) *Ons gaan volgende week 'n bietjie Kaap toe. Gaan julle?*
'We're going to the Cape for a while next week. Are you?'

- (886) *Dit word deur hom gedoen. Word dit?*
'It's being done by him. Is it?'⁴⁰
- (887) *Ek het nie meer kinders nie maar mense wat wel het, kan sekerlik huishoudelike hulp gebruik.*
'I no longer have any children but people who do, can certainly do with household help.'
- (888) *Het jy haar nie liefgehad nie? Natuurlik het ek.*
'Didn't you love her. Of course I did.'

Where *het/is/was* have been used as auxiliaries in the past tense:

- (889) *Het hy dit al gedoen? Ja, hy het.*
'Has he already done it? Yes, he has.'
- (890) *Was jy daar al gewees? Ja, ek was.*
'Have you ever been there before? Yes, I have.'

English has progressive forms of its tenses formed from the verb 'to be', something which is unknown in Afrikaans. When these forms of the verb 'to be' are used in structures similar to those given above, they are rendered by the invariable form *is dit*, if the retort comes from another speaker, or *nè/is dit nie?* (see 13.14) if what is said is an additional comment by the original speaker, e.g.

- (891) *Mevrou, jou seun werk baie goed. Is dit?*
'Madam, your boy is working very well. Is he?' (different speakers).⁴¹
- (892) *Hy werk baie goed, nè/is dit nie?*
'He is working very well, isn't he?' (same speaker).
- (893) *Hulle het die laaste tyd baie hard gewerk. Is dit? (= het hulle?)*
'They have been working very hard lately. Have they?' (different speakers).
- (894) *Hulle het die laaste tyd baie hard gewerk, nè/het hulle nie?*
'They have been working very hard lately, haven't they?' (same speaker).

In the last two examples *het hulle* is also possible because Afrikaans can use the auxiliary *het* in the same way as English does 'have', but in the first example there is no direct equivalent in Afrikaans to the English 'is' in 'is working' and thus *is dit* is the only possibility. In the following example *het* is not an auxiliary, but because of its auxiliary functions in general, it can be used in the interrogative clause too:

- (895) *Blondines het meer pret. Of het hulle?*
'Blonds have more fun. Or do they?'

⁴⁰ Note too the following where *word* is used as a copula: *Ek word baie maklik seesiek. Word jy?* 'I get seasick very easily. Do you?' (different speakers); *En jy?* 'Do you?' (same speaker).

⁴¹ In SA English an invariable 'is it' is also commonly used in such contexts. Note that *nè* is pronounced [nɛ].

The modal verbs *hoef*, *kan*, *mag* and *moet* can be used independently of the verb for which they are acting as auxiliaries, a usage which is rendered by the passive in English, e.g.

- (896) *As dit moet, dan sal ek.*
'If it has to be done, I will (do it).'
- (897) *Dit kan/mag wel, maar dit hoef nie.*
'It can/may be done, but it doesn't have to be (done).'
- (898) *Dit mag nie.*
'That's not allowed.'
- (899) *Dit kan nie (geduld word) nie. Dit sal (geduld) moet (word).*
'It can't (be tolerated), It will have to (be tolerated).'

As the previous example illustrates, the phenomenon also occurs in English but as the other examples show, it is possible in contexts in Afrikaans where it is not possible in English.

8.14. The passive voice

present:	<i>Die boek word gelees</i>	- The book is (being) read. ^e
future:	<i>Die boek sal gelees word</i>	- The book will be read.
perfect:	<i>Die boek is gelees</i>	- The book was (being) read/ The book has been read/ (also = The book had been read).
pluperfect:	<i>Die boek was gelees</i>	- The book had been read/ (also = The book was read/ The book has been read).
future perfect:	<i>Die boek sal gelees gewees het</i>	- The book will have been read.
conditional perfect:	<i>Die boek sou gelees gewees het</i>	- The book would have been read.

The passive is a verbal construction in which the object of the active becomes the subject, e.g. The man is reading the book > The book is (being) read by the man. The present passive in English is formed by the verb 'to be' plus the past participle of the verb concerned; in Afrikaans it is formed from *word* (i.e. to become) plus the past participle. But the past tense of the passive in Afrikaans is formed from the present tense of *wees*, *is*, plus the past participle, i.e. despite appearances *Die boek is gelees* means 'The book was/has been read' because the present tense is *Die boek word gelees*.

In the active no distinction is made between the perfect and the pluperfect as a result of the imperfect of *hê*, *had*, having died out (see 8.7). But the imperfect of *wees*, *was*, **has** been preserved. In the passive, where *wees* is

^e The present passive is formed with the auxiliary *word*, the verb 'to become', but in non-passive contexts *word* in the sense of 'to become' is very commonly replaced by *raak*, e.g. *Ek raak/word deesdae baie gou moeg* 'I get tired very quickly these days', *Dit was beter voordat alles so gerekenariseerd geraak het* 'It was better before everything became so computerised'.

the auxiliary verb used in forming the perfect or past passive – as opposed to *word* in the present – the question arises whether a sentence such as *Die boek was gelees* is a pluperfect or a structure that has crept in under English influence which is synonymous with *Die boek is gelees* (= ‘The book was/has been read’). After all, in the active there is definitely no difference in meaning between *Hy is gewees* and *Hy was gewees* (nor between those two and *Hy was* for that matter, see 8.11); nor can the distinction between ‘He has read the book’ (= *Hy het die boek gelees*) and ‘He had read the book’ be made, other than with the addition of adverbs like *al* and *reeds* to the latter, i.e. *Hy het die boek alreeds gelees*. It is thus doubtful that Afrikaans speakers do make a distinction between the perfect and the pluperfect in the passive, just because, due to the survival of the imperfect of *wees*, the appropriate auxiliary exists. This is in fact borne out if one listens to the way *was gelees* type constructions are used in practice in the passive; if they ever correspond with the English pluperfect, this is more likely to be by accident than design, e.g.

- (900) *Om die Hugenote so vinnig as moontlik met die bestaande bevolking te laat verenig, is hulle plase gegee tussen dié van die Hollandse vryburgers wat reeds daar gevestig was.*

‘In order to unite the Huguenots as quickly as possible with the existing population, they were given farms between those of the Dutch free burghers that had already been settled there.’

but this can also be, and is more likely to be, interpreted as ‘were already settled there’, where *gevestig* is an adjective, see 8.14.1). In more careful writing by those with a keenly developed feeling for language, it is possible that *was* + past participle is consciously employed as a pluperfect.

Just as *was gewees* alternates with *was* as the preterite of the active (see 8.11), so too can *was gewees* alternate with *was* when the latter is acting as auxiliary in the preterite of the passive, although less commonly than in the active, e.g.

- (901) *Dit was toe al gedoen gewees.*
 = *Dit was toe al gedoen.*
 = *Dit is toe al gedoen.*
 ‘It had then already been done.’

When either of the passive auxiliaries *word* or *is* (or *was*) in a main clause is followed by a co-ordinate clause in which the same auxiliary is required, the auxiliary (i.e. the finite verb of that clause) does not need to be repeated; the finite verb in the first clause thus has two past participles dependent on it, e.g.

- (902) *Die twee is skuldig bevind en [is] tot ses jaar tronkstraf gevonniss.*
 ‘The two were found guilty and [were] sentenced to six years imprisonment.’

As this example illustrates, this phenomenon is not unknown in English either (see 8.5.4 for a parallel with *het* + past participles).

8.14.1. The distinction between adjectival and verbal past participles in the passive

Both *is* and *was* can be followed by a past participle which is being used adjectivally and thus resemble in form, if not in meaning, past passives. In *Die deur is gesluit*, *gesluit* can be interpreted either as an adjective, in which case the sentence translates as 'The door is shut' (present tense), or as a past participle in a passive construction, in which case it translates as 'The door was shut' (by someone understood). After *was* a past participle can be interpreted either as an adjective – prescriptively speaking the only possible interpretation – or as the past passive under English influence, e.g.

- (903) *Pa was so beïndruk deur die landskap dat hy hierdie foto van die tafereel geneem het.*
 'Dad was so impressed by the landscape that he took this photo of the scene.'

This double interpretation of a past participle only applies to verbs that were historically regular.

As discussed under 6.4.2, the strong past participle of many historically irregular verbs has been preserved in Afrikaans, but purely as adjectives, not as verbs. Thus *Dit is verbode* (< Dutch past participle *verboden*) renders 'That is forbidden' (active and adjectival), whereas *Dit is [deur die polisie] verbied* renders 'That has been/was⁴³ forbidden [by the police]' (passive and verbal) and is the past tense of *Dit word [deur die polisie] verbied* 'That is (being) forbidden [by the police]'; compare *Ons het nie geweet dat die byeenkoms verbied is nie* 'We didn't know that the meeting was/had been forbidden'. So with verbs for which an adjectival historically strong past participle still exists, a clear distinction between the adjective and the passive can be made. But in the case of verbs of which a strong adjectival past participle has not been preserved or which never had one to begin with (i.e. historically weak or regular verbs), there is no distinction between the adjectival and the verbal use of the participle in Afrikaans, although the distinction can often be made in English, e.g.

- (904) *Die nuwe Opel Monza is volledig toegerus met hoogte-verstelbare sitplekgordels,*
 'The new Opel Monza is (adjectival)/has been (verbal) equipped with height adjustable safety belts.'

8.14.2. Use of *deur* with agents of the passive

The agent of the action performed in the passive is always preceded by *deur* (= 'by'), e.g.

⁴³ If one subscribes to the school of thought that there is no pluperfect passive, as I do, only the adjectival form can be used after the auxiliary *was*, e.g. *Dit was verbode*, past tense of *Dit is verbode*.

- (905) *Die boek is laas jaar deur die hele klas gelees.*
 'The book was read by whole class last year.'

As illustrated under 8.14.1, the distinction between a weak past participle used adjectivally and one used in a passive construction can be made by mentioning the agent in the case of the passive, e.g.

- (906) *Die straat is geblokkeer.*
 'The street is blocked' (adjective, present tense active) or
 'The street was/has been blocked' (verb, past tense passive).
 (907) *Die straat is deur die polisie geblokkeer.*
 'The street was blocked by the police' (verb, past tense passive).

8.14.3. Alternation of *wees/word* in the passive

The fact that the distinction between the past participle as an adjective and as a verb is often hazy in Afrikaans, is reflected in the common alternation of *wees* and *word* in compound verbal structures like the following:

- (908) *'n Herinterpretasie van die Taalbewegings moet gebaseer wees / word op 'n wetenskaplike grondslag.*
 'A reinterpretation of the Language Movements must be based on a scientific foundation.'

Here *gebaseer* is to be interpreted verbally with *wees*, but adjectivally with *word*. The distinction is lost in English as the final example under 8.14.1 illustrates. In the following example, aspect determines whether *wees* or *word* is required:

- (909) *Daar word voorspel dat die gebied teen die jaar 2015 deur die woestyn oorgeneem sal wees / word.*
 'It is predicted that the area will be claimed by the desert by the year 2015.'

With *wees* the meaning means that the action will have taken place some time before 2015 (= will have been claimed), whereas with *word* the action will occur at about that time. This distinction is common with expressions of time with *wees* indicating completed action relative to the time of utterance, e.g.

- (910) *Oor 'n jaar van nou af kan jy opgelei wees.*
 'A year from now you can be trained' (= have been trained).
 (911) *Oor 'n jaar van nou af kan jy opgelei word.*
 'A year from now you can be trained' (= start being trained).

Note the following idiomatic expression, which is a passive in Afrikaans but not in English, in which either *wees* or *word* can be used with no distinction in meaning:

- (912) *Dit wil gedoen wees / word.*
 'It takes some doing.'

8.14.4. Passives used in combination with modal verbs

When passives are used in combination with modal verbs, the order of the auxiliary verbs and the past participle in main and subordinate clauses is as follows:

- (913) *Dit kan op die paspoort aangedui word.*
 'It can be indicated on the passport' (main clause).
 (914) *Dit sal op die paspoort aangedui kan word .*
 'It will be able to indicated on the passport' (main clause).
 (915) *Ons sal dit reël sodat dit op die paspoort aangedui kan word.*
 'We'll arrange it so that it can be indicated on the passport'
 (subordinate clause).

The order *kan aangedui word*, with the past participle between the two auxiliary verbs, also occurs.

- (916) *Ons sal dit reël sodat dit op die paspoort aangedui sal kan word.*
 'We'll arrange it so that it will be able to be indicated on the passport'
 (subordinate clause).

Consistent with the above, the sequences *sal kan aangedui word* and *sal aangedui kan word* with the past participle between the auxiliaries also occur.

'Could/should have been done' are rendered by *kon / moes gedoen gewees het*, e.g.

- (917) *Die besluit kon / moes 15 jaar gelede geneem gewees het.*
 'The decision could/should have been taken 15 years ago' (main clause).
 (918) *Dis 'n besluit wat 15 jaar gelede geneem kon / moes gewees het.*
 'It's a decision which could/should have been taken 15 years ago'
 (a relative clause with subordinate word order).

Consistent with the above is the fact that the order *kon / moes geneem gewees het* with the past participle between the auxiliaries is also possible (see 12.1.9).

8.14.5. Passive of *laat* + infinitive constructions

As discussed under 8.16.1.3, 'to have something done' is rendered by the copula *laat* + verb, as are various English transitive verbs like *laat sak* 'to lower', *laat vaar* 'to give up' and *laat val* 'to drop'. Without *laat* the verbs *sak*, *vaar* and *val* can only be used intransitively without an object (see

8.22). Such constructions incorporating causative *laat* can also be put in the passive in Afrikaans, unlike their English counterparts where such exist, e.g.

- (919) *My oom het hierdie huis laat bou* (active).
‘My uncle had this house built.’
- (920) *Hierdie huis is deur my oom laat bou* (passive).
‘This house was built by my uncle’ (i.e. he didn’t build it himself but had it built).
- (921) *Die vroumense het een van die mans laat haal om die slang te verwilder* (active).
‘The women had one of the men fetched to chase the snake away.’
- (922) *Een van die mans is laat haal om die slang te verwilder* (passive).
‘One of the men was fetched to chase the snake away’ (i.e. the women had someone else go and fetch him).
- (923) *Die lyke van die terroriste word van ’n vrugmotor se bak in ’n massagraf laat sak.*
‘The corpses of the terrorists are lowered from the tray of a truck into a mass grave.’

8.14.6. Use of subject instead of object pronouns in the passive (see 5.1.1.4.2)

8.14.7. Use of *daar* with passives

Daar in passive constructions can render both English ‘there’ and ‘it’, e.g.

- (924) *Daar word gesê dat...*
‘It is said that...’
- (925) *Daar is veel gedrink.*
‘There was a lot drunk/A lot was drunk.’

This concept is dealt with under pronouns (see 5.1.1.3.7).

8.15. Separable and inseparable verbs

Many Afrikaans verbs are formed from compounds of a prefix plus a verbal stem. These prefixes, many but not all of which are in fact prepositions, are called inseparable or separable, depending respectively on whether they remain attached to the verbal stem in all tenses and constructions or not; compare English *to undergo* (inseparable), *to go under/down* (separable), which in Afrikaans are *ondergaan* and *ondergaan*. The two categories are distinguishable in both languages by where the stress occurs in the word. Generally speaking inseparable verbs tend to be more figurative in meaning, whereas the literal meaning of the component parts is often more obvious in separable verbs, as the above examples illustrate.

8.15.1. Separable verbs

Separable prefixes can be prepositional, adjectival-adverbial or nominal (see 8.15.1.1–3). Prepositional prefixes function in fact as adverbial qualifiers of the verb in question and thus the distinction between prepositional and adverbial prefixes, although traditional, is artificial to a degree; compare *aantrek* ‘to put on’ [of clothes] (literally ‘to pull on’) and *skeeftrek* ‘to warp/distort’ (literally ‘to pull crooked’).

The tenses of a separable verb and how it behaves syntactically in various constructions are as follows:

infinitive:	<i>opstaan</i> ‘to stand/get up’
pres. tense:	<i>ek staan nou op.</i>
past tense:	<i>ek het toe opgestaan.</i>
imperative:	<i>staan nou op.</i> ⁴
infinitive with an aux. verb:	<i>ek wil nou opstaan.</i>
infinitive in an <i>om...te</i> clause:	<i>ek weier om op te staan.</i>
in a sub. clause in pres. tense:	<i>...dat ek nou opstaan.</i>
in a sub. clause in past tense:	<i>...dat ek toe opgestaan het.</i>
infinitive with a modal verb in a sub. clause:	<i>...dat ek toe moes opstaan.</i>
with past tense of the modals <i>behoort</i> , <i>hoef</i> , <i>durf</i> (see 8.13.6):	<i>ek behoort op te gestaan het.</i>

See 12.1.11 for alternative positions in the sentence of separable prefixes.

Many verbs occur with a large number of these prefixes, each new compound with a different meaning, e.g. *aankom* ‘to arrive’, *agterkom* ‘to trace’, *opkom* ‘to rise, of the sun’, *omkom* ‘to die’, *voorkom* ‘to occur’ etc. Verbal antonyms are formed by alternating these prefixes, e.g. *aanhou/ophou* ‘to continue/stop’, *aanskakel/afskakel* ‘to switch on/off’, *aantrek/uittrek* ‘to put on/take off’, *inkom/uitgaan* ‘to come in/go out’, *oopsluit/toesluit* ‘to unlock/lock’, *toeneem/afneem* ‘to increase/decrease’.

8.15.1.1. Separable verbs formed from prepositional prefixes

Many of these verbs do not correspond as closely semantically to the English use of prepositions with such verbs as the above *ondergaan* ‘to go under’ and *opstaan* ‘to stand up’ do, e.g. *aankom* ‘to arrive’, *ophou* ‘to stop’.

The following prepositions function as separable prefixes:

aan, *af*^{*}, *agter*, *by*, *deur*, *heen*, *in*, *langs*, *mee*^{**}, *na*, *om*, *onder*, *oor*, *op*, *rond*, *teë*^{***}, *toe*^{**}, *tussen*, *uit*, *voor*.

* *Af* only exists as a separable prefix and is not otherwise used as a preposition in its own right; strictly speaking it is an adverb.

** *Mee* and *toe* are derived from the prepositions *met* and *tot* but take this special form when used as verbal prefixes (see 11.3 for other uses of these forms).

⁴ In colloquial Afrikaans the infinitive can also be used as an imperative when the verb stands alone, e.g. *Oppas/Pas op!* ‘Watch out!’

*** As a preposition only *teen* is used (see 11.1), as well as in certain compound nouns, but the form *teë* has replaced *teen* as a verbal prefix.

8.15.1.2. Adjectival-adverbial and nominal separable prefixes

Many verbs that have been used regularly in combination with an adjective-adverb or a nominal direct object which has become adverbialised, have become fused with those words to form a separable verb, i.e. the adjective-adverb or noun is prefixed to the verb in the infinitive form⁴⁶ and otherwise behaves identically to the sample given under 8.15.1, for example:

with an adjectival-adverbial prefix

infinitive:	<i>bekendmaak</i> 'to make known'
pres. tense:	<i>ek maak dit bekend.</i>
past tense:	<i>ek het dit bekendgemaak.</i>
imperative:	<i>maak dit bekend.</i>
infinitive with an aux. verb:	<i>ek wil dit bekendmaak.</i>
infinitive in an <i>om...te</i> clause:	<i>ek weier om dit bekend te maak.</i>
in a sub. clause in pres. tense:	<i>...dat ek dit bekendmaak.</i>
in a sub. clause in past tense:	<i>...dat ek dit bekendgemaak het.</i>
infinitive with a modal verb in a sub. clause:	<i>...dat ek dit moes bekendmaak.</i>
with past tense of the modals <i>behoort</i> , <i>hoef, durf</i> (see 8.13.6):	<i>ek behoort dit bekend te gemaak het.</i>

with a nominal prefix

infinitive:	<i>fietsry</i> 'to ride a bike'
pres. tense:	<i>ek ry elke dag bietjie fiets.</i>
past tense:	<i>ek het elke dag bietjie fietsgery.</i>
imperative:	<i>ry elke dag bietjie fiets.</i>
infinitive with an aux. verb:	<i>ek wil elke dag bietjie fietsry.</i>
infinitive in an <i>om...te</i> clause:	<i>ek weier om elke dag bietjie fiets te ry.</i>
in a sub. clause in pres. tense:	<i>...dat ek elke dag bietjie fietsry.</i>
in a sub. clause in past tense:	<i>...dat ek elke dag fietsgery het.</i>
infinitive with a modal verb in a sub. clause:	<i>...dat ek elke dag moes fietsry.</i>
with past tense of the modals <i>behoort</i> , <i>hoef, durf</i> (see 8.13.6):	<i>ek behoort elke dag fiets te gery het.</i>

These prefixes must not be confused with the adjectival-adverbial and nominal adjuncts that can behave like separable prefixes, to which they bear great syntactical resemblance in certain constructions, but from which they are intrinsically different, i.e. when those adjuncts are qualified they

⁴⁶ 'To horseride' (< to ride a horse) and 'to woodchop' (< to chop wood) are examples of a similar development in English which have equivalent forms in Afrikaans, i.e. *perdry, houtkap*.

lose their separable prefix-like status and behave like normal adjectives-adverbs and direct objects, and even where not qualified, two word orders are possible (see 12.2). In speech, where one cannot see, for instance, that *siek word* 'to get sick' is two words and *grootword* 'to grow up' is one, the distinction can be lost altogether in certain constructions.⁴⁶ The distinction becomes even more vague when certain verbs and their qualifiers are commonly, but not consistently, written as one word, e.g. *belang stel* 'to be interested', *kennis gee/kry/maak/neem* 'to notify/receive notice/get to know/note', *mis skiet/slaan* 'to miss' (when shooting/striking), *raak loop/skiet* 'to bump into/hit' (when shooting) (see 12.2.6). The AWS (p. 76) gives one the option of regarding certain such verbal combinations as separable verbs – and thus writing them as one word (except for *mis*⁴⁷ and *raak*, which are always written as two words) – or not, as this variation is what one finds in practice. As such verbs, unlike *belang stel* and many other such combinations (e.g. *nader kom* 'to approach', *seer kry* 'to get hurt', *tevrede stel* 'to satisfy', *tuis bly* 'to stay at home'), cannot be used in combination with two word orders, as illustrated under 12.2.6, they belong here and not there.⁴⁸

The number of these separable verbs, although finite, is too great to list in full here; what follows are sample lists. By far the majority of the following adjectival-adverbial prefixes can be joined to more than one verb – there is even a degree of productivity at work here – but this is much less the case with the nominal ones, of which there are also far fewer than of the others.

adjectival-adverbial prefixes

agteroorleun 'to lean backwards'
agteruitgaan 'to reverse, deteriorate'
bekendmaak 'to make known, announce'
blootstel 'to expose'
binneby; -dring; -ry 'to remain inside; to penetrate; to drive in'
byeenbring; -kom 'to bring/gather together; to meet'
doodgaan; -maak 'to die; to kill'
droogmaak 'to dry, to make a muck-up'
flouval 'to faint'
goedkeur 'to approve'

⁴⁶ As these two verbs illustrate, the compound verbs often have a less literal, more figurative meaning, as is the case with separable versus inseparable prefixes (see 8.15).

⁴⁷ Here only stressed *mis* is being referred to. There is also an unstressed inseparable prefix *mis-* (see 8.15.2.2 as well as footnote 48).

⁴⁸ To illustrate the ambivalence towards such combinations, Van der Merwe (1982:131) advocates *mis gooi/ry/skiet/slaan* but *miskyk/misloop/mistas* on the basis of what he sees to be a closer semantic connection between the two parts in the second group than in the first, but such a distinction is open to question, as the AWS's attitude reflects (p. 76). In my opinion, on the basis of their syntactical behaviour, all these verbs are identical and indistinguishable from separable verbs and would thus be better written as one word, but this is not the stance taken by the 8th edition of the AWS. The same applies to those with *raak*, where Van der Merwe (1982:163), for example, finds *raakloop* acceptable but no other combination with *raak*.

grootmaak; -word 'to rear; to grow up'
ineenstort 'to collapse'
klaarkom; -kry; -speel 'to finish; to get done; to manage'⁴⁹
lekkerkry 'to enjoy oneself'
liefhê; -kry 'to love; to grow fond of' (see 12.2.6)
mis kyk; *skop* 'to look wrongly; to kick wrongly'⁵⁰
natlei 'to irrigate'
neerkyk op 'to look down' (on someone)
omhoogtel 'to lift up'
omverwerp 'to topple'
oopsluit; -maak 'to unlock; open up'
ooreenkom 'to come to an agreement'
oorentkom; -sit 'to straighten up; to sit upright'
plattrap 'to flatten'
raak lees; *loop*; *sien* 'to come across' (while reading; walking; to notice)⁵⁰
regkom; -stel 'to come right, rectify'
saamgaan; -sing; -stem 'to go along; to sing along; to agree'
seerkry; -maak 'to get hurt; to hurt'
skeefloop 'to go wrong'
stilmaak 'to silence'
swaarkry 'to struggle'
terugkeer 'to return'
teweegbring 'to bring about'
tuisbly; -kom 'to stay at home; come home'
uiteensit 'to explain'
vasbind; -hou; -steek 'to tie up; to hold; to get stuck'
verbyry; -steek 'to drive past; to overtake'
volhou; -skink 'to persevere; to fill up'
voorafgaan 'to precede'
voortduur; -spruit uit 'to continue; to emanate from'
vooruitgaan 'to go ahead'
vrekslaan; -trap 'to bash to death; to trample to death'
weergee; -sien 'to reproduce; to see again'
weggee 'to give away'

nominal separable prefixes

asemhaal 'to breath'
baasspeel 'to boss'
beeldsend 'to televise'
dophou 'to watch'

⁴⁹ *Klaar* is a commonly used adverb which implies that the action of the subsequent verb has been completed. When used with most verbs in that sense it is not regarded as a separable prefix and is written separately, e.g. *Brand die vuur al? Ja, ek het dit klaar (= al/alreeds) gemaak* 'Is the fire going? Yes, I've already got it going' (see *al[reeds]* and *klaar* under 7.3), but *Is jy nog besig? Nee, ek het klaargemaak* 'Are you still doing it? No, I've finished'; likewise with *klaarkom* 'to finish', *klaarkry* 'to get finished', *klaarpraat* 'to finish talking' etc.

⁵⁰ See footnote 48 for why *mis* and *raak* are not joined to the verb.

feeshou, -vier 'to celebrate'
bus-; fiets-; perdry 'to go by bus; to ride a bike; to horseride'
gelukwens 'to congratulate'
houtkap 'to woodchop'
kaartspeel 'to play cards'
klasgee 'to teach'
lesgee 'to teach'
nagsê; dagsê 'to say good-night; say good-day'
padgee 'to give way'
plaasvind 'to take place'
popspeel 'to play dolls'
posvat 'to take root'
prysgee 'to abandon'
skoolgaan; -hou 'to go to school; to teach'
staatmaak op 'to rely on'
stopsit 'to put a stop to'
toustaan 'to queue'
tuinmaak 'to garden'
visvang 'to (catch) fish'
vlersleep 'to court'
voetslaan 'to hike'
wortelvat 'to take root'

8.15.1.3. Position of separable verbal prefixes

The position in the sentence of separable prefixes, whether prepositional, adjectival-adverbial or nominal, is discussed at length under 12.1.10–12.1.12.

8.15.2. Inseparable verbs

There are three kinds of inseparable verbal prefix: prepositional, adjectival-adverbial-nominal and a special set of prefixes that are only used in combination with verbs or their derivatives (see 8.15.2.3). The inseparable verbs under 8.15.2.1, 8.15.2.2 and 8.15.2.3 all have in common that the prefix is not stressed and that the past participle is formed without *ge-*, i.e. it is identical to the infinitive/stem. The verbs under 8.15.2.4 consist of a finite number of compound verbs where the prefix is stressed, but inseparable, and that do take *ge-* in the past.

8.15.2.1. Unstressed prepositional inseparable prefixes

Some of the prepositions given under 8.15.1.1 that occur as separable prefixes, also occur as inseparable prefixes, but not all. The following do: *aan*, *agter*, *deur*, *om*, *onder*, *oor*, *voor*, e.g. *aanskou* 'to behold', *agtervolg* 'to pursue', *deursoek* 'to examine', *omskryf* 'to paraphrase', *onderneem* 'to undertake', *ooreet* 'to overeat', *voorspel* 'to predict'.⁵¹

⁵¹ Notice the similarity with the stress pattern of the English *overtake*, *overeat*, *predict* (= *foretell*). The deep structure here is the same in both languages.

It is possible, but not very common, for a particular preposition to occur in combination with the same verbal stem as both a separable stressed prefix and as an unstressed inseparable prefix, e.g. *ondergaan* 'to set, of the sun', *ondergaan* 'to undergo'; *voorkom* 'to occur', *voorkom* 'to prevent'.

The tenses of a prepositional inseparable verb and how it behaves syntactically in various constructions are as follows:

infinitive:	<i>aanvaar</i> 'to accept'
pres. tense:	<i>ek aanvaar dit.</i>
past tense:	<i>ek het dit aanvaar.</i>
imperative:	<i>aanvaar dit.</i>
infinitive with an aux. verb:	<i>ek wil dit aanvaar.</i>
infinitive in an <i>om...te</i> clause:	<i>ek weier om dit te aanvaar.</i>
in a sub. clause in pres. tense:	<i>...dat ek dit aanvaar.</i>
in a sub. clause in past tense:	<i>...dat ek dit aanvaar het.</i>
infinitive with a modal verb in a sub. clause:	<i>...dat ek dit moes aanvaar</i>

Compare this paradigm with that of a separable verb given under 8.15.1.

8.15.2.2. Unstressed adverbial inseparable prefixes

There are three unstressed adverbial prefixes which behave exactly the same as the above unstressed prepositional prefixes. They are *mis-*, *vol-* and *weer-*, which correspond roughly to the English prefixes 'mis-' and 'ful-' and 're-' as in 'to misplace', 'to fulfil' and 'to resound', e.g. *mishandel* 'to mishandle', *mislei* 'to mislead', *misreken* 'to miscalculate'; *voltooi* 'to complete', *voltrek* 'to carry out'; *weerklink* 'to resound', *weerhou* 'to restrain', *weerlê* 'to refute'. All three words also occur as stressed separable prefixes (see 8.15.1.2).

8.15.2.3. Unstressed verbal inseparable prefixes

The following prefixes only occur in verbs and other parts of speech derived from these verbs:⁵² *be-*, *er-*, *ge-*, *her-*, *ont-*, *ver-*.

The tenses of one of these inseparable verbs and how it behaves in various syntactical environments are as follows:

infinitive:	<i>begin</i> 'to begin'
pres. tense:	<i>ek begin 'n projek.</i>
past tense:	<i>ek het 'n projek begin.</i>
imperative:	<i>begin 'n projek.</i>
infinitive with a modal verb:	<i>ek wil 'n projek begin.</i>

⁵² This statement is not completely true as *be-* is found in a few adjectives that are not derived from verbs, e.g. *begeef* 'gifted', and *ver-* is added to certain adjectives to turn them into verbs, e.g. *vergroot* 'to enlarge' (< *groot* 'large'). But such uses of these prefixes, although not rare, are the exception rather than the rule.

infinitive in an <i>om...te</i> clause:	<i>ek weier om 'n projek te begin.</i>
in a sub. clause in past tense:	<i>...dat ek projek begin het.</i>
infinitive with a modal verb in a sub. clause:	<i>...dat ek 'n projek moes begin.</i>

Compare this paradigm with that of a prepositional inseparable verb given under 8.15.2.1.

These prefixes are comparable in form, and occasionally even in meaning, to the following unstressed prefixes in English: *believe*, *disclose*, *forget*, *return*. As with their English counterparts, it is not easy to generalise about the meaning of these prefixes but the following comments have a certain limited validity.

Be- can turn an intransitive verb followed by a fixed preposition into a transitive verb, e.g. *beantwoord* (< *antwoord op*) 'to answer', *'n pad bewandel* (< *langs 'n pad wandel*) 'to take a path' (figurative). Compare the use of 'be-' in 'to becloud' (< to cover with cloud). *Be-* also transitivises certain verbs that do not take a fixed preposition, e.g. *eindig* 'to finish, end' (intransitive), *beëindig* 'to finish/end' (transitive) (see 8.22).

Er- occurs in very few words, e.g. *ervaar* 'to experience', *erken* 'to admit'.

Ge-, in addition to being the perfective prefix of all but inseparable verbs, is itself prefixed to the infinitive of a limited number of inseparable verbs, e.g. *jou gedra* 'to behave', *gedy* 'to thrive', *gesels* 'to chat', *genees* 'to cure'.

Her- is used very much like *re-* in English, e.g. *herhaal* 'to repeat', *herinner* 'to remind'. Unlike all the other inseparable prefixes discussed here, *her-* is still slightly productive, e.g. *hergroepeer* 'to regroup', *hersosialiseer* 'to resocialise' (see 8.15.2.3.1).

Ont- often has connotations analogous to the English prefixes *un-* and *dis-*, e.g. *ontketen* 'to unleash', *ontsmet* 'to disinfect', *ontwikkel* 'to develop', (literally 'to unfold').

Ver- often implies a change from one state to another, e.g. *verander* 'to change, alter', *verhuis* 'to move house', *vertaal* 'to translate'. It is also a means of turning an adjective into a verb, e.g. *verduidelik* 'to clarify' (< *duidelik* 'clear'), *verengels* 'to anglicise' (< *Engels* 'English'), *verhoog* 'to raise' (< *hoog* 'high'). Some verbs are turned from intransitive into transitive verbs by the addition of this prefix, e.g. *brand* > *verbrand* 'to burn', *Dis jaloesie wat mans laat moor* 'It's jealousy that makes men murder' > *Jaloerse mans wat vroue vermoor* 'Jealous men who murder women' (see 8.22).

8.15.2.3.1 Stressing of unstressed prefixes for emphasis

These unstressed prefixes can be stressed when semantics require it, e.g.

- (926) *Hy het dit nòg èrken nòg òntken* (antonyms).
'He neither admitted it nor denied it.'

Her- can also be stressed in speech, just as *re-* can be in English, if

particular emphasis is put on the fact that the action was repeated, e.g.

- (927) *Hy moes sy moedertaal hërleer.*
 'He had to relearn his mother tongue.'

Her- is lightly stressed when it is added to a verb that already has an unstressed prefix, e.g. *herbedek* 'to resurface', *hergebruik* 'to reuse', *heroorweeg* 'to reconsider', e.g.

- (928) *Het hulle die pad voor jou huis herbedek?*
 'Have they resurfaced the road in front of your house?'

If added to a verb which already has a stressed separable prefix, both prefixes carry more or less equal stress,⁵³ e.g. *herindeel* 'to rearrange', *heruitgee* 'to republish', e.g.

- (929) *Die boek word nie heruitgegeë nie.*
 'The book isn't being republished.'

When added to verbs of foreign origin ending in stressed *-eer*, both stress patterns are found, e.g. *herfinansier* / *herfinansier* 'to refinance', *herformuleer* / *herformuleer* 'to reformulate'.

8.15.2.3.2. Colloquial prefixing of *ge-* to verbs with an unstressed prefix

In very colloquial Afrikaans the perfective prefix *ge-* is sometimes added to verbs with inseparable prefixes, e.g. *geontmoet*, *gebegrawe* (see footnote 57). In *herkou* 'to ruminate', the prefix is no longer regarded as literally meaning 're-' and thus the past participle of this verb now takes *ge-*, e.g.

- (930) *Die koei het die hooi geherkou.*
 'The cow rechewed the hay.'

The past participle of *herberg* 'to house' is *geherberg* as *her-* is not a prefix in this case but part of the word. Also the past participle of *vernis* 'to varnish' (< French *vernis*), because the *ver-* is not of indigenous origin, is found both with and without *ge-*.

8.15.2.3.3. Verbs of foreign origin with final stress that can dispense with the *ge-* prefix in the past tense

There are several verbs, which, because they are of French and Malay origin, take the stress on the second syllable, thereby usually reducing the vowel of the first syllable somewhat, e.g. *baklei* 'to fight', *baljaar* 'to frolic', *galop* 'to gallop', *kapok* 'to snow', *karwei* 'to transport', *kasty* 'to chastise',

⁵³ It is possible that even here *her-* is slightly more heavily stressed than the other prefix.

makeer 'to be wanting'. The stress pattern of these verbs is thus identical to that of indigenous words like *beloof* 'to promise' and *gesels* 'to talk', which don't take *ge-* in the past tense, and thus the past participle of these verbs is also commonly found without the perfective prefix, e.g.

- (931) *Die seuns het dag en nag met mekaar baklei.*
 'The boys fought with each other night and day.'
 (932) *Dit het een keer in September in Johannesburg kapok.*
 'It snowed once in Johannesburg in September.'

The AWS recognises these forms without *ge-* but gives preference to those with it (see verbs in *-eer*, 8.5.1.2).

8.15.2.4. Stressed adjectival-adverbial-nominal inseparable prefixes

Similar to the verbs discussed under 8.15.1.2 there is a much smaller, finite group of verbs where the prefix has been permanently fused to the verb and now behaves as an inseparable prefix, although it is stressed. On the surface there is no obvious difference between *borsvoed* 'to breastfeed' and *perdry* 'to horseride' (see footnote 54 under *proeflees*); both are stressed on the first syllable but the former is inseparable with *ge-* being prefixed to it in the past, while *perdry* is separable with *ge-* being infix in the past (compare the conjugation of *fietsry* under 8.15.1.2):

infinitive:	<i>borsvoed</i> 'to breastfeed'
pres. tense:	<i>sy borsvoed haar baba.</i>
past tense:	<i>sy het haar baba geborsvoed.</i>
imperative:	<i>borsvoed jou baba.</i>
infinitive with an aux. verb:	<i>sy gaan haar baba borsvoed.</i>
infinitive in an <i>om...te</i> clause:	<i>sy weier om haar baba te borsvoed.</i>

The following verbs are conjugated like *borsvoed*:

beeldsend 'to televise'
blinddoek 'to blindfold'
brandmerk 'to brand'
brandschilder 'to stain' (glass)
dagvaar 'to summons'
dwarsboom 'to obstruct'
fynkam 'to comb out'
glimlag 'to smile'
handhaaf 'to preserve'
hardloop 'to run'
huisves 'to house'
klappertand 'to shiver'
kortsluit 'to short-circuit'
kortwiek 'to clip the wings of, handicap'
liefkoos 'to caress'
motreën 'to drizzle'

muilband 'to gag'
proeflees 'to proofread'⁵⁴
raadpleeg 'to consult'⁵⁵
rangskik 'to arrange'
regverdig 'to justify'
roskam 'to rebuke, take to task'
ryloop 'to hitch-hike'
seëvier 'to triumph'
stofsuiig 'to vacuum clean'
stroomlyn 'to streamline'
toonset 'to set to music'
waarborg; -sku 'to guarantee; to warn'
wantrou; -hoop 'to mistrust; despair'

8.16. The infinitive

8.16.1. Use of *om...te*, *te* or nothing before infinitives

8.16.1.1. Use of *om...te* with infinitives

As a general rule one can say that an infinitive which is dependent on a preceding finite verb is preceded by *om te*, e.g.

- (933) *Dit is moeilik om te hoor.*
 'It is difficult to hear.'
- (934) *Die boer het ons bokmelk gegee om te drink.*
 'The farmer gave us goat's milk to drink.'
- (935) *Die fout wat ek gemaak het, was om te gedink het dat...*
 'The mistake I made was to have thought that...'
- (936) *Ek is besig om 'n brief te skryf.*
 'I am busy writing a letter.'⁵⁶

Om fulfils the function of a conjunction introducing an infinitive clause (see 9.6) (see footnote 28 also).

Om te is often synonymous with 'in order to' and as such resembles the archaic English 'for to', e.g.

- (937) *Ek gaan stad toe om klere te koop.*
 'I'm going to town to buy clothes.'
- (938) *Hy het gekom om iets te leer.*
 'He has come to learn something.'

⁵⁴ Both *geproeflees* and *proefgelees* occur but only the former is sanctioned. This "mistake" is an indication that such speakers see this verb as belonging to the same category as *perdry* etc. (see 8.15.1.2).

⁵⁵ Compare *beraadslaag* 'to deliberate', which also has a stressed inseparable prefix but takes no *ge-* in the past.

⁵⁶ As the English translation of this example illustrates, the infinitive with 'to' is often replaced by the gerund in '-ing' (or they are interchangeable, e.g. I tried to swim/swimming), whereas Afrikaans has only the one form.

As in English, the semantics of many sentences permit the reverse order of the clauses, e.g.

- (939) *Om 'n dieet te volg sonder om gewig te verloor, kan baie ontmoedigend wees.*
 'To follow (= following)⁹⁶ a diet without losing any weight can be very discouraging.'

Om...te is also used in indirect interrogative clauses, e.g.

- (940) *Weet jy hoe om dit in Afrikaans te sê?*
 'Do you know how to say it in Afrikaans?'
 (941) *Die boek heet Hoe om gewig te verloor.*
 'The book is called *How to lose weight*' (see 10.0).

Note that when a separable verb occurs in such an infinitive clause, the *te* is placed between the prefix and the infinitive and the three are written separately, e.g.

- (942) *Dis tyd om op te staan.*
 'It's time to get up' (see 8.15.1.1).

With an inseparable verb *te* precedes the verb with its prefix, e.g.

- (943) *Die tyd het aangebreek om die leisels aan 'n jonger man te oorhandig.*
 'The time has dawned to hand the reins over to a younger man'
 (see 8.15.2.1).

The difficulty with (*om*) *te* is to know when to use only *te*, without *om*, and when to use nothing before the infinitive.

8.16.1.2. Omission of *te* with modals

One of the various characteristics that both English and Afrikaans modals share, at least in the present and imperfect, is that they are followed by a plain infinitive without 'to' or *te* respectively, e.g.

- (944) *Ek kon dit doen.*
 'I could do it' (= was able to do it).
 (945) *Jy mag kom.*
 'You may come.'
 (946) *Sy moet dit betaal.*
 'She must pay it' (= has to pay it).
 (947) *Sy sal dit moet betaal.*
 'She will have to pay it.'

The modal verbs *behoort* and *hoef* are exceptional in this respect in that they are always followed by *te*. *Durf* is exceptional in that it occurs both with and without *te* (see 8.13.6).

8.16.1.3. Omission of *te* with copula verbs

The following verbs, when followed by another verb, act as copulas, i.e. the infinitives dependent on them are not preceded by (*om*) *te*. In this respect they are similar to modal verbs, which by definition are followed by an infinitive (or one is at least implied): *aanhou* 'to keep on', *begin* 'to begin, start', *bly* 'to stay', *durf* 'to dare', *gaan* 'to go', *help* 'to help', *hoor* 'to hear', *kom* 'to come', *laat* 'to let, have' (something done), *leer* 'to learn, teach', *loop* 'to walk', *maak* 'to make (= force)', *ophou* 'to stop', *probeer* 'to try', *sien* 'to see', *voel* 'to feel'. For example:

present tense:

- (948) *Dit begin nou reën.*
'It's starting to rain.'
- (949) *Onder die tas sien sy duidelik die hef van 'n mes uitsteek.*
'From under the bag she clearly sees the handle of a knife sticking out.'
- (950) *Ek voel my hart klop / Ek kan my hart voel klop.*
'I can feel my heart beating.'
- (951) *Hy moet ophou rook.*
'He must stop smoking.'

imperative:

- (952) *Bly sit.*
'Stay seated.'
- (953) *Help my asseblief opstaan.*
'Please help me to get up.'
- (954) *Hou op vroetel.*
'Stop fidgeting.'

past tense:

- (955) *Ek het by die tafel bly sit en (ge)wag.*
'I stayed (sitting) at the table and waited.'
- (956) *Ek het dit nog nie laat doen nie.*
'I haven't had it done yet.'
- (957) *Dit het ophou reën.*
'It stopped raining.'
- (958) *Ek het hom sien swem.*
'I saw him swim/have seen him swimming.'

In subordinate clauses the following word order applies:

- (959) *Ek het gesê dat ek dit nog nie laat doen het nie.*
'I said that I haven't had it done yet.'
- (960) *Weet jy dat ek hom sien swem het?*
'Did you know that I have seen him swim?'
- (961) *Kon jy nie met hom gaan praat het nie?*
'Couldn't you have gone and talked to him?'

When such copulas are used in the past tense, a so-called double infinitive construction occurs, i.e. when the copula, which is semantically a past participle, takes up position at the end of the clause prior to the infinitive which is dependent on it, the copula too occurs in the infinitive form; it is thus an infinitive in form but a past tense in meaning (see 8.5.2 and 8.13.3 for the rare occasions when modals occur in such constructions).

Contrary to the double infinitive rule of prescriptive grammar, analogical formations where the past participle of the copula is nevertheless employed are commonly heard in very colloquial speech,⁵⁷ e.g.

- (962) *Jy het my nog nooit gehoor sing nie.*
 'You've never heard me sing.'
 (963) *Ek het my sussie geleer swem.*
 'I taught my younger sister to swim.'
 (964) *Hy het nooit geprobeer voorgee dat hy iets anders is nie.*
 'He's never tried to pretend that he was anything else.'
 (965) *Die kind het opgehou skreeu.*
 'The child has stopped crying.'

This structure is particularly commonly found with *aanhou* and *ophou*, even in non-colloquial style.

See 12.1.3 on the position of infinitives after copula verbs in a main clause.

Notes on individual copula verbs

Durf can behave syntactically like the other copulas given here, e.g.

- (966) *Ek durf dit nie doen nie.*
 'I don't dare do it.'
 (967) *Ek het dit nie durf doen nie.*
 'I didn't dare do it.'

It can also form its past tense like *behoort* and *hoef*, i.e.

- (968) *Ek durf dit nie te gedoen het nie* (see 8.13.6).

Gaan as a copula has two functions, i.e. as in

- (969) *Hy het toe gaan kyk.*
 'He then went and looked.'

and as an auxiliary expressing the future tense, e.g.

- (970) *Ek gaan dit môre doen.*
 'I'm going to do it tomorrow' (see 8.10).

⁵⁷ It is characteristic of non-standard Afrikaans to apply *ge-* where prescriptive grammar disapproves of it, e.g. *geontmoet*, *gebesluit* (see 8.15.2.3.2). In other words there is a correlation between educational level and the frequency of *ge-* in the Afrikaans of many individuals, with a growing tolerance of the prefix in the standard language (see Menkveld 1978).

An alternative structure is commonly found after *hoor* and *sien* in which the action observed stands in a subordinate clause introduced by *hoe*, e.g.

- (971) *Hy het gehoor/gesien hoe hulle weghardloop.*
 = *Hy het hulle hoor/sien weghardloop.*
 'He heard/saw them run away.'

Although both structures are synonymous in this example, they are potentially semantically different with the emphasis in the former being on the perception rather than on the action perceived, e.g.

- (972) *Ek het duidelik gehoor hoe hulle wegloop.*
 'I distinctly heard them running away.'

In addition to its use as a copula with infinitives (e.g. *Ek kom dit môre doen* 'I'm coming to look tomorrow', *Hy het kom kyk* 'He came and looked'), the verb *kom* can be followed by the past participle of a separable verb of motion, in which case the past participle describes how that action of coming is being performed; only verbs formed from the prefixes *aan/binne/in* seem to occur in such constructions with those in *aan-* being by far the most common, e.g.

- (973) *Die busbestuurder wag vir haar as hy haar sien aangehardloop kom.*
 'The bus driver waits for her when he sees her running.'
 (974) *Die honde kom van die huis af aangehol.*
 'The dogs come a running from the house.'
 (975) *Hy kom binnegehardloop.*
 'He comes in running.'
 (976) *Op haar geluidlose dik voetsole kom die ou swart vrou ingeskuifel.*
 'The old black woman came shuffling in on her noiseless, thick soles.'

Although the past participle acts as an adverb, it is perceived as being a verbal complement to the copula *kom* as this construction is productive.

Laat as a copula renders 'to have something done' by someone else, e.g.

- (977) *Ek gaan 'n huis in Plett laat bou.*
 'I'm going to have a house built in Plett.'
 (978) *Ek het 'n huis in Plett laat bou.*
 'I've had a house built in Plett.'

(See passive of *laat* constructions under 8.14.5 and *laat* as a means of rendering transitive verbs under 8.22).

Use of *loop* as a copula, as opposed to its use in continuous constructions (see 8.3.1), is considered very colloquial, even non-standard.

The causative use of *maak* as in 'to make someone do something' is a long-standing, apparently indispensable Anglicism which is condemned by purists. It is more or less synonymous with emphatic *laat* or *dwing om te*, e.g.

- (979) *Ek sal jou dit máák / laat doen*
 = *Ek sal jou dwing om dit te doen* (*laat* is higher style).
 'I'll make you do it.'
- (980) *Waarheen trek ek as hulle my maak trek?*
 = *Waarheen trek ek as hulle my dwing om te trek.*
 'Where will I go if they make me move?' (= force me to move).

8.16.1.4. Use of *om...te* with copulas

Of the copulas given under 8.16.1.3, *aanhou* 'to keep on', *begin* 'to begin, start', *help* 'to help', *leer* 'to learn, teach', *ophou* 'to stop', and *probeer* 'to try' also occur with *om te*⁵⁸ (see 8.16.1.1), in which case in the past tense their past participle is used rather than the above double infinitive construction. For example:

present tense:

- (981) *Die kind begin om te huil.*
 'The child starts crying.'
- (982) *Help my asseblief om op te staan.*
 'Please help me to get up.'
- (983) *Sy leer my om te swem.*
 'She's teaching me to swim.'
- (984) *Sy probeer om jou te help.*
 'She's trying to help you.'

past tense:

- (985) *Hulle het al begin om die gebou op te rig.*
 'They have already begun to erect the building.'
- (986) *Sy het my gehelp om die boek te vertaal.*
 'She helped me to translate the book.'
- (987) *Ek het my sussie geleer om te swem.*
 'I taught my younger sister to swim.'
- (988) *Hy het geprobeer om my te help.*
 'He tried to help me.'

Notes on these copula verbs

Although *aanhou* and *ophou* theoretically belong here as well as under 8.16.1.3, they are not commonly followed by *om te*. There is however yet another possibility just with these two verbs, namely *met*.⁵⁹ This means that all four of the following are possible:

⁵⁸ The ability of these verbs to be used with or without *om te* is analogous to the following constructions in English where 'to' is also optional: Help me [to] shift the car, If I dare [to] do it...

⁵⁹ Compare *Hy het aangegaan met werk* 'He went on working', where nothing else is possible.

- (989) *Hy het ophou rook / opgehou rook / opgehou om te rook / opgehou met rook.*
 'He stopped smoking.'
- (990) *Dis een van die vernaamste redes waarom hy aanhou boer het / aangehou boer het / aangehou het om te boer / aanhou het met boer.*
 'That is one of the main reasons he kept on farming.'

The first two are the most frequent.

Begin can be followed by the plain infinitive preceded by nothing, as in 8.16.1.3, by *om te* or simply by *te*, e.g.

- (991) *Die kind het toe begin huil.*
 = *Die kind het toe begin om te huil.*
 = *Die kind het toe begin te huil.*
 'The child then began to cry.'

Verbs ending in *-eer* do not strictly speaking require a *ge-* prefix in the perfect even outside of double infinitive constructions, but it is more common to apply it. Only *probeer* is used more commonly without the prefix *ge-*, possibly because of the frequent use of that verb in double infinitive constructions where *ge-* is not possible anyway. Thus the following alternative is also possible: *Hy het probeer om my te help* (as well, of course, as *Hy het my probeer help*) 'He tried to help me' (see 8.16.1.3).

8.16.1.4.1. Use of *om...te* with copulas with a change in meaning

When the verbs *bly*, *gaan*, *kom* and *laat* are followed by *om te* they no longer function as copulas and *om te* has the meaning of 'in order to' (see 8.16.1.1), e.g.

- (992) *Hy bly langer in Durban om die strande te geniet.*
 'He's staying longer in Durban to enjoy the beaches.'
- (993) *Hy kom terug om vir my te kuier.*
 'He's coming back to visit me.'
- (994) *Sy het my hier gelaat om die werk te doen terwyl sy huis toe gegaan het om haar ma te sien.*
 'They left me here to do the work while she went home to see her mum.'

8.16.1.5. Use of *te* with infinitives in standard constructions

The verb 'to be', *wees* can act as a copula with infinitives preceded by *te*, a structure which must be rendered by a passive in English, e.g.

- (995) *Dit is in Pretoria te besigtig.*
 'It is to be seen in Pretoria.'

- (996) *Die koste is nie te oorsien nie.*
 'The costs can't be estimated.'
- (997) *Daar was geen siel te bespeur nie.*
 'There wasn't a soul to be seen.'
- (998) *Daar is niks daaraan te doen nie.*
 'Nothing can be done about it.'

Historically distinct from these structures but now identical from a synchronic point of view, are

- (999) *Die huis is te koop/huur.*
 'The house is for sale/to let.'

As mentioned under 8.2, historically the infinitive ended in *-en*, but in the speech of the coastal dialects this *n* was not pronounced. This explains why the infinitive in many copula constructions which have now become standard expressions, takes an *-e* after *te*, e.g. *te kampe hê met* 'to have to contend with', *te wagte wees* 'to expect', *veel te wense oorlaat* 'to leave much to be desired', *te wete kom* 'to get to know'; also in certain copula constructions after *wees* where, as above, English normally uses the passive, e.g. *Dis te begrype/hope/verwagte dat...* 'It's understandable/to be hoped/to be expected'. This structure is now so common that an *-e* is even sometimes applied to the historically monosyllabic infinitives that never ended in *-en*, e.g. *Dis heeltemal te verstane* 'It's understandable', *te doene hê/kry met* 'to have to do with', *te siene kry* 'to get to see'; compare *Dit is moeilik om te verstaan/doen/sien* 'It is difficult to understand/do/see' and *Daar was genoeg te ete en te drinke* (= *om te eet en te drink*) 'There was enough to eat and drink' (see 8.16.1.1). Whereas *doen* and *sien* (< Dutch *doen* and *zien*) did not historically end in *-en*, *maak* and *leen* (< Dutch *maken* and *lenen*) did and thus the following analogy can be playing a role where *-e* is added to the former, e.g. *Dit het niks daarmee te make/doene nie* 'It has nothing to do with you', *te lene/siene kry* 'to get on loan/to see'.

This form of the infinitive in *-e* also occurs in a few standard expressions outside copula constructions with *te*, e.g. *by wyse van spreke* 'so to speak', *tot ruste/rus kom* 'to settle down'.

I was able to find only one example of this form of the infinitive being used preminally in Afrikaans, a structure which is still productive in Dutch, e.g.

- (1000) *Die leiers van die te stigte linkse party* (= *wat gestig gaan word*, a passive).
 'The leaders of the leftist party which is to be founded.'

As *ruste*, *stigte* and *verwagte* in the above examples illustrate, reinstating the historical *e*-ending entails also restoring the *t* of infinitives that originally ended in *-ten* and where the final *t* (after apocope of the *-en*) was itself apocoped after voiceless fricatives.

8.16.2. Nominal use of infinitives

Where the gerund in '-ing' functions as a noun in English, Afrikaans uses the infinitive, e.g.

- (1001) *Jy word vet van te veel sit.*
'You get fat from sitting too much.'
- (1002) *Vroeg opstaan is nie lekker nie.*
'Getting up early isn't pleasant.'
- (1003) *Is mangels uithaal nodig?*
'Is removing tonsils necessary?'
- (1004) *Dié woordeboek maak vinnig naslaan moontlik.*
'This dictionary makes looking up quickly possible.'

In extended nominal phrases the definite article is required before such nominalised infinitives, e.g.

- (1005) *Die braai van gemarineerde hoender is 'n kuns.*
'Barbecuing marinated chicken is an art.'

Sometimes such a structure is required in Afrikaans where the English form in '-ing' is verbal, not nominal, e.g.

- (1006) *Haar oë was rooi van die huil.*
'Her eyes were red from crying.'
- (1007) *Sy het 'n trui buite in die tuin aangehad, en versuim om dit uit te trek met die binnekom.*
'She had a pullover on outside in the garden and neglected to take it off on coming inside.'
- (1008) *Hy probeer 'n rol speel in die vind van strategieë waarmee die land 'n politieke toekoms tegemoet kan gaan.*
'He's trying to play a role in finding strategies with which the country can face the future.'

Also *aan die slaap raak* 'to fall asleep'. In the following example the use of the definite article with such nominalised infinitives corresponds with its use with the English gerund:

- (1009) *'n Kontrak vir die bou van 'n tonnel – die eerste fase was die boor en wegsiet van graniet.*
'A contract for the building of a tunnel – the first phase was the drilling and blasting of granite.'

There is a substantial number of nouns derived from the historical infinitive in *-e(n)*, where the *n* was apocopated in speech and therefore never written in Afrikaans. As the English equivalents of these words suggest, there is not even a lingering feeling in Afrikaans of such words having originally been infinitives, e.g. *optrede* 'intervention', *gebeure* 'incident, happening' *hierdie politieke denke* 'this political thinking'.

See nominal formations in *-ing* under 15.2.2.1.

8.17. The present participle

The present participle in Dutch is formed by adding *-d(e)* to the infinitive, which in turn ends in *-en*. Present participles are found in this form in Afrikaans too but they do not have verbal functions; as is the case with irregular past participles (see 8.18), they are used only adjectivally/adverbially,⁴⁰ e.g. *toeneem* 'to increase':

- (1010) *Die staat het toenemend afhanklik geraak van sy weermag.*
'The state became increasingly dependent on its military' (adverb).
(1011) *Die beleid van toenemende onderdrukking ignoreer die oorsake van die situasie.*
'The policy of increasing oppression ignores the causes of the situation' (adjective).

As present participles are formed from the historical infinitive, they can be at odds with the form of the infinitive as it now is in Afrikaans, e.g. *die komende verkiesing* 'the coming election' (< Dutch *komen*, Afrikaans *kom* 'to come'), *opwindend* 'exciting' (< Dutch *opwinden*, Afrikaans *opwen* 'to excite'), *-denkend* 'thinking' (< Dutch *denken*, Afrikaans *dink* 'to think') (see 15.1).

Such derivatives in Afrikaans do not always correspond with English '-ing' forms, e.g. *verpligtend* 'compulsory' (< *verplig* 'to compel'), *voortdurend* 'continually' (< *voortduur* 'to continue'), *verteenwoordigend* 'representative' (< *verteenwoordig* 'to represent').

In higher style the present participle can introduce a participial clause, which is as close as it comes to being used verbally in Afrikaans:

- (1012) *Afhangende van in watter stemming hy is, kan hy baie aangenaam wees.*
'Depending on what mood he's in, he can be quite pleasant.'
(1013) *Hulle word deur 'n kommissie aangestel, bestaande uit ses persone (= wat uit ses persone bestaan).*
'They are appointed by a commission, consisting of six people.'
(1014) *Ek skree hy moet inkom, menende dis weer Dunn.*
'I shouted that he should enter, thinking that it was Dunn again.'

English participial clauses of the following kind must be rephrased when rendered into Afrikaans, e.g.

- (1015) *Nadat ek die skottelgoed gewas het, gaan ek uit.*
'After doing the dishes, I'm going out.'
(1016) *Nadat ek die skottelgoed gewas het, het ek uitgegaan.*
'After having done the dishes, I went out' (see 9.4 note 29).

⁴⁰ Only rarely are they used nominally, e.g. *die insittendes* 'the passengers'.

8.17.1. *Al* + verb + *-end(e)*

Where the present participle in English – as opposed to the gerund, which has nominal qualities as described above – refers to how an action is being performed, i.e. when the ‘-ing’ form is used as an adverb of manner, Afrikaans can express this in two ways: 1) by an adverbial phrase derived from the present participle of the verb, i.e. the adverb *al* followed by the verb plus *-end(e)*, e.g.

- (1017) *Sy het al singend(e) die straat afgekom.*
 ‘She came down the street singing.’

2) by an adverbial phrase derived from the reduplicated form of the verb concerned, e.g.

- (1018) *Sy het sing-sing die straat afgekom.*
 ‘She came down the street singing’ (see 15.7.1.5).

8.18. Irregular past participles

Afrikaans abounds with the past participles of historically irregular verbs but none of them, with the exception of *gehad*, is used verbally any more. Where they exist they are used as, and normally seen to be, adjectives (see 6.4.2 and 8.14.1).

8.19. Verbs that take a prepositional object (i.e. those followed by a fixed preposition)

One must beware of confusing a verb that takes a prepositional object with a separable verb. In English the infinitives of the two sorts of verb are identical, but are quite distinct in Afrikaans, e.g. *kyk na* ‘to look at’ and *nakyk* ‘to check’; *oppas* ‘to look after’ and *oppas vir* ‘to watch out for/beware of’, *streef na* ‘to aspire to’ and *nastreef*; in this case the two are more or less synonymous, but the latter is higher style;

- (1019) *Toe blaai hy die tydskrif deur.*
 ‘He then paged through the magazine’ (< *deurblaai*, completed action).
 (1020) *Toe (sit en) blaai hy deur die tydskrif.*
 ‘He then sat paging through the magazine’ (< *blaai deur*, action in progress).

Because these verbs are by definition followed by a prepositional adjunct (i.e. the prepositional object in this case), there are two possible positions for the past participle and the infinitive, i.e. both at the end of the clause after the prepositional object and before it (see 12.1.11).

Although most of these verbs have a direct parallel in English, there

are a number that require a preposition in English, but not in Afrikaans, e.g. *spreek* 'to speak to' *Mag ek die bestuurder spreek?* 'May I speak to the manager?' (but *met* can be used here too); *geld* 'to be valid for, apply to' *Dit geld ook hierdie geval* 'That applies to this case too' (here too *vir* is optional, but it is not optional in *Dit geld vir 'n jaar* 'It's valid for a year', where *vir* indicates a period of time).

With a few verbs that normally take a prepositional object, the preposition is sometimes omitted, e.g. *Kyk (na/vir) my* 'Look at me', *Hy het (op) my gevloek* 'He swore at me', *Hy het (om) water gevra* 'He asked for water'.

There are also a few verbs that require a preposition in Afrikaans but not in English, for example (There are more in the lists that follow):

boer met 'to farm' *Waarmee boer hy? Hy boer met skape* 'What's he farm? He farms sheep'.

gaan met 'to go, fare' *Hoe gaan dit met die motorhandel?* 'How's the car industry going/faring?', *Hoe gaan dit met jou?* 'How are you?'

hou van 'to love, like' *Ek hou van Suid-Afrika* 'I love South Africa.'

jag op 'to hunt for' *Hy jag op bokke* 'He hunts buck.'

smous met 'to hawk' *Hulle smous met enige ding* 'They hawk anything.'

sê vir 'to tell' (i.e. 'to say to') *Sê vir my, waar bly jy?* 'Tell me, where do you live?'

spog met 'to show off, to sport' *Hy spog met 'n nuwe baadjie* 'He's sporting a new coat.'

trou met 'to marry' *Ek gaan met haar trou* 'I'm going to marry her.'

skei van 'to divorce' *Ek gaan van haar skei* 'I'm going to divorce her.'

Kyk na 'to look at, watch' is so often used with *krieket*, *rugby* and *televisie* as its object that the preposition has been rendered superfluous with these nouns, although still possible, e.g. *Ons gaan vanaand televisie kyk* 'We're going to watch tv tonight'. When looking at people, *vir* is also possible, e.g. *Kyk na/vir my as ek met jou praat* 'Look at me when I'm talking to you' (see *vir* under 11.1).

Luister na 'to listen to' resembles *kyk na* in some ways, e.g. *musiek/radio luister* 'to listen to music/the radio' (see 12.2.6), *luister na/vir iemand* 'to listen to someone'.

See 12.8.1.1 for prepositional stranding with verbs that take a prepositional object.

See 12.9 for the position in an infinitive clause of a preposition which is dependent on a verb that takes a prepositional object, when the object itself is left out, i.e.

(1021) *Dis mooi om na te kyk.*
'It's lovely to look at.'

The verbs given below are listed alphabetically under the preposition they govern. This should assist in acquiring a feeling for the connotation of the preposition in question. It is always difficult to generalise about prepositions, but one will find certain patterns emerging. For example, if *kyk* takes *na*, so will *staar* 'to stare at' and *tuur* 'to peer at' and verbs of giving and offering something 'to' someone can take *aan* in formal contexts but in everyday contexts *vir* is used (see *vir* under 11.1).

Where an alternative is given, e.g. *gee aan* (also *vir*), either preposition is used with this meaning, but where one is referred to another preposition, e.g. *glo aan* 'to believe in' (see *in*), the implication is that this verb can be followed by that other preposition too, but with a different meaning.

aan

- aanbeveel aan* (also *vir*) 'to recommend to'
beantwoord aan 'to correspond to'
(be)hoort aan 'to belong to' (i.e. possession, see *tot*)
beswyk aan 'to succumb to'
skuldig bevind aan (also *van*) 'to find guilty of'
blootstel aan 'to expose to'
hulde bring aan 'to pay homage to'
deelneem aan 'to take part in'
dink aan 'to think of'
doen aan 'to do to' (i.e. something to someone)
doen aan (also *omtrent*) 'to do something about something'
gee aan (also *vir*) 'to give to'
glo aan 'to believe in (see *in*)'
grens aan 'to border on'
laat dink aan 'to remind of'
ly aan 'to suffer from' (a disease) (see *onder*)
offer aan 'to sacrifice to'
(jou) onderwerp aan 'to subject (oneself) to'
ontbreek aan 'to be lacking in'
ontleen aan 'to borrow from' (linguistic borrowing)
ontsnap aan 'to escape from'
onttrek aan 'to withdraw from'
ontvlug aan (also *van*) 'to flee from'
skuldig pleit aan 'to plead guilty to'
sê aan (also *vir*) 'to say to' (also no prep., e.g. *Sê my...* 'Tell me...')
spandeer aan (also *op*) 'to spend on'
gelyk staan aan (also *met*) 'to be on a par with, to be equivalent to'
sterf aan 'to die of' (but *Ek sterf van die honger*, figurative)
stuur aan 'to send to' (something to a person) (see *na*)
toegee aan 'to give in to, cede to'
toeskryf aan 'to attribute to'
toevertrou aan 'to entrust to'
toevoeg aan (also *tot*) 'to add to'
torring aan 'to meddle with'
twyfel aan 'to doubt'
jou verloof aan (also *met*) 'to get engaged to'
voldoen aan 'to satisfy'
wanhoop aan 'to despair at'
wy aan 'to devote to'

by

(jou) *aanpas by* 'to assimilate to, to adapt to'
 (jou) *aansluit by* 'to join' (a club)
baat by 'to profit by'
kan kers vashou by 'to hold a candle to'

deur

vervang deur (more commonly with *met*) 'to replace by'

in

belang stel in 'to be interested in'
glo in (God/jouself) 'to believe in' (God/yourself, otherwise use *aan*)
voorsien in ('n behoefte) 'to satisfy' (a need) (see *van*)

met

boer met 'to farm', e.g. *Hy boer met varke.*
akkoord gaan met 'to agree to'
gebeur met 'to happen to'
rekening hou met 'to take into consideration'
praat met 'to talk to'
saamstem met 'to agree with'
smous met 'to hawk'
spog met 'to show off, pride yourself on'
spot met 'to ridicule', e.g. *Spot jy met my?*
gelyk staan met (also *aan*) 'to be on a par with, to be equivalent to'
teel met 'to breed', e.g. *Hy teel met honde.*
trou met (also no preposition) 'to marry'
vergelyk met 'to compare with/to'
jou verloof met (also *aan*) 'to get engaged to'
vervang met (also *deur*) 'to replace by'

na

aard na 'to take after' (someone)
beduie na 'to point to'
blaf na 'to bark at' (something) (see *vir*)
gryp na 'to grasp at'
hunker na 'to long for, to yearn for, to hanker after'
klink na 'to sound like'
kyk na 'to look at, to look after' (i.e. 'to care for') (see above)
loer na 'to peep at, to peer at'
luister na 'to listen to' (see above)
lyk na 'to look like, to seem like'⁶¹

⁶¹ When the reference is to someone physically looking like someone or something *na* or *soos* is used, otherwise only *na* is possible, e.g. *Sy lyk nie na/soos 'n plaasvrou nie* 'She doesn't look like a farming woman', *Sy lyk verstommend baie na/soos haar pa* 'She looks amazingly like her father', *Dit het na 'n goeie geleentheid gelyk* 'It seemed to be a good opportunity', *Hy lyk na 'n redelike man* 'He seems like a reasonable man', *Wat vir blankes na ontsaglike toegewings gelyk het, het vir swartes gelyk na toegewings onder druk* 'What seemed like incredible concessions to whites, looked to blacks like concessions granted under pressure'.

mik na 'to aim at'
neig na (also *tot*) 'to tend towards'
omsien na 'to look after, to care for' (someone)
oorgaan na (also *tot*) 'to go over to, to switch to'
opkyk / -sien na 'to look up to' (someone)
ruik na 'to taste of, smack of'
smaak na 'to taste like' (= *proe soos*)
smag na 'to yearn for, to long for'
snak na 'to yearn for, to pine for'
soek na 'to look for'⁶²
staar na 'to stare at'
streef na 'to strive for'
stuur na 'to send' (something to a place, see *aan*)
terugkom na (also *op*) 'to return to' (a point in a discussion)
trek na 'to look like, take after' (= *lyk soos*, see footnote 61)
tuur na 'to gaze at, to stare at'
uitsien na 'to look forward to'
verander na 'to change into'
verlang na 'to long for'
(ver)noem na 'to name after' (American English 'to call for')
verwys na 'to refer to'
vra na 'to ask after', e.g. *Hy vra na my broer / die stasie*⁶³ (see *om*).
wys na 'to point to'

om

aansoek doen om (colloquial also *vir*) 'to apply for'
vra om 'to ask for'⁶⁴
gaan om 'to be about' (a point or issue) (see *oor*)
veg om 'to fight for', e.g. *om jou lewe veg*

onder

ly onder 'to suffer from' (anything but disease, figurative) (see *aan*)

oor

baasspeel oor 'to boss over'
(jou) bekommer oor 'to worry about'
beskik oor 'to have at one's disposal'
gaan oor 'to be about' (a story, book, film) (see *om*)
handel oor 'to be about' (the plot of a story, book, film)

⁶² The preposition is optional when one is looking for something which has been lost, e.g. *Ek soek (na) my pen* 'I'm looking for my pen', but in the figurative sense it is omitted, e.g. *Ons soek 'n nuwe sekretaresse* 'We're looking for a new secretary', *Jy soek moeilikheid* 'You're looking for trouble'.

⁶³ In *Hy vra die pad* 'He asks the way', the preposition is omitted in colloquial Afrikaans.

⁶⁴ Analogous to the example in the previous footnote, the preposition is sometimes omitted, e.g. *Hy vra (om) water / papier* 'He's asking for water/paper', *Baie mense vra haar handtekening* 'Lots of people ask for her autograph'. In imitation of English one often also hears *vir* in lieu of *om*.

dit hê oor 'to talk about'
kla oor 'to complain about'
lag oor 'to laugh at' (i.e. a joke, something said) (see *vir*)
nadink oor 'to think over, muse (up)on'
jou ontferm oor 'to take pity on, be concerned about'
praat oor/van 'to talk about'
jou verbaas oor 'to be amazed at'
jou verwonder oor 'to be amazed at'

op

aandring op 'to insist upon'
antwoord op 'to answer to'⁶⁶
berus op 'to be based on'
besluit op 'to decide on'
betrap op 'to catch at'
'n beroep doen op 'to appeal to'
drink op 'to drink to'
dui op 'to point to' (figurative)
eindig op 'to end in' (of words), e.g. *Dit eindig op 'n e.*
betrekking hê op 'to refer to'
hoop op 'to hope for'
ingaan op 'to go into' (figurative)
inteken op 'to subscribe to'
jag op 'to hunt (for)'
die rug keer op 'to turn one's back on'
konsentreer op 'to concentrate on'
let op 'to take care of, watch out for'
neerkom op 'to come down to, amount to'
neersien op 'to look down on'
noem op 'to call by', e.g. *Elkeen word op sy voornaam genoem.*
reken op 'to reckon on, rely on'
rig op 'to aim at'
roem op 'to boast of'
skel op 'to curse'
skree op 'to yell at'
spandeer op (also *aan*) 'to spend on'
staan op 'to insist on'
staatmaak op 'to rely on'
takseer op 'to judge by', e.g. *Moenie 'n aartappel op sy baadjie takseer nie.*
terugkom op (also *na*) 'to return to' (a point in a discussion)
toepas op 'to apply to'
uitoefen op 'to execute on, carry out on'
verbeter op 'to improve (up)on'
vertrou op 'to rely on'
vloek op (*op* also omitted) 'to curse, swear at'

⁶⁶ *Antwoord my* but *Antwoord op my vraag* (= *Beantwoord my vraag*), although in practice one hears *antwoord my vraag* too.

volg op 'to follow', e.g. *Doen dieselfde met die sinne wat daarop volg.*
wag op (also *vir*) 'to wait for'
werk op 'to get on', e.g. *Dit werk op my senuwees.*
wys op 'to point to (figurative), to indicate'

teen

jou disnis loop teen 'to bang into something'
beswaar maak teen 'to object to'
waarsku teen 'to warn against'

tot

behoort tot 'to belong' (affiliation to a group) (see *aan*)
beperk tot 'to limit to'
bydra tot 'to contribute to'
lei tot 'to lead to' (figurative)
'n bydrae lewer tot 'to make a contribution to'
oorgaan tot (also *na*) 'to go over to, to switch to'
toelaat tot 'to admit to'
toetree tot 'to become a party to'
toevoeg aan (also *aan*) 'to add to'
vonnis tot 'to sentence to'
veroordeel tot 'to condemn to'
(jou) wend tot / na 'to turn to' (someone) (figurative)⁶⁶

uit

bedank uit 'to quit' (a job)
bestaan uit 'to consist of'
dateer uit (also *van / vanaf*) 'to date from'
drink uit 'to drink from' (a glass)
leer uit 'to learn from' (books)
stam uit 'to originate from', e.g. *Dit stam uit die tyd van Noag.*

van⁶⁷

afhang van 'to depend on'
af sien van 'to abandon, give up', e.g. *Hy het van die plan af gesien.*
verslag doen van 'to (write a) report on'
geld van (also *vir*) 'to be valid for, apply to' (also with no prep., see above)
hou van 'to love, like'
ontneem van 'to deprive of, take from'⁶⁸

⁶⁶ *Hy het hom tot my om hulp gewend* 'He turned to me for help', but *Hy het (hom) na my gedraai* 'He turned towards me' (with his body).

⁶⁷ Possibly due to the influence of English, *van* combines with a number of verbs in set expressions to render 'about', e.g. *Vergeet daarvan* 'Forget about it', *Ek is bang iemand vind daarvan uit* 'I'm afraid someone will find out about it', *Wat van ...?* 'What about ...?', *Weet jy daarvan?* 'Do you know about it?', *Die ding wat jy van praat* (= oor)... 'The thing you're talking about', *Ek ken van werk* 'I know about work'.

⁶⁸ Prescriptive grammar insists no preposition is necessary with *ontneem* and *ontroof* but it is commonly found in practice, e.g. *Al sy besittings is (van) hom ontnem / ontroof* 'He was deprived of all his possessions'.

ontroof van 'to deprive of'⁶⁸
ontvlug van (also *aan*) 'to flee from'
praat van (also *oor*) 'to talk about'
skei van 'to divorce' (see above)
vergeet van 'to forget about'
verwittig van 'to inform about'
voorsien van 'to provide with' (see *in*)
wemel van 'to be crawling with'
word van 'to become of' (someone)

vir (see *vir* under 11.1)

blaf vir 'to laugh at' (someone) (see *na*)
geld vir (also *van*) 'to be valid for, to apply to'
inruil vir 'to trade in for'
lag vir 'to laugh at, ridicule' (see *oor*)
lief wees vir 'to love' (someone)
lieg vir 'to lie to' (someone)
omgee vir 'to care about' (someone)
oppas vir 'to beware of'
(jou) skaam vir 'to be ashamed of'
skrik vir 'to be frightened at'
sorg vir 'to care for, look after'
val vir 'to fall for'
verruil vir 'to exchange for'
vlug vir 'to flee from/before', e.g. *Hy moes vir die polisie vlug.*
vrees vir 'to fear for'
waai vir 'to wave to/at' (someone)
wys vir 'to show to' (someone)

8.19.1. Verbs that take a fixed preposition followed by *daar* + preposition when a dependent clause follows (see 5.1.1.3.4)

When the object of the verbs given under 8.19 is a clause, rather than a noun or pronoun, the preposition frequently combines with *daar*- and the clause is introduced by *dat* or *om*, e.g.

- (1022) *Dit het daartoe gelei dat hy homself vinnig gevestig het.*
 'This led to him establishing himself quickly.'
- (1023) *Hulle hou daarvan om in die Drakensberge te kampeer.*
 'They like camping in the Drakensberg.'
- (1024) *Ek sien daarna uit om julle weer te sien.*
 'I'm looking forward to seeing you again.'

Sometimes the pronominal structure in *daar* is optional, in which case it is more usually omitted, e.g.

- (1025) *Hulle strewe (daarna) om 'n nuwe party te stig.*
 'They're striving to found a new party.'

8.20. Reflexive verbs

A reflexive verb is one in which the action of the verb reflects back on the subject. In other words, the object of the verb is a pronoun that refers back to the subject of the sentence. Such pronouns are called reflexive pronouns. Some, but not most reflexive verbs, can take another direct object (e.g. *Ek moet my dit verbeel het* 'I must have imagined it'), and there are many that take a prepositional object (e.g. *Hy het hom aan haar gedrag geërg* 'He got irritated by her behaviour', see 8.19); those that are followed by a fixed preposition are given with their preposition in the lists below.

8.20.1. Reflexive pronouns

The reflexive pronouns are identical to the object pronouns (see 5.1), to which, under certain circumstances, *-self* is added (see 8.20.4):

<i>my(self)</i>	–	myself	<i>ons(self)</i>	–	ourselves
<i>jou(self)</i>	–	yourself	<i>julle/jul(self)</i>	–	yourselves
<i>u(self)</i>	–	yourself			
<i>hom(self)</i>	–	himself ⁶⁹	<i>hulle/hul(self)</i>	–	themselves
<i>haar(self)</i>	–	herself ⁶⁹			
<i>hom(self)</i>	–	itself			

8.20.2. The infinitive form of reflexive verbs

Reflexive verbs are given in the infinitive form in one of three ways in Afrikaans dictionaries *jou/sig/hom amuseer* 'to amuse oneself'.⁷⁰ The form *sig amuseer* only has an historical validity and it is high time it was eradicated from Afrikaans dictionaries;⁷¹ otherwise it is academic, as in English, whether one sees such verbs as *jou amuseer* 'to amuse yourself' or *hom amuseer* 'to amuse oneself'. Only with a verb like *hom afspeel* 'to take place', for example, which can only be used impersonally in the third person, might one justifiably object to the infinitive form *jou afspeel*.

⁶⁹ As explained under 5.1.1.2.1, when the respectful third person form of address is used, avoidance of the personal pronoun extends to the reflexive pronoun too, e.g. *Mevrou moet mevrou tot die bestuurder wend* 'You should approach the manager, madam'. The second *mevrou* functions here as a reflexive.

⁷⁰ See 5.1.2.6 for another context where *jou(self)* renders 'oneself'.

⁷¹ The historically third person reflexive *sig* still occurs in the standard expression *op sigself*, e.g. *Dis 'n verhaal op sigself* 'That's a story in itself'.

8.20.3. Comparison of the Afrikaans reflexive with the English reflexive

There are fewer reflexive verbs in Afrikaans than in other European languages, but nevertheless there are still many more than in English, e.g.

- (1026) *Dis 'n rolprent wat hom net na die Tweede Wêreldoorlog afspeel.*
 'It is a film which takes place just after the World War II' (not reflexive in English).
- (1027) *Dit het my 'n baie lang tyd geneem om (my) weer aan te pas.*
 'It took me a very long time to adapt again' (not reflexive in English, optionally so in Afrikaans, and definitely so in Dutch).

The reflexivity of verbs and their use with or without the compound pronoun in *-self* is something that is in a state of flux in Afrikaans with two strong tendencies current, both of them presumably the result of English influence:

1) the loss of the need for a reflexive pronoun at all. There are many historically reflexive verbs which are not reflexive in English and where Afrikaans speakers now no longer at all feel the need for a reflexive pronoun, or where at most they feel that use of the pronoun is optional, e.g.

- (1028) *Toe hoor sy iets en sy draai (haar) om.*
 'Then she heard a voice and she turned around.'⁷²

This tendency is greater in the spoken language than in the formal written language.

2) the use of the compound form in *-self* where historically it was not required or was even considered incorrect. For example, the verb *ooreet* 'to overeat, gorge oneself' is found as *ooreet / jou ooreet / jouself ooreet* :

- (1029) *Hy het ooreet / hy het hom ooreet / hy het homself ooreet.*
 'He's overeaten.'

8.20.4. Use of the pronominal suffix *-self*

Although historically the object form of the personal pronoun served as the reflexive pronoun too, and *-self* was only added for emphasis, these days *-self* is frequently suffixed to the pronoun even without a particular emphasis being implied (undoubtedly also the result of English influence), for example: historically the verb 'to shave', *skeer*, is reflexive; in Afrikaans today it can either be used intransitively without any reflexive pronoun, or with the reflexive pronoun, or with the reflexive plus *-self*, the first and third alternatives presumably being due to English influence, e.g. *Ek het vanmôre vergeet om (my[self]) te skeer* 'I forgot to shave this morning'. The same applies to the verb 'to wash', *was*.

⁷² The purist (see Hiemstra 1980:99) would maintain that *jou omdraai* means 'to turn around' and *omdraai*, as used here, means 'to turn back', but this distinction is ignored in practice.

The tendency to add the suffix *-self* to the reflexive where no emphasis is being expressed applies particularly to those verbs which also exist as non-reflexive transitive verbs, as is the case with *skeer* and *was*, e.g.

- (1030) *My pa is nou baie oud en ek moet hom skeer want hy kan homself*
(necessary to avoid any trace of ambiguity) *nie meer skeer nie.*
'My father is now very old and I have to shave him because he
can't shave himself any more.'
(1031) *Sy het die baba nog nie gewas nie.*
'She hasn't yet washed the baby.'

But these are also two verbs that are commonly used without any reflexive pronoun at all, even when the meaning is reflexive, e.g.

- (1032) *Ek gaan skeer / was.*
'I'm going to wash/shave.'

But the verbs *jou afvra* and *jou gedra*, for example, do not otherwise occur transitively and yet one frequently hears

- (1033) *Elke ma moet haarself die volgende afvra.*
'Every mother should ask herself the following.'
(1034) *Gedra jousef.*
'Behave yourself.'²³

The colloquial practice of inserting a *vir* before direct objects (see *vir* under 11.1) extends to the reflexive pronoun – which is also a form of personal object after all – although not as frequently as in the case of direct objects, e.g.

- (1035) *Elke boer moet vir homself afvra of dit die moeite werd is.*
'Every farmer must ask himself if it is worth the effort.'

(See below for the use of compound reflexives in *-self* after prepositions).

Particularly in the third person, *-self* is often added to the reflexive pronoun to remove any ambiguity, the possibility of ambiguity being greater in the third person than the other persons because of the object pronouns and reflexive pronouns being identical if *-self* is not used.

The compound forms with *-self* are always used after prepositions, e.g.

- (1036) *Dié vroumens praat te veel oor haarself*
'That woman talks about herself too much.'
(1037) *Jy het koffie op jousef gemors.*
'You have spilt coffee on yourself.'
(1038) *Jy kan dit vir jousef sien.*
'You can see it for yourself.'

²³ Afrikaans prescriptive works insist that true reflexive verbs (i.e. those that only exist as reflexives) should never be used with *-self*; it is true that the *-self* is superfluous, but nevertheless commonly heard.

Whenever verbs that take a prepositional object (see 8.19) reflect back on the subject, the use of a preposition in such cases demands a reflexive pronoun in *-self*, e.g. *in jouself glo* 'to believe in yourself', *vir jouself omgee* 'to take care of yourself', *aan/vir jouself sê* 'to say to yourself', *met jouself spot* 'to mock yourself'; also *by jouself dink/lag* 'to think/laugh to yourself'.

Vir + reflexive pronoun (with or without *-self*) is used with non-reflexive transitive verbs to express that the object of the verb is for the benefit of the subject, a function fulfilled by the reflexive pronoun (usually) without the preposition in English, e.g.

- (1039) *Louis het vir hom(self) 'n paar tydskrifte uitgesoek.*
 'Louis chose himself a few magazines.'
 = 'Louis chose a few magazines for himself.'
- (1040) *Ek het opgestaan en vir my(self) gaan water skink uit die kraffie op die wastafel.*
 'I got up and went and poured myself some water from the carafe on the wash-stand.'

Jou geniet 'to enjoy yourself', being a very commonly heard loan translation from English, is most usually used with the compound pronoun, e.g.

- (1041) *Ek hoop julle gaan julleself geniet.*
 'I hope you're going to enjoy yourselves.'

In the imperative, *-self* is always affixed to the pronoun, e.g.

- (1042) *Geniet jouself.*
 'Enjoy yourself.'

Purists would insist on the object pronoun *dit* replacing the reflexive here.

8.20.4.1. Use of independent *self*

Where in English the reflexive 'myself, yourself' etc. is used to emphasise that one did something oneself, i.e. that the action was performed by the person concerned, rather than to that person (in which case by definition the reflexive is required in Afrikaans), *self* is used,⁷⁴ e.g.

- (1043) *Jou kind moet self sy skooltaak doen.*
 'Your child must do his homework himself.'
- (1044) *Ek het haar self in die dorp gesien.*
 'I saw her in town myself.'

This use of the reflexive in English is often synonymous with 'personally', in which case Afrikaans still uses *self*, although *persoonlik* does occur in imitation of English practice, e.g.

⁷⁴ Compare the following sentences between which there is no real difference in meaning: *My seuntjie kan al homself aantrek* 'My son can already dress himself', *My seuntjie kan hom al self aantrek* 'My son can already get dressed on his own'.

- (1045) *Ek self het haar gesien.*
 'I myself/personally saw her.'

Compare this use of *self* with that of *jouself* etc. after a preposition under 8.20.4, paragraph 4, e.g.

- (1046) *Sy het die rokkie self gemaak.*
 'She made the dress herself.'
 (1047) *Sy het die rokkie vir haarself gemaak.*
 'She made the dress for herself.'

This is also the word required to render non-reflexive 'itself', a variant of which is *vanself*, e.g.

- (1048) *Hy is die wysheid (van)self.*
 'He is wisdom itself.'

8.20.5. The two categories of reflexive verbs

It is impossible to list all the reflexive verbs in Afrikaans. The following lists merely give an indication of the concept; some of them are reflexive in English too, but most are not. They are divided into two categories:

- 1) those verbs that are always used reflexively (8.20.5.1).
- 2) those verbs that are historically reflexive, but where use of the reflexive pronoun is now optional (8.20.5.2).

8.20.5.1. Verbs that are always reflexive

This list is not by any means complete but will serve to illustrate what sorts of verbs are reflexive.

- jou aanstel* 'to show off'
jou aantrek 'to take to heart', e.g. *Ek het my niks daarvan aangetrek nie.*
jou afsloof 'to wear oneself out'
jou afsonder 'to isolate oneself'
hom afspeel 'to take place'
jou afvra 'to wonder', e.g. *Ek vra my af = ek wonder.*
jou bedwing 'to restrain oneself'
jou bekwaam vir 'to qualify as, study for'
jou bemoei met 'to meddle, concern oneself with'
jou beperk tot 'to limit oneself to'
jou beroem op 'to take a pride in, glory in'
jou besig hou met 'to occupy oneself with'
jou betoom 'to control oneself'
jou bevind 'to find oneself'
jou beywer vir 'to exert oneself for'
jou brand 'to burn oneself'
jou dikvreet 'to stuff oneself'

jou disnis loop teen 'to walk/bump into'
jou (mors)dood-/sieklag 'to laugh oneself silly'
jou doodsuukel 'to battle' (to get something done)
jou dood-/asvaalskrik 'to be frightened to death'
jou dood-/disnis-/kapotwerk 'to work oneself to death'
jou doodval 'to fall to one's death'
jou gedra/misdra 'to behave/misbehave'
jou haas 'to hurry'
jou herinner aan 'to remember'
jou identifiseer met 'to identify with'
jou indink 'to imagine'
jou inspan vir 'to exert oneself'
jou klaarmaak vir 'to prepare oneself for'
jou kwyt van 'to acquit oneself' (of a duty, task)
jou misgis 'to misjudge'
jou misreken 'to miscalculate'
jou neerlê by 'to give into'
jou ontferm oor 'to take pity on'
jou onthou van 'to refrain from, distance oneself from'
jou ontstel oor 'to become upset at'
jou regruk 'to pull oneself together'
jou rig tot 'to turn to'
jou roer 'to move oneself'
jou skaam 'to be ashamed'
jou skaar by 'to fall in with'
jou skuldig maak aan 'to be guilty of'
jou steur aan 'to mind, care about'
jou toeëien 'to take possession'
jou toelê op 'to apply oneself to'
jou toewy aan 'to devote oneself to'
jou troos aan 'to console oneself at'
jou tuismaak 'to make oneself at home'
jou uitgee vir 'to pass oneself off as'
jou uitleef 'to live one's life to the full'
jou verbaas oor 'to be amazed at'
jou verbeel 'to imagine'
jou verbind 'to commit oneself'
jou verdiep in 'to immerse/lose oneself in'
jou vereenselwig met 'to identify with'
jou (ver)erg aan/vir 'to be irritated at'
jou vergewis van 'to make sure of, satisfy oneself as to'
jou vergis 'to be mistaken'
jou verheug oor 'to rejoice at/be glad about'
jou verkiesbaar stel 'to stand' (for election)
jou verknies oor 'to fret/mope over'
jou verkyk aan 'to stare at'
jou verneder 'to humble oneself'
jou verset teen 'to resist'

jou verslaap 'to oversleep'
jou versoen met 'to reconcile oneself with'
jou verstom oor 'to be amazed at'
jou verwonder oor 'to be astonished at'
jou voorberei vir 'to get prepared for'
jou voorneem 'to intend'
jou voorstel 'to imagine; to introduce oneself'
jou vreklag oor 'to laugh oneself silly at'
jou vrekry 'to kill oneself driving'
jou vreksukkel 'to battle' (to do something)
jou wend tot 'to turn to' (someone for help)
jou wreek op 'to avenge oneself'
jou wy aan 'to devote oneself to'
jouself veroorloof 'to allow/permit yourself'

8.20.5.2. Verbs that are optionally reflexive

The following verbs are historically reflexive but now normally dispense with the reflexive pronoun in speech, and usually in writing too. Some of them, like *aansluit* and *bewus wees/word*, are only reflexive in very formal written language. Several of these verbs also exist as transitive verbs, e.g. *aanmeld*, *aanpas* and *onttrek*, which may have contributed to the loss of the reflexive pronoun, but this is not by any means always the case; English influence has undoubtedly also played a role here.

aanmeld 'to register'
aanpas by 'to assimilate'
aansluit 'to join' (a club)
aantrek 'to get dressed'
afspeel 'to take place'
assosieer 'to associate'
bekommer 'to worry'
gereedmaak 'to get ready, prepare'
iets op die hals haal 'to bring something on oneself'
haas 'to hurry'
identifiseer met 'to identify with'
ingrawe 'to dig in, entrench oneself'
inmeng in 'to get involved in'
kalmeeer 'to calm down'
kwel oor 'to worry about'
omdraai 'to turn (around)' (see footnote 72)
onttrek aan/van 'to withdraw from'
ooreet 'to overeat'
oorgee 'to surrender, give in to'
regmaak 'to prepare'
roem 'to pride oneself on'
skeer 'to shave'
skrik 'to be frightened'

spesialiseer 'to specialise'
te pletter loop 'to smash one's head against'
uittrek 'to get undressed'
verenig 'to become one, unite'
verskuil 'to hide'
verslaap 'to oversleep'
vestig 'to settle'
voorberei 'to prepare' (e.g. for an exam)
tot iets aangetrokke/geroepe voel 'to feel attracted to/called to'⁷⁶
genoodsaak voel 'to feel compelled to'⁷⁶
tuisvoel 'to feel at home'⁷⁶
was 'to wash'

8.20.5.3. Position of the reflexive pronoun in the sentence (see 12.5)

8.21. Order of verbs (see 12.1)

8.22. Transitive versus intransitive verbs

Afrikaans is more sensitive to the distinction between transitive and intransitive verbs than English. One needs to look closely at the additional information provided by dictionaries when looking up Afrikaans verbs. Many verbs are the same whether used transitively or intransitively, but many others require a different form of the verb, or sometimes even a different word, when used intransitively. For example, under 'to answer' in the dictionary one finds both *antwoord* (transitive) and *beantwoord* (intransitive), thus

- (1049) *Hy het nie geantwoord nie.*
 'He didn't answer' (no object mentioned, therefore intransitive).
 (1050) *Hy het die brief beantwoord.*
 'He answered the letter' (object mentioned, therefore transitive).

But *antwoord* can take an object with the help of a preposition, in which case it is still formally being used intransitively, e.g.

- (1051) *Toe antwoord hy (vir) sy pa.*
 'Then he answered his father.'
 (1052) *Toe antwoord hy op die brief.*
 'He then answered the letter.'

Here *antwoord* is a verb that is followed by a fixed preposition and takes a prepositional object (see 8.19).

The use of the prefix *be-* to transitive a verb (see 8.15.2.3) in lieu of using that verb plus a fixed preposition, does not necessarily provide a verb that

⁷⁶ Although the reflexive is optional in these compounds of *voel* – but it is commonly found in higher style – *voel* itself is never reflexive, e.g. *Ek voel nie lekker nie* 'I don't feel well'.

completely synonymous, e.g. *op/langs 'n pad wandel* 'to take a path' (literally 'to walk along a path'), *'n pad bewandel* 'to take a path' (figurative); *kyk na* 'to look at', *bekyk* 'to look more intently at' (i.e. 'to study' something); *stry teen* 'to battle/struggle against', *bestry* 'to combat' (a disease); *mors [op]* 'to spill/make a mess (on)', *bemors* 'to dirty', e.g.

- (1053) *Jy het jou sop gemors.*
'You've spilt your soup' (transitive).
(1054) *Jy het [op jou hemp] gemors.*
'You've made a mess' [on your shirt] (intransitive).
(1055) *Jy het jou hemp bemors.*
'You've dirtied your shirt' (transitive).

Compare the following couplet where *ver-* fulfils a similar function:

- (1056) *Die seuntjie mors met water.*
'The little boy is mucking around with water.'
(1057) *Hy vermors water.*
'He's wasting water.'

There are numerous other transitive-intransitive verbal couplets over and above those with or without prepositional objects, e.g. *oopmaak/toemaak* 'to open/shut' (transitive) *oopgaan/toegaan* (intransitive), *verbrand/brand* 'to burn' (transitive/intransitive), *bedreig/dreig* 'to threaten' (transitive/intransitive), *beëindig/eindig* 'to finish' (transitive/intransitive). If 'to dare' has a direct object, the verb is *waag*, but if one 'dares [to] do something' (i.e. intransitive), the verb is *durf*, e.g.

- (1058) *Ek het dit nie gewaag nie.*
'I didn't dare/risk it.'
(1059) *Ek het dit nie durf doen nie.*
'I didn't dare/risk doing it.'

Prescriptive grammar insists that *smaak* is intransitive whereas *proe* is transitive, e.g.

- (1060) *Proe hierdie appel. Smaak dit nie heerlik nie?*
'Taste this apple. Doesn't it taste delicious?'

In practice one also hears *proe* being used intransitive too, but the reverse does not occur except where *smaak* is used figuratively.

One of the uses that *laat* as a copula verb is put to, is using it as a means of transiting the verb it is acting as copula for, e.g.

toeneem (to increase, intransitive):

- (1061) *Die bevolking het toegeneem.*
'The population has increased.'
(1062) *Die regering wil die bevolking laat toeneem.*
'The government wants to increase the population' (transitive).

sak 'to descend, go down' (intransitive):

- (1063) *Jy moet die emmer 'n bietjie laat sak.*
 'You must lower the bucket' (transitive).

Similarly *ontplof* 'to explode' (intransitive) 'n *bom laat ontplof* 'to explode a bomb' (transitive) and *val* 'to fall' (intransitive) *laat val* 'to drop' (transitive). From an Afrikaans, rather than an English, point of view, the way *laat* is used in the above examples is indistinguishable from contexts where it renders the English 'to have something done' (see 8.16.1.3); compare the next two examples:

- (1064) *My kleinneef het 'n huis op George laat bou.*
 'My nephew has had a house built in George' (which is formed from *bou*, itself already a transitive verb).
- (1065) *Hoe gaan 'n onafhanklike Namibië daarin slaag om sy begroting te laat klop.*
 'How is an independent Namibia going to succeed in balancing its budget' (which is formed from *klop*, an intransitive verb in this sense).

The fact that many such copula constructions with *laat* are now regarded as identical to a transitive verb is evidenced by the fact that some even occur in the passive, which is one of the features that distinguishes a transitive from an intransitive verb (see 8.14.5).

Intransitive verbs can't be used in the passive but *laat* + infinitive constructions are obviously regarded as transitive although *laat* in this sense is strictly speaking an intransitive verb. The same applies in the following example where, although *kom* is an intransitive verb, in the phrase *tot 'n besluit kom* it is regarded as transitive and can be expressed in the passive:

- (1066) *Volgens berigte kon daar nie tot 'n besluit gekom word nie.*
 'According to reports a decision could not be arrived at.'

The English intransitive construction in the sentence 'This material washes easily' exists in Afrikaans too (*Hierdie materiaal was maklik*) but is possible with more verbs than in English, e.g.

- (1067) *Hierdie hout werk lekker.*
 'This wood is nice to work with.'
- (1068) *Hierdie stoel sit lekker.*
 'This chair is nice to sit in.'

Suggested reading

De Villiers (1968). This is a very detailed analysis of tense, aspect and modality in the verbal system of Afrikaans.

9. Conjunctions

The following conjunctions are grouped according to the effect they have on the word order of the clause they introduce.

9.1. Co-ordinating conjunctions

Co-ordinating conjunctions can connect words, phrases or clauses. Subordinating conjunctions can only connect clauses and the main distinction between a co-ordinating and a subordinating conjunction in Afrikaans is that the latter causes the finite verb in the clause which it introduces to be sent to the end, or near to the end, whereas a co-ordinating conjunction has no effect on word order. In addition, as in English, it is not possible to put a co-ordinating clause before a main clause, which is however possible with a subordinating clause.

There are only four co-ordinating conjunctions:

<i>en</i>	'and'	<i>of</i>	'or'
<i>maar</i>	'but'	<i>want</i>	'for, because'

Examples:

- (1069) *Hy het ryk en dik geword.*
'He 's got rich and fat.'
- (1070) *Hy het baie geld gemaak en (hy) het ook gewig aangesit.*
'He's made a lot of money and has put on weight.'
- (1071) *Ons bly al lank in die Vrystaat maar (ons) sou liewers in die Kaap wou woon.*
'We've been living in the Free State for a long time but (we) would rather live in the Cape.'
- (1072) *Word julle nog deur droogte geteister of het julle al bietjie reën gehad?*
'Are you still being plagued by drought or have you had a bit of rain?'

1. The co-ordinating conjunction *of* meaning 'or' must not be confused with the subordinating conjunction *of* meaning 'whether'. The sequence 'or whether' can be rendered by *en of* where subordinating *of* determines the word order, e.g.

- (1073) *Ek het nie geweet of hy regtig kwaad is en of hy sommer net aansit nie.*
'I didn't know whether he was really angry or whether he was putting it on.'

More commonly, however, the subject of the second clause is omitted and co-ordinating *of* suffices, e.g.

- (1074) *Ek weet nie of ek vanaand uitgaan of tuis bly nie.*
'I don't know whether I'm going out tonight or (whether I'm) staying home.'

In higher style a subordinate construction of...*dan wel* renders 'whether...or whether', thereby avoiding untidy repetition of the same word, e.g.

- (1075) *Of dit 'n ongeluk dan wel opset was, weet ek nie.*
 'Whether it was an accident or whether it was done on purpose/
 whether it was done by accident or design, I don't know.'

Co-ordinating *of* can occur after a main clause containing a negative, or other adverb that has a negative connotation (marked in Roman type), where it often, but not necessarily always, is rendered by 'before/when' in English, e.g.

- (1076) *Dit was nie lank nie of hy begin hoës.*
 'It wasn't long before he began coughing.'
- (1077) *Skaars/kwalik het die wonde genees (= die wonde het skaars / kwalik genees) of die gewas het weer begin groei.*
 'Hardly had the wound healed before (= when) the growth started to grow again.'
- (1078) *Hy sal net terug wees van 'n vakansie, of hy is weer op pad.*
 'He'll be only recently returned from a holiday, before (= when) he's off again.'
- (1079) *Dit skeel só min of hulle het op Louis se spoor ook gekom.*
 'They very nearly discovered Louis' tracks too.'

'...or not?' following a statement is rendered in higher style by *al dan nie* (see 13.8).

When connecting words or phrases, not clauses, 'or' meaning 'that is to say' is rendered in higher style by *oftewel*, e.g.

- (1080) *Oorspronklik het dit Otjikango oftewel Die Sending geheet.*
 'Originally it was called Otjikango or (= that is to say) The Mission'
 (see footnote 2 under 13.1 on *ofte*).

2. *Want*, although rendering 'because', literally means 'for'. Although when following the main clause *want* and *omdat* are interchangeable, if the subordinate clause is first, it must be introduced by *omdat*, e.g.

- (1081) *Hy het 'n week vry geneem want hy was moeg (gewees).*
 = *Hy het 'n week vry geneem omdat hy moeg was.*
 'He took a week off for/because he was tired.'
- (1082) *Omdat hy moeg was, het hy 'n week vry geneem.*
 'Because he was tired, he took a week off.'

When one of the above co-ordinating conjunctions is followed by a subordinating conjunction, the latter determines the word order of the clause, e.g. *Ek het hom gesien maar hy het my nie gesien nie* > *Ek het hom gesien maar omdat hy my nie gesien het nie...* 'I saw him but he didn't see me > I saw him but because he didn't see me...' (see 'or whether' above for another example).

The conjunctive adverbs *altans* 'at least, at any rate', *immers* 'but, as you know' and *trouens* 'indeed, as a matter of fact' can stand in one of two

positions, either at the beginning of the clause, in which case they behave like co-ordinating conjunctions, or after the verb, in which case they act adverbially. They are actually adverbs and are consequently dealt with under adverbs (see 7.8).

9.2. Adverbial conjunctions

It is traditional for grammars to regard certain common adverbs such as the following as conjunctions: *anders* 'otherwise', *daarom* 'therefore', *daarenteen* 'on the other hand', *derhalwe* 'therefore', *dus* 'thus, therefore', *gevolglik* 'consequently, as a result', *nietemin* 'nevertheless', *tog/dog* 'but, yet, nevertheless'. This view of such words is based on the fact that they commonly stand at the beginning of clauses, thus assuming a connecting function, e.g.

- (1083) *Hy het niks van die partytjie geweet nie, daarom / dus het hy nie gegaan nie.*
 'He didn't know about the party, thus he didn't go.'

But as there are many more such adverbial expressions, and as they cause inversion of the subject and finite verb that follow, like all adverbs in first position, they are treated in this book as adverbs, not as conjunctions (see 7.8), with the following two exceptions.

Al 'even if' is synonymous with *selfs as*, where *as* is a subordinating conjunction, e.g.

- (1084) *Al gebruik u 'n skuilnaam (= selfs as u 'n skuilnaam gebruik), sal u briewe welkom wees.*
 'Even if you use a pseudonym, your letters will be welcome' (see 10.3 for a transformation of this using *hoe ook al*).

The saying *Al dra 'n aap 'n goue ring, hy is en bly 'n lelike ding* 'An ape's an ape, a varlet's a varlet, though they be clad in silk and scarlet', preserves the original Dutch word order, i.e. with no inversion of subject and verb in the main clause.

Dan is optional after 'if (= *as*) clauses, particularly but not necessarily in combination with the alternative construction in conditional clauses where the subordinating conjunction *as* is omitted and the finite verb stands in first position (see 9.4, note 3), e.g.

- (1085) *Slaag die samesprekings met die ANC (= as die samesprekings met die ANC slaag), (dan) hoef hulle nie langer in Lusaka te bly nie.*
 'If the discussions with the ANC succeed, they won't need to stay in Lusaka any longer.'
- (1086) *Was dit nie vir daardie pille nie, (dan) het sy vandag nog gelewe.*
 'Were it not for those pills, she would still be alive today' (see *sou* under 8.13.7 for further examples).

Indien nie/wel 'if not/so', which may otherwise have also warranted treatment here, is dealt with under negation (see 13.8).

9.3. Correlative conjunctions

Correlative conjunctions are conjunctive couplets which can stand either together with only one clause following, or separately with a clause following each conjunction in the couplet. They are further subdivided depending on the word order required after each of the conjunctions concerned. Correlative couplets can consist of a) two co-ordinating conjunctions, b) two adverbial conjunctions, c) a subordinating conjunction + an adverbial conjunction or d) an adverbial conjunction + a co-ordinating conjunction.

a) a co-ordinate conjunction + a co-ordinate conjunction

These conjunctions can connect individual words (e.g. *Beide hy en ek* 'Both he and I'), phrases or clauses. When they connect clauses the word order in both clauses is the same, i.e. with the finite verb in each in second position.

<i>beide...en</i>	'both...and'
<i>(èn)...èn</i>	'both...and'
<i>sowel...as</i> (= <i>sowel as</i> , <i>asook</i>)	'both...and, as well as'
<i>hetsy...hetsy/of</i>	'either...or'
<i>nie net...maar</i> (<i>ook</i>)	'not only...but (also)'
<i>nòg...nòg</i>	'neither...nor'
<i>òf...òf</i>	'either...or'

(See 2.5.3 for a comment on the use of the grave accent in the above words.)

Examples:

1. 'Both the blacks and the coloureds are satisfied with it.'

'The blacks as well as the coloureds are satisfied with it.'

i) *Sowel die swartes as die kleurlinge is tevrede daarmee.*

ii) *(Èn) die swartes èn die kleurlinge is tevrede daarmee.*

iii) *Beide die swartes en die kleurlinge is tevrede daarmee.*

iv) *Die swartes sowel as die kleurlinge is tevrede daarmee.*

v) *Die swartes asook die kleurlinge is tevrede daarmee.*

i) is the most common and is acceptable to everyone; iv) is regarded by many as an Anglicism and is thus disapproved of, but it occurs; v) sounds more formal, iii) is also very common in speech and writing, regardless of the fact it is possibly an Anglicism.

As the following sentences illustrate, these correlative conjunctions can introduce either independent clauses containing their own finite verbs, or clauses dependent on the same verb:

(1087) *Haar ervaringsveld is opmerklik beide beperk en uitermate beskermd.*

'Her field of experience is noticeably limited and extremely shielded.'

(1088) *Jy moet dit doen hetsy nou, hetsy/of later.*

'You have to either do it now or later.'

- (1089) *Nie net hy het my gehelp nie, maar sy vrou het my ook kom help.*
 'Not only he helped me but his wife came and helped me too' (see d below, i.e. an adverbial conjunction + a co-ordinating conjunction with a different meaning).
- (1090) *Nòg hy het my gehelp nòg sy vrou het iets gedoen om my situasie te verlig.*
 'Neither did he help me nor did his wife do anything to alleviate my situation.'
- (1091) *Nòg hy nòg sy vrou het my gehelp.*
 'Neither he nor his wife helped me.'
- (1092) *Of jy help my nou of jy hoef hier nooit weer te kom kuier nie.*
 'Either you help me now or you never need to come visiting here again.'
- (1093) *Of jy moet my help of jou vrou moet my help.*
 'Either you have to help me or your wife does.'
- (1094) *Of jy of jou vrou moet my help.*
 'Either you or your wife has to help me.'
- (1095) *As jy 'n ding wil aanpak, dan doen jy hom of goed of glad nie.*
 'If you want to do something, then you do it either well or not at all.'

b) an adverbial conjunction + an adverbial conjunction

enersyds...andersyds 'on the one hand...on the other hand'

aan die een kant...aan die ander kant 'on the one hand...on the other hand'

Example:

- (1096) *Aan die een kant hou ek van televisie maar aan die ander kant is daar niks op TV 1 of 4 wat die moeite werd is om na te kyk nie.*
 'On the one hand I like tv but on the other (hand) there's nothing on TV 1 or 4 that's worth watching.'¹

c) a subordinating conjunction + an adverbial conjunction

hoe...hoe (+ a comparative) 'the more...the more'

hoe...des te (+ a comparative) 'the more...the more'

These two expressions are synonymous, but the latter is more formal, e.g.

- (1097) *Hoe meer ek oor Suid-Afrika lees, hoe meer wil ek weet / Hoe meer ek oor Suid-Afrika lees, des te meer wil ek weet.*
 'The more I read about South Africa, the more I want to know.'

d) an adverbial conjunction + a co-ordinating conjunction

nie net...maar (ook) 'not only...but (also)'

Example:

- (1098) *Nie net het hy vir my geld gegee nie, maar hy het my ook sy kar geleen.*
 'Not only did he give me money, but he also lent me his car.'

¹ The four tv channels in South Africa are referred to as TV 1, 2, 3 and 4 (i.e. *tee vee een* etc.) and Bophuthatswana tv is called *Bop TV*. TV 2 and 3 broadcast in Bantu languages. A fifth channel, M-net, is available by subscription.

(See a above, i.e. a co-ordinating conjunction + a co-ordinating conjunction with a different meaning.)

9.4. Subordinating conjunctions

A clause introduced by any of the following conjunctions is regarded as being subordinate to the main clause and this is reflected in the position of the finite verb in the two clauses: the finite verb in the main clause is always the second idea in that clause (see 12.1), while that in the subordinate clause is the last idea (see 12.1.4). As in English, the subordinate clause can either precede or follow the main clause; when it precedes, inversion of subject and verb in the main clause results, e.g.

- (1099) *Omdat ek siek voel, bly ek vandag by die huis.*
 'Because I'm feeling sick today, I'm staying home' (subordinate clause first).
- (1100) *Ek bly vandag by die huis omdat ek siek voel.* (subordinate clause second).

The following subordinating conjunctions occur in Afrikaans. Superscript numbers refer to the explanatory points which directly follow the list:

<i>aangesien</i>	'seeing, as' ¹
<i>afhangende van</i> ²	'depending on'
<i>(al)hoewel</i>	'although' ³
<i>alvorens</i>	'before' ²⁸
<i>as</i>	'when, if' ⁴
<i>as (wat)</i>	'as, than' ⁵
<i>soos</i>	'as, like' ⁵
<i>(as)of</i>	'as if' ⁶
<i>indien</i>	'if' ⁷
<i>ingeval</i>	'(just) in case' ⁸
<i>mits</i>	'provided (that), on condition that' ⁹
<i>na</i>	'according to, as' ¹⁰
<i>na gelang</i>	'as, in so far as, according to' ¹¹
<i>namate</i>	'as, in so far as, according to' ¹¹
<i>of</i>	'whether, if' ¹²
<i>ofskoon</i>	'although' ¹³
<i>omrede</i>	'because' ¹³
<i>onderwyl</i>	'while' ¹⁴
<i>sedert</i>	'since' ¹⁵
<i>sinds</i>	'since' ¹⁵
<i>sodra</i>	'as soon as' ¹⁶
<i>so gou as (wat)</i>	'as soon as' ¹⁶
<i>solank (as wat)</i>	'as long as' ¹⁷
<i>sover, vir sover, insover(re)</i>	'as far as' ¹⁸
<i>tensy</i>	'unless' ¹⁹
<i>terwyl</i>	'while, whilst' ¹⁴

<i>toe</i>	'when' ⁴
<i>tot tyd en wyl</i>	'until (such time as)' ²⁰
<i>wanneer</i>	'when' ⁴
<i>wat</i>	'as far as' ¹⁸ , <i>that</i> ²¹
<i>dat</i>	'that' ²¹
<i>deurdat</i>	'through, on account of' ²²
<i>metdat</i>	'(just) when' ²³
<i>noudat</i>	'now (that)' ²⁴
<i>omdat</i>	'because, as, since' ²⁵
<i>opdat</i>	'so that' ²⁶
<i>sodat</i>	'so that' ²⁶
<i>eerdad, eer</i>	'before' ^{27, 28}
<i>nadat, na</i>	'after' ^{27, 29}
<i>oordad, oor</i>	'because' ^{27, 30}
<i>totdat, tot</i>	'until' ^{30, 27, 31}
<i>vandad, van</i>	'since' ^{15, 27}
<i>voordad, voor</i>	'before' ^{27, 28}
<i>in plaas van dat</i>	'instead of' ³²
<i>pleks (van) dat</i>	'instead of' ³²
<i>insteede van dat</i>	'instead of' ³²
<i>siende dat</i>	'seeing (= as)' ¹
<i>met dié dat</i>	'(just) when' ²³
<i>dis dié dat</i>	'that's why/the reason that' ³³
<i>sonder dat</i>	'without' ³⁴

1. *Aangesien* renders 'as' in the sense of 'seeing (as/that)', which are ultimately synonymous with *omdat* and 'because' respectively, e.g.

- (1101) *Aangesien hy nie by die huis is nie, sal ons die pakkie op die stoep moet los.*
 'Seeing (as/that)/as he isn't at home, we'll have to leave the parcel on the veranda.'

Although it is condemned by prescriptive works as an undesirable Anglicism, *siende dat* is a commonly heard synonym, e.g.

- (1102) *Siende dat die president nou so goed aansterk, sal hy binnekort in staat wees om terug te gaan werk toe.*
 'Seeing the president is now recovering so well, he'll soon be able to return to work' (see note 25).

2. *Afhangende van* is an Anglicism which, although condemned by prescriptive works and ignored by dictionaries, has come to stay, e.g.

- (1103) *Afhangende van watter bui hy in is (= ...in watter bui hy is), kan hy baie aangenaam wees.*
 'Depending on the mood he's in, he can be quite pleasant.'

3. *Alhoewel*, *hoewel* and *ofskoon* are all synonymous, but *ofskoon* is less common; the first two alternate freely in speech and writing, e.g.

- (1104) *Hy het nou net 'n bandopnemer gekoop (al)hoewel hy al reeds een besit.*
 'He's just bought a tape-recorder although he already owns one.'

4. As in the sense of *when*: With reference to the present or future, 'when' is usually rendered by *as*, e.g.

- (1105) *As / wanneer jy Holland toe gaan, sal jy asseblief 'n paar klompe vir my koop?*
 'When you go to Holland, will you please buy me a pair of clogs.'

Wanneer is more or less synonymous with *as* in this sense but can have stronger connotations of 'whenever', e.g.

- (1106) *Wanneer ek stad toe gaan, neem ek altyd die bus.*
 'Whenever I go to town I always go by bus.'

Wanneer is also the word which must be used in direct and indirect questions (see 10.0). When referring to a single action that took place in the past, *toe* renders 'when', whether the verb is in the past or not, e.g.

- (1107) *Toe die verbande ná die operasie afgehaal is / word, kon ek my eie oë nie glo nie.*
 'When the bandages were removed after the operation, I couldn't believe my own eyes' (see 8.6).

As *toe* means 'when on that one occasion in the past', whenever 'when' refers to repeated actions in the past, i.e. when it means 'whenever', *wanneer* or *as* must be used, e.g.

- (1108) *Hulle het die kombuis altyd bemors wanneer / as hulle na skool by die huis gekom het.*
 'They always made a mess of the kitchen when(ever) they got home after school' (*altyd* indicating on more than one occasion).
 (1109) *Hulle het die kombuis bemors toe hulle na skool by die huis kom*
 'They made a mess of the kitchen when they got home from school'(on one occasion).

Where 'just as' is synonymous with 'just when', *net as* is used, e.g.

- (1110) *Net as / nes dit bietjie goed gaan, dan beneuk ons alles.*
 'Just when things are going fine, we make a muck-up of everything.'

Metdat and *met dié dat* also render '(just) when' where this means 'at the exact same moment' (see note 23).

As in the sense of *if*: the distinction made in English between 'if' and 'when' is often ignored in Afrikaans with *as* fulfilling both functions, e.g.

- (1111) *Hy kon dit nie verdra wanneer/as ek Afrikaans met my ma gepraat het nie.*
 'He couldn't bear it when/if I spoke Afrikaans to my mother.'

The distinction may be irrelevant, as in the previous example, or context makes it clear what is intended, e.g.

- (1112) *As dit môre reent, gaan ek tuis bly.*
 'If it rains tomorrow, I'm staying home.'

Where ambiguity needs to be avoided, *wanneer* is used to make it clear that 'when' is intended, *as* otherwise normally being interpreted as 'if', e.g.

- (1113) *As dit baie warm is, gaan ek strand toe.*
 'If it's hot, I'm going to the beach.'

Theoretically this could mean 'When it's hot, I go to the beach', but as 'when' here means 'whenever', *wanneer* can be used to solve the ambiguity, e.g.

- (1114) *Wanneer dit baie warm is, gaan ek strand toe.*
 'When it's hot, I go to the beach.'

If one wished to stress 'if, rather than 'when(ever)', *indien* could be used but this is a very formal sounding word (see note 7).

In more formal style *as* in the sense of 'if' can be omitted, in which case the finite verb of the 'if' clause stands in first position, e.g.

- (1115) *Het sy nie betyds uit die pad uit gespring nie (= As sy nie betyds uit die pad uit gespring het nie), sou hy haar raak gery het.*
 'If she hadn't jumped out of the way in time, he would have bumped into her' (see *dan* under 9.2 and see the optional use of *sou* in the 'if' clause in such constructions under 8.13.7).

A similar alternative construction without 'if' exists in English, but then the auxiliary 'should' stands in first position, e.g.

- (1116) *Kom hy vandag tuis, sal ek hom vra om jou te skakel.*
 'If he gets back today/Should he get back today, I'll ask him to ring you.'

The idiom 'were it not for [+ noun or pronoun]', which is synonymous with 'if it were not for [+ noun or pronoun]', has a direct equivalent in Afrikaans, *was dit nie vir...* (= *as dit nie vir ... was nie*), which is generally regarded as an Anglicism.

'If in the sense of 'whether' is *of* (see note 12).

Note that the English subordinating conjunction 'once' is rendered by *as* plus the adverb *eenmaal*, e.g.

- (1117) *As jy eenmaal in die Kaap gewoon het, wil jy nêrens anders in Suid-Afrika bly nie.*
 'Once you've lived in the Cape, you never want to live anywhere else in South Africa.'

5. *Than* following a comparative is *as*, e.g. *Hy is langer as ek* 'He's taller than I. If a full clause follows this 'than', *as* is usually followed by *wat*,² e.g.

- (1118) *Hy is langer as wat ek is.*
'He's taller than (what) I am.'
- (1119) *Ek het vanaand veel minder geëet as wat ek gisteraand geëet het.*
'I ate a lot less tonight than (what) I did last night.'

As the previous examples illustrate, in colloquial English a superfluous 'what' can be used in exactly the same way.

English *as* is rendered by either *as* or *soos*. The distinction between the two is not always clear, even to native-speakers, and in several cases either is correct:

a) Constructions of the type 'as ... as possible' are rendered by *so ... (as) moontlik*, the *as* being disapproved of by purists, e.g. *so gou (as) moontlik* 'as soon as possible', *soveel aangehoudenenes (as) moontlik* 'as many detainees as possible'.

b) In standard similes such as the following, of which there are many in both in English and Afrikaans, the conjunctive 'as' (i.e. the second 'as') is most usually rendered by *soos*, but prescriptive works permit *as*: *so skaars soos hoendertande* 'as scarce as hens' teeth', *so dood soos 'n mossie* 'as dead as a doornail' (see 6.8).

c) Otherwise in comparatives of the 'as ... as ...' type either *as (wat)* or *soos (wat)* is possible, e.g.

- (1120) *'n Skaap is glad nie so onnosel as (wat) / soos (wat) algemeen aanvaar word nie.*
'A sheep isn't at all as stupid as is generally accepted.'
- (1121) *Die proses wat lei tot so 'n handves is net so belangrik as (wat) / soos (wat) die inhoud daarvan is.*
'The process which leads to such a charter is just as important as the content thereof is.'
- (1122) *Hy besoek nagklubs nie meer so dikwels as / soos vroeër nie.*
'He doesn't frequent nightclubs as much as previously.'

As the above examples illustrates, the *wat* can only be used if a full clause complete with finite verb follows the conjunction (i.e. *is* in second last example), as is the case with the colloquial English 'what' mentioned above.

d) Outside of comparatives, 'as' is rendered by *soos* and cannot be followed by *wat*, e.g.

- (1123) *Soos ek gesê het, het ek nie 'n pak nie.*
'As I said, I haven't got a suit.'
- (1124) *Fanie het sy sop gemors, soos jy kan sien.*
'Fanie has spilt his soup', as you can see.'

² Many purists object to what they see as this superfluous insertion of *wat* after several subordinating conjunctions.

In the expression 'as follows', the Anglicism *as volg* is as common as *soos volg*, although it is condemned by purists.

e) 'As' which expresses 'in proportion to' is rendered by *soos* and has a more formal synonym *namate*, e.g.

(1125) *Soos / namate die dae korter word, kry ek minder op 'n dag gedoen.*

'As the days are getting shorter, I'm getting less done in a day.'

(1126) *Ek is bereid om name te noem as en soos dit nodig is.*

'I am prepared to mention names as and when it is necessary.'

f) A less common use of *soos* (*wat*) is as a synonym of *terwyl* 'while', which is also one of the functions of 'as' in English, e.g.

(1127) *Soos wat ek kerk toe stap, sien ek die herfs kom aan.*

'As/while I was walking to church, I noticed the autumn was on its way.'

g) Where 'as' means 'like', it is rendered by *soos*, and 'just as/like' is rendered by *net soos* or the contracted form *nes*, e.g.

(1128) *Jy kan nie iemand soos hy vertrou nie.*

'You can't trust anyone like him.'

(1129) *Ons is vlees en bloed net soos / nes hulle (is).*

'We are flesh and blood just as/like they (are).'

(1130) *Dis nes jy gesê het.*

'It's just as/like you said.'

(1131) *Ek wil 'n rok hê net soos / nes my ma s'n.*

'I want a dress just like my mother's.'

'To look like' is *lyk soos*, e.g.

(1132) *Jy lyk soos iemand wat gesonde verstand het.*

'You look like somebody who's got common sense.'

When someone or something is compared with another person or thing, *lyk* can be followed by *soos* or *na*, e.g.

(1133) *Jy lyk soos / na / op jou pa.*

'You look like your father.'³

Also

(1134) *Hierdie woonstel lyk soos / na 'n lekker plek om te bly.*

'This flat looks like a nice place to stay' (where no comparison is being made).

'As' meaning 'because/since' is rendered by *omdat* or *aangesien* (see note 25).

As is also a preposition (see 11.1).

³ This can also be expressed by *trek na*, e.g. *Jy trek na jou pa.*

6. *Asof* renders 'as if' but *of* can have this meaning too, context always making it clear whether *of* means 'as if' or 'whether' (see note 12), e.g.

- (1135) *Dit lyk egter (as)of iemand....*
'It looks as if someone...'
(1136) *Dis (as)of ek ter dood veroordeel is.*
'It is as if I have been condemned to death.'
(1137) *Eers het sy gemaak (as)of sy 'n boek oor sosiologie soek.*
'At first she pretended she was looking for a book about sociology.'

Of meaning 'whether', which is not an abbreviated form of *asof*, is dealt with under 12.

7. *Indien* is a somewhat more formal synonym of *as* in the sense of 'if' (see note 4) but unlike *as*, it is not ambiguous and should be used if all ambiguity between 'if' and 'when' needs to be removed, e.g.

- (1138) *Indien/as jy jou eksamen slaag, koop ek vir jou 'n bromponie.*
'If you pass your exam, I'll buy you a moped' (see 13.8 *indien/so nie* 'if not', *indien wel* 'if so').

Ingeval (see note 8) is another means of avoiding ambiguity.

8. *Ingeval* (stress on first syllable) literally means 'in case' and is thus more or less synonymous with *indien* as a conjunction, e.g.

- (1139) *Ingeval ek môre nog siek is, sien jy kans om my klasse oor te neem?*
'In case I'm sick tomorrow, can you see your way clear to take over my classes?'

Colloquially it is sometimes preceded by *vir*, e.g.

- (1140) *Hoekom vat jy 'n sambreel saam? Vir ingeval dit reent.*
'How come you're taking an umbrella with you?'

In case it rains. Used on its own, not followed by a clause, *vir* is compulsory, e.g.

- (1141) *Hoekom het jy 'n reënjas aan? Vir ingeval.*
'How come you've got a raincoat on? Just in case.'

9. *Mits*, a form heard in the everyday language, is synonymous with *met dien verstande dat*, which is limited to more formal style, e.g.

- (1142) *Vrye Weekblad plaas alle briewe mits die korrespondent se naam en adres bygevoeg word.*
'Vrye Weekblad places all letters provided (that) the correspondent's name and address is added.'

10. Particularly in journalese *na* can introduce a clause, corresponding in meaning to the English preposition 'according to' (see 11.1), e.g.

- (1143) *Na berig/verneem word, is burgerlikes ook in die distrik vermoor.*
 'According to reports (literally 'what has been reported/heard'),
 civilians in the district were murdered.'

11. *Namate* is a somewhat more formal synonym of *soos* meaning 'as', where 'as' has connotations of 'in proportion', e.g.

- (1144) *Namate/soos 'n mens ouer word, kry jy al hoe meer moesies.*
 'As one gets older, ones gets more and more moles' (see note 5.e).

Na gelang is even more formal than *namate*, and in the form *na gelang van* also exists as a preposition (see 11.13).

12. When 'if' means 'whether', it is rendered by *of*, e.g.

- (1145) *Ek weet nie of die seekoei nog lewe nie.*
 'I don't know if/whether the hippo is still alive.'

Otherwise 'if' is rendered by *as* (see note 4). *Of* is also a co-ordinating conjunction meaning 'or' (see 9.1 note 1 for 'or whether') and a subordinating conjunction meaning 'as if' (see note 6).

13. *Omrede*, which is also a preposition, is a formal synonym of *omdat*.

14. *Terwyl* is the everyday word for 'while', whereas *onderwyl* is a very formal synonym, e.g.

- (1146) *Ek het baie aan Suid-Afrika gedink terwyl ek oorsee was.*
 'I thought about South Africa a lot while I was overseas.'

15. *Sedert* and *van(dat)* are more or less synonymous in the sense of 'since' as a conjunction, but the former is also a preposition (see 11.1), e.g.

- (1147) *Sedert/van(dat) ek in Suid-Afrika woon, word ek nie meer deur asma gepla nie.*
 'Since I've been living in South Africa I haven't been bothered by asthma any more.'

Note that the adverb 'since' is rendered by *sedertdien*, e.g.

- (1148) *Ek is sedertdien nie meer daardeur gepla nie.*
 'I haven't been bothered by it since.'

Van in another sense, i.e. 'from', is also an infinitive conjunction (see 9.6).

Sinds (adverb *sindsdien*) is synonymous with *sedert*, both as a conjunction and as a preposition, but is not common in either speech or writing.

'Since' in the sense of 'because', is rendered by *omdat* or *aangesien* (see note 25).

16. *Sodra* and *so gou as (wat)* are synonymous, with the former being slightly more formal, e.g.

- (1149) *Sodra/so gou as (wat) ek by die huis kom gaan ek bad.*
 'As soon as I get home, I'm going to have a bath.'

So gou as is more often than not followed by *wat* (see note 5).

In the following examples 'as soon as' consists of the adverbs 'as soon' (= *so gou*) and the conjunction 'as' (= *as/soos*, see note 5.c), and must thus be rendered by *so gou as/soos*, not *sodra*:

- (1150) *Hy het nie so gou opgedaag as (wat)/soos (wat) verwag is nie.*
'He didn't turn up as soon as expected.'

The expression 'as soon as possible' is *so gou (as) moontlik*, where the *as* is often condemned by prescriptive works, but it is exceedingly common (see note 5.a).

17. *Solank* on its own already renders 'as long as' and yet in colloquial Afrikaans it often occurs as *solank as*; but at this level of informality one is most likely to hear *solank as wat*, with the colloquial *wat* discussed under note 5 being added, e.g.

- (1151) *Solank (as wat) lone en salarisse verhoog word om tred te hou met inflasie, sal hierdie verarming voortduur.*
'As long as salaries and wages are increased to keep up with inflation, this impoverishment will continue.'

18. The conjunctions (*vir*) *sover* and *insover(re)* are synonymous and interchangeable, with the former being the more usual of the two, and *insover* being more common than *insoverre*, e.g.

- (1152) (*Vir*) *sover/insover daar vasgestel kan word, het die olie die strand nie besoedel nie.*
'As far as can be determined, the oil hasn't polluted the beach.'

Where 'as far as' introduces an opinion, it is rendered by *sover*, e.g.

- (1153) *Sover ek weet/kan sien, gaan hy nie slaag nie.*
'As far as I know/can see, he's not going to pass.'

In the expression 'as far as I'm/he's etc. concerned' *wat* is used, e.g.

- (1154) *Wat my betref/aangaan/aanbetref...*
'As far as I'm concerned...'

This is synonymous with *Sover dit my betref/aangaan/aanbetref*. *Wat ... betref* is the most common expression of the above. Because of the length of what is inserted between *wat* and *betref*, the verb is commonly left in second position, e.g.

- (1155) *Daar is 'n geweldige agterstand wat [betref] die lewering [-] van openbare biblioteekdienste aan alle bevolkingsgroepe [-].*
'There is a tremendous lag as far as providing public library services to all population groups is concerned' (all three positions possible, see 12.1.11).

Use of *as wat* after *sover* in this idiom is considered bad style.

19. *Tensy* is used as follows, e.g.

- (1156) *Hy sal dit nooit kan bekostig tensy hy 'n mynmagnaat of so iets is nie.*
 'He'll never be able to afford it unless he's a mining magnate or the like.'

(See 13.2.6.1.1 for an error that commonly accompanies this word.)

20. *Tot tyd en wyl*, which is sometimes followed by a superfluous *dat*, is quite formal and differs from *tot* (see note 31) as 'until such time as' differs from 'until' in English, e.g.

- (1157) *Tot tyd en wyl groter helderheid kom, bly dit ons standpunt.*
 'Until (such time as) there is more clarity, this will be our stand-point.'

There is also an adverbial expression *vir tyd en wyl* 'for the time being'.

21. In Afrikaans *dat* is only a conjunction, not a pronoun: the demonstrative pronoun 'that' is rendered by *dit/daardie/dié* (see 5.2) and the relative pronoun is rendered by *wat* (see 5.3). There is a process under way in spoken Afrikaans, and increasingly in the written language too, whereby the *dat* following expressions of time and place – but particularly the former – is being replaced by *wat*, possibly due to the conjunction being regarded as a relative pronoun, the distinction between the two being rather subtle in such cases, e.g.

- (1158) *Dis die eerste keer wat ek daarvan hoor.*
 'That's the first time (that) I've heard of it.'
- (1159) *Teen die tyd wat / dat jy by huis kom...*
 'By the time (that) you get home...'
- (1160) *Die hele tyd wat / dat ek...*
 'All the time (that) I...'
- (1161) *Daar was dae wat ek baie moeg gevoel het.*
 'There were days that I was feeling very tired.'
- (1162) *Dit is vandag twaalf jaar gelede wat hy minister van Buitelandse Sake geword het.*
 'It's twelve years ago today that he became minister of Foreign Affairs.'
- (1163) *Dit was drie weke gelede wat / dat ons daar was.*
 'It's three weeks ago that we were there.'
- (1164) *Dis 'n lang ruk wat / dat ek hier bly.*
 'It's a long time (that) I've been living here.'
- (1165) *Dis net hier / in Brussel wat die twee tale mekaar ontmoet.*
 'It's only here/in Brussels that the two languages meet' (after place).

Dat in combination with such expressions of time is now more or less limited to the written language. The expression 'the moment (that)' allows even greater variation: *die oomblik wat / dat* or *die oomblik as / wanneer / toe* (see note 4 for the difference between these three); but here too *wat* is the most usual word.

A superfluous *dat* is commonly inserted after interrogatives in indirect questions (see 10.0, note 1).

Omission of *dat*: Subordinate 'that' is very commonly omitted in English. The same practice exists in Afrikaans with the result that the finite verb in the clause is no longer sent to the end of the clause, giving a word order identical to English,⁴ e.g.

- (1166) *Ek is seker dat sy môre gaan wen > Ek is seker sy gaan môre wen.*
 'I'm sure (that) she's going to win tomorrow.'
 (1167) *Ek sien dat julle 'n tweede kar het > Ek sien julle het 'n tweede kar.*
 'I see (that) you've got a second car.'

Subordinate *dat* is particularly commonly omitted after verbs expressing opinions, feelings and observations, e.g. *besluit* 'to decide', *bevind* 'to find, conclude', *dink* 'to think', *glo* 'to believe', *hoop* 'to hope', *hoor* 'to hear', *laat weet* 'to let know', *meen* 'to think', *sê* 'to say', *ontken* 'to deny', *skat* 'to estimate', *skryf* 'to write', *jou verbeel* 'to imagine', *verstaan* 'to understand', *vertel* 'to tell', *voorgee* 'to profess', *weet* 'to know', *wens* 'to wish'. Generally speaking it seems that wherever it can be omitted in English, it can also be omitted in Afrikaans, with the exception of the (mainly) temporal expressions discussed in the previous paragraph where *dat* is interchangeable with *wat*.

The following examples illustrate the phenomenon in more complex sentences. [-] marks where *dat* has been omitted and the verbs in square brackets illustrate where the Roman finite verbs would stand if *dat* were used:

- (1168) *As die konstabel besluit [-] jy doen dinge [doen] waarvan hy nie hou nie, kan hy jou in hegtenis neem.*
 'If the constable decides (that) you're doing things which he doesn't like, he can arrest you.'
 (1169) *Hy is in sy amp herstel nadat bevind is [-] sy verhouding met haar was nie seksueel [was] nie.*
 'He was reinstated in his post after it was revealed (that) his relationship with her was not sexual.'
 (1170) *Sy pa is dood toe hy nege was en hy was altyd bang [-] die ander seuns sal dink [-] hy is 'n sissie [is].*
 'His father died when he was nine and he was always afraid (that) the other boys would think (that) he was a sissy.'

When *dat* is omitted after an interrogative clause, the subject and finite verb of its clause are also inverted, as in the first clause, e.g.

- (1171) *Hoekom dink jy bel ek jou? (< Hoekom dink jy dat ek jou bel?)*
 'Why do you think I am ringing you?'
 (1172) *Wat sê Jan moet ons doen? (< Wat sê Jan dat ons moet doen?)*
 'What does Jan say we should do?'

22. This conjunction is always *deurdat* (compare those under note 27);

- (1173) *Deurdat hy my daarvan vertel het, was ek daarop voorbereid.*
 'On account of/Through his having told me about it, I was prepared for it.'

⁴ In English even the relative pronoun 'that' can be omitted when it is the object of the clause in which it stands; this is not paralleled in Afrikaans, e.g. *Dit is die wildtuin wat my oom bestuur* 'That is the game park (that) my uncle manages' (see 5.3).

The infinitive conjunction *deur* means 'by' (see 9.6).

23. *Met dié dat* renders 'when', but differs from the various words meaning 'when' discussed under note 4 by having the added connotation of 'just when, right at that moment when', e.g.

- (1174) *Met dié dat ek my gewig vorentoe gooi om die hek oop te beur, trap ek skeef op 'n klip.*
 'When I pushed forward with all my weight to force the gate open, I stumbled over a rock.'

Metdat is an uncommon informal synonym.

24. English 'now (that)' is rendered by *noudat*, which is commonly written as two words. Despite the fact that the 'that' is optional in English and that there are conjunctions in Afrikaans which can also dispense with it (see note 27), *dat* is compulsory in this word, e.g.

- (1175) *Noudat ons in Durban is, gaan ons elke dag swem.*
 'Now (that) we're in Durban, we go swimming every day.'

25. *Omdat* corresponds to English 'because', but 'because' is just as commonly rendered by the co-ordinating conjunction *want*, e.g.

- (1176) *Ek gaan nie omdat ek siek voel / want ek voel siek.*
 'I'm not going because I'm feeling sick.'

As in English too, an *omdat* clause can precede the main clause, which is not possible with *want* (see 9.1), e.g.

- (1177) *Omdat ek siek voel, gaan ek nie.*
 'Because I'm feeling sick, I'm not going.'

In English 'as' and 'since' can be synonymous with 'because'; where they are, *omdat* (or *aangesien*, see note 1) must be used to render them, e.g.

- (1178) *Omdat / aangesien ek nie lekker voel nie, het ek besluit om by die huis te bly.*
 'As/since I'm not feeling too well, I've decided to stay home.'

26. The historical difference between *opdat* and *sodat*, both of which mean 'so that', is as follows: the former means 'with the intention that' (i.e. purpose) while the latter means 'with the result that'. *Opdat* is now considered very formal and *sodat* has taken over both functions, e.g.

- (1179) *Hy het Russies geleer sodat hy Prawda kon lees.*
 'He learnt Russian so that he could read Pravda' (purpose).
 (1180) *Dit het gereent sodat ons nie kon uitgaan nie.*
 'It rained so that we weren't able to go out' (result).

27. *Eer*, *na*, *oor*, *tot*, *van*, and *voor* are all used with or without *dat* if it is obvious they are functioning as conjunctions, as all except *eer* are also prepositions (see 11.1) (compare *hoe[dat]* under 10.0, note 1).

28. The most usual way of expressing 'before' as a conjunction is *voordat*, while *alvorens* is a particularly formal synonym and *eer(dat)*, although synonymous, sounds archaic, e.g.

- (1181) *Voordat die fliëk begin het, het ek springmielies gaan koop.*
'Before the film began, I went and bought some popcorn.'
- (1182) *Alvorens die diens 'n aanvang neem, sal die dominee eers 'n gebed doen.*
'Before the service begins the minister will say a prayer' (see 7.3 for 'before' as an adverb).

29. If *-dat* is omitted, it is common practice, as with the preposition *na*, to put an accent on it to clearly distinguish it from *na* meaning 'to' (see 2.5.3), e.g.

- (1183) *'n Paar maande ná / nadat ek Londen toe is, het ek Elise laat kom.*
'A few months after I left for London, I sent for Elise.'

The English gerundial construction 'after having done' is not rendered by an infinitive clause in Afrikaans but by a subordinate clause, i.e. by the equivalent of 'after I/you/he had done', e.g.

- (1184) *Nadat ons geëet het, het ons gaan fliëk.*
'After having had dinner, we went to the movies.'

30. *Oor(dat)* is a non-standard synonym of *omdat*.

31. *Tot(dat)* corresponds exactly with 'until', e.g.

- (1185) *Fanie het gesê hy gaan wakker bly tot(dat) jy vir hom 'n storie kom lees.*
'Fanie said he's going to stay awake until you come and read him a story.'

32. 'Instead of' is expressed either by *in plaas (daar)van dat*, where the *in* is commonly omitted in speech, or by *pleks (daar)van dat / pleks dat* (less commonly *plaas dat*); they are all synonymous but the latter are generally avoided in writing, e.g.

- (1186) *(In) plaas (daar)van / pleks (daar)van dat / pleks dat die geldige griewe van die swart skoliere aangespreek is, is die Veiligheidsmagte die swart woongebiede ingestuur.*
'Instead of the valid complaints of the black school children being addressed, the Security Forces were sent into the black residential areas.'

As with *sonder* (see note 34), *in plaas (daar)van* and *pleks (daar)van* are followed by *dat* when the subject of the second clause is different from that of the first, as illustrated in the previous example, but when the subject is the same, *in plaas (daar)van / pleks (daar)van om te* introduces the second clause, which is an infinitive clause, e.g.

- (1187) *Die Veiligheidsmagte is die swart woongebiede ingestuur in plaas (daar)van /pleks (daar)van om grens toe gestuur te word.*
 'The Security Forces were sent into black residential areas instead of being sent to the border.'

In both cases English uses a gerundial construction in '-ing'. It is however possible to use the forms with *dat* even when the subject of both clauses is the same, i.e.

- (1188) *Die Veiligheidsmagte is die swart woongebiede ingestuur in plaas (daar)van /pleks (daar)van dat hulle grens toe gestuur is.*

Use of *daarvan*, as opposed to just *van*, is more formal in the case of both *pleks* and *in plaas* and is thus more appropriately used in combination with the latter than the former. *In plaas dat* and *pleks dat*, with no *van* at all, are also possible.

Synonymous with *pleks / in plaas (daar)van dat is instede (daar) van dat*, but it is a particularly formal sounding variant.

There is one further use of *pleks van dat* which is at odds with the above. The (*van*) *dat* can be omitted and the word order that follows is co-ordinate, not subordinate, i.e. the verb is not sent to the end of the clause, e.g.

- (1189) *Pleks dat ek hom gehelp het > Pleks ek het hom gehelp, het ek aangeloop.*
 'Instead of helping him, I walked on.'

Pleks van, *in plaas van* and *instede van* are also prepositions (see 11.1).

33. *Dis dié dat* (also *wat*, see note 21) is synonymous with the conjunctive adverb *daarom*, e.g.

- (1190) *Het jy jou been gebreek? Ja, dis dié dat ek nie deelneem nie (= Daarom neem ek deel nie).*
 'Did you break your leg? Yes, that's why I'm not taking part.'

34. *Sonder* has in common with *pleks / in plaas van* (see note 32) the fact that it must be followed by *dat* when the subject of the dependent clause is different from that of the main clause, e.g.

- (1191) *Hy behoort geld vir sy vrou te gee sonder dat sy daarom moet vra.*
 'He should give his wife money without her having to ask for it.'

(Note that English uses a gerundial construction after 'without' whereas Afrikaans uses a subordinate clause.) Compare the following where there is only one subject and thus an infinitive clause is used:

- (1192) *Sy behoort geld van hom te kry sonder om daarvoor te moet vra.*
 'She should get money from him without having to ask for it.'

But it is not incorrect to use *sonder dat* followed by a subordinate clause in such cases too, e.g.

(1193) *Sy behoort geld van hom te kry sonder dat sy daarvoor moet vra.*

Sonder is also a preposition (see 11.1).

9.4.1. The following is a list of commonly used phrases and clauses that introduce subordinate clauses

behalwe / buiten dat 'except that'

dankie dat 'thanks for', e.g. *Dankie dat jy gekom het* 'Thanks for coming.'

moenie dat 'don't let' (see 13.11)

daarteenoor staan dat 'on the other hand, as opposed to that'

dit wil voorkom (as)of (= dit lyk [as]of) 'it seems as if'

dit hang (daarvan) af of 'it depends on whether'

gestel dat 'supposing that, let's assume that'

veronderstel (dat) 'supposing that, let's assume that'

met dien verstande dat 'on the understanding/provided that' (see *mits*)

met die gevolg dat 'with the result that'

ek / jy / hy etc. wil hê dat jy 'I/you/he etc. wants you to' (see 8.13.7)

waarheid is dat 'the truth is that' (see 3.1.2.8)

feit is / bly staan dat 'the fact is/remains that' (see 3.1.2.8)

gesien die feit dat 'as, in the light of the fact that'

ondanks die feit dat 'in spite of the fact that'

dit neem nie weg dat 'that doesn't alter the fact that'

dit wil (nie) sê dat 'that means (doesn't mean) that'

teen die tyd dat 'by the time (that)'

so veel so dat 'so much so that'

laat staan dat / as / wanneer 'let alone that/if/when'⁵

as dit nie was dat ... nie 'if it weren't for the fact that'

soos toeval dit wou hê (+ main clause) 'chance would have it that'

9.4.2. The following are standard subordinate clauses found before main clauses

was dit nie vir ... nie (= as dit nie vir ... was nie) 'if it weren't for...'

as dit by ... kom 'when it comes to...'

wat meer is, (sal jy...) 'what is more, (you will...)'

wat ... betref/aangaan/aanbetref 'as far as ... is concerned' (see 2.1.11)

soos die toeval dit wil / wou hê 'as fate/chance would have it'

9.5. Interrogatives

Interrogative adverbs and pronouns which cause inversion of subject and object in direct questions, cause the finite verb to be sent to the end of their

⁵ This expression is synonymous with *wat nog te sê van*, which is dealt with under infinitive conjunctions (see 13.16 too).

clause in indirect speech, thereby having the same effect on the syntax of their clause as subordinate conjunctions (see 10.0).

9.6. Conjunctions which introduce infinitive clauses

The following conjunctions can introduce an infinitive clause, i.e. a clause which contains an infinitive instead of a finite verb and whose implied subject is the same as the main clause.

<i>deur</i>	'by'	<i>sonder om</i>	'without'
<i>om</i>	'(in order) to; only to'	<i>ten einde</i>	'in order to'
<i>in plaas van / pleks van / pleks / in stede van (om)</i>			'instead of'

The conjunction stands at the beginning of the clause and *te* prior to the infinitive, which stands at the end of the clause, e.g.

- (1194) *Hy het elke sent gespaar om 'n reis na die Griekse eilande te onderneem.*
'He saved every cent (in order) to make a trip to the Greek islands.'

There can be more than one infinitive at the end of such a clause, in which case the *te* precedes them all, e.g.

- (1195) *Hy het elke sent gespaar om 'n reis na die Griekse eilande te kan onderneem.*
'He saved every cent (in order) to be able to make a trip to the Greek islands.'

There is a particular use of *om...te* which introduces a resultative infinitive and corresponds in meaning to 'only to', e.g.

- (1196) *Hy is van moord aangekla, skuldig bevind (net) om later vrygespreek te word.*
'He was accused of murder, found guilty only to be acquitted at a later date.'

Use of *om te* with infinitives is wider than the two functions described here (see 8.16.1).

Where infinitive clauses can either precede or follow the main clause in English, so they can in Afrikaans too, e.g.

- (1197) *Jy sal dit gou klaar kry deur so vinnig te werk.*
'You'll soon finish it by working so quickly.'
(1198) *Deur so vinnig te werk, sal jy dit gou klaar kry.*
'By working so quickly you'll soon finish it.'
(1199) *Hy moet darem baie honger gewees het om al daardie kos te geëet het.*
'He really must have been very hungry to have eaten all that food.'
(1200) *Om al daardie kos te geëet het, moet hy darem baie honger gewees het.*
'To have eaten all that food, he really must have been very hungry.'

As the previous examples illustrate, when the infinitive clause precedes, inversion of subject and verb in the main clause is required, as is the case

when a subordinate clause precedes a main clause (see 9.4). Meaning determines in both English and Afrikaans if it is impossible to start with an infinitive clause, e.g.

- (1201) *Dit wil ons bereik deur so ver as moontlik binne die wet te bly.*
 'We want to achieve this by staying within the law as much as possible' (logic doesn't permit the reverse order in either language).

Ten einde is synonymous with *om* but is only found in formal style, e.g.

- (1202) *Hulle het 27 terroriste doodgemaak ten einde die inwoners van die dorp te beskerm.*
 'They killed 27 terrorists in order to protect the inhabitants of the town.'

In plaas (daar)van, *pleks (daar)van*, *pleks* and *sonder* are all conjunctions which, when followed by *dat*, introduce a subordinate clause. They are used subordinately when the subject of the second clause differs from that of the first clause; when the subject of both clauses is the same, an infinitive clause is required and *in plaas van (om)*, *pleks van (om)*, *pleks (om)* and *sonder om* are used⁶ (see notes 32 and 34 under 9.4). *Sonder ophou* has become lexicalised and is regarded as a standard expression where *om te* is not required, e.g.

- (1203) *Daar is sonbesies wat snerp sonder ophou.*
 'There are cicadas which shrill without stopping' (= ceaselessly).

Where *om te* is otherwise omitted after *sonder*, something which does occur, it is regarded as non-standard, e.g. *Sy gaan nooit bed toe sonder bid nie* (= *sonder om te bid nie*) 'She never goes to bed without praying', *Van onder skreeu hy sonder omkyk iets terug* (= *Van onder skreeu hy iets terug sonder om om te kyk*) 'He shouted something back from down below without looking around'.

In van stede van is more formal than *in plaas van*, which in turn is more formal than *pleks van*.

The English gerundial construction 'after having done' is not rendered by an infinitive clause in Afrikaans but by a subordinate clause (see 9.4, note 29).

See 13.16 for the expressions *om nie van...te praat nie* and *wat nog te sê van...* 'let alone/not to mention...'

Interrogatives followed by *om* also introduce infinitive clauses (see 10.2).

⁶ *Om* is bracketed here because it can be omitted, except with *sonder*, but it is more common to insert it.

10. Interrogatives

The following interrogative adverbs and pronouns all behave the same syntactically. The superscript numbers refer to the points enumerated below:

<i>hoe</i>	'how' ¹
<i>hoedat</i>	'how' ¹
<i>hoekom</i>	'why, how come' ²
<i>hoeveel</i>	'how much/many' ³
<i>waar</i>	'where'
<i>van waar, waarvandaan</i>	'where from' ⁴
<i>waarheen / -natoe</i>	'where (to)' ⁵
<i>waarom</i>	'why' ^{2,6}
<i>wanneer</i>	'when' ⁷
<i>wat</i>	'what' ^{8,9}
<i>wat van</i>	'what about' ⁹
<i>watter</i>	'which' ¹⁰
<i>wat se</i>	'which, what sort/kind of' ¹¹
<i>watter soort</i>	'what sort/kind of' ¹¹
<i>in / tot watter mate, in hoeverre,</i> <i>in hoe 'n mate</i>	'to what extent' ¹²
<i>welke</i>	'which' ¹³
<i>wie</i>	'who' ¹⁴
<i>wie se / s'n</i>	'whose' ¹⁵

1. In indirect questions *hoe* is sometimes replaced by *hoedat* with no difference in meaning, e.g.

(1204) *Hoe het hy dit reggekry? Ek weet nie hoe / hoedat hy dit reggekry het nie.*

'How did he manage that? I don't know how he managed it.'

Whereas either interrogative or subordinate word order is possible after *hoe*, only subordinate word order is possible after *hoedat* because of its formation from the subordinating conjunction *dat*¹ (see 10.1).

Note the following idiomatic use of *hoe* after direct speech:

(1205) *Al sulke dade is belaglik, of hoe?*

'All such deeds are ridiculous, not so?'

'What is your name?' can be expressed literally by *Wat is jou naam?* or by using the verb *heet* 'to be called', which is used with *hoe*, not *wat*, e.g. *Hoe heet jy?*

See note 8 below for the alternation of *hoe 'n* and *wat 'n* in exclamations.

2. Like English 'how come', *hoekom* commonly replaces *waarom* 'why' in the spoken language, e.g.

¹ Insertion of this superfluous subordinating *dat* can also occur with other interrogatives in indirect questions in Afrikaans, in which case the two are written as separate words, e.g. *Ek weet nie waar dat hy is nie* 'I don't know where he is', *Ek weet nie waarom dat hy hom daarmee bemoei nie* 'I don't know why he's meddling in it'.

- (1206) *Hoekom / waarom is die Groepsgebiedewet nog nie afgeskaf nie?*
‘How come/why hasn’t the Group Areas Act been abolished yet?’

Note that ‘the reason that/why’ must be rendered by *die rede waarom / hoekom* (not *dat*), e.g.

- (1207) *Dis die rede waarom / hoekom ek nie wou gaan nie.*
‘That’s the reason (that) I didn’t want to go.’

3. Although ‘much/many’ is usually *baie* (less commonly *veel* , see 5.6), ‘how much’ is always *hoeveel* , e.g.

- (1208) *Hoeveel keer het ek dit al vir jou gesê?*
‘How many times have I already told you?’

Hoeveel can also be followed by *se* (see 4.4). See 14.2.1.i for *die hoeveelste*.

4. ‘Where...from’ is rendered by *van waar* with ‘to be’ and *van waar...(af)* with ‘to come’, e.g.

- (1209) *Van waar is jy?*
‘Where are you from?’
(1210) *Van waar kom jy (af)?*
‘Where do you come from?’ (see 11.12.2 *van...af*).

A more frequent way of expressing ‘where...from’ is *waarvandaan*, which can be both split or left together, e.g.

- (1211) *Waarvandaan kom jy? / Waar kom jy vandaan?*
‘Where do you come from?’
(1212) *Die instansie waarvandaan dié brief kom / waar die brief vandaan kom, ken ek nie.*
‘I don’t know the organisation this letter is from’ (see *hiervandaan / daarvandaan* under 11.12.2).

5. *Waar* refers to place, e.g.

- (1213) *Waar bly jy?*
‘Where do you live?’

Waarheen / -natoe (latter more colloquial) refer to motion towards (compare whence), e.g.

- (1214) *Waarheen / -natoe gaan jy?*
‘Where are you going (to)?’

Heen / natoe are occasionally separated from *waar* and placed at the end of the clause, e.g.

- (1215) *Waar (de hel dink jy) is jy op pad heen?*
‘Where (the hell do you think) are you going?’

It is safest to always use *heen/natoo* with *waar* after verbs expressing motion towards a place (e.g. *ry* 'to drive', *loop* 'to walk') although one may occasionally hear it being omitted, particularly with *gaan*,² e.g. *Waar gaan hy nou? Heen* can also be used with *wees* when direction is implied, e.g.

- (1216) *Waar is hy heen?*
'Where's he gone (to)?'

Note the following use of the prepositions *na* and/or *toe* in the answer to such questions:

- (1217) *Waarheen/-natoo gaan hy? Hy gaan (na) Pietersburg toe/na Pietersburg. Waarnatoo/waarheen? Pietersburg (toe).*
'Where's going (to)? He's going to Pietersburg. Where (to)? To Pietersburg' (see *toe* under 11.10.1).

6. Just as in English 'what for' can replace 'why', so can *waarvoor/vir wat* replace *waarom* in Afrikaans, e.g.

- (1218) *Waarvoor/vir wat (= waarom) het jy dit gedoen?*
'What did you do that for? (= why).'

See point 8 for an explanation of *vir wat* as an alternative for *waarvoor* (see 7.5.1 for use of *heen/natoo* with *daar* and *hier*).

7. *Wanneer* only translates interrogative 'when' (see 9.4 for other forms of 'when').

8. Purists would maintain that 'What is your name?' is *Hoe is jou naam?* (or alternatively *Hoe heet jy?*) but *Wat is jou naam?* has replaced it to all intents and purposes.

In colloquial Afrikaans *wat* (possibly an abbreviated form of *vir wat*) is used in the meaning of 'why', e.g.

- (1219) *Wat huil/kyk/lag jy (so)?*
'Why are you crying/looking/laughing (like that)?'
(1220) *Wat het jy haar dan so geslaan?*
'Why did you hit her like that?'

'What + preposition' can be expressed in the following ways:

What are you thinking of?

- a) *Waarom dink jy?* b) *Waar dink jy aan?*
c) *Aan wat dink jy?* d) *Wat dink jy aan?*

a) is considered standard spoken and written Afrikaans.

b) possible but uncommon, even literary.

c) is an uncommon emphatic form found mostly in the spoken language (see *vir wat = waarvoor* under 6).

² Compare the use of 'to' with such verbs in English, where it is optional with 'to go' but compulsory with 'to drive' and 'to walk', e.g. Where are you going? but Where are you driving/walking to? Compare also *Daar is kleuterskole waarheen moeders hul kinders kan neem terwyl hulle werk* 'There are nursery schools where mothers can take their children while they're working'.

d) is very commonly heard in the spoken language but often disapproved of. *Wat van* (= *waarvan*) is particularly common, e.g.

- (1221) *Wat praat jy nou van? / Waarvan praat jy nou?*
 'What are you talking about now?'

(see *waar-* + preposition under 5.3.2.1 and *daar-/hier-* + preposition under 5.1.1.3.3).

Wat 'n (see also note 10 below) is interchangeable with *hoe 'n* in non-interrogative exclamations of the following type:

- (1222) *Wat / hoe 'n mooi dag (is dit nie)!*
 'What a nice day (it is)' (see 13.15 for use of the negative here).

9. The English idiom 'what about' has a direct equivalent in Afrikaans, e.g.

- (1223) *Wat van jou boetie, kom hy ook saam?*
 'What about your brother. Is he coming too?'
- (1224) *Wat van jou huis? Wat daarvan?*
 'What about your house? What about it?'

10. *Watter* translates first and foremost 'which' or 'what' that means 'which', e.g.

- (1225) *Watter boek lees jy op die oomblik?*
 'What/which book are you reading at the moment?'
- (1226) *Watter een wil jy?*
 'Which/what one do you want?'

It is still sometimes used in the sense of *wat 'n* in which function the latter is now more commonly heard, e.g.

- (1227) *Watter wonderwerk!*
 'What a miracle!'

Waffer occurs dialectically for *watter*³ (see 5.3.1.2 for the use of *watter* as a relative pronoun).

11. *Wat se* is commonly written *watse*. It is sometimes used in the first meaning of *watter* described under 10, but this is considered colloquial, although very common. Also common is its use as a synonym of *watter soort* 'what kind of', e.g.

- (1228) *Wat se kar is joune (= Watter kar is joune?).*
 'Which car is yours?'
- (1229) *Wat se kar het jy? (= Wat se soort kar / Watter soort kar het jy?)*
 'What sort of car have you got?'

(see 5.3.3 for the colloquial use of *wat se* for *wie se*).

The expression *wat vir 'n* (< Dutch *wat voor een* 'what kind of') is

³ Otherwise it also occurs, but is then not limited to the colloquial language, in the expressions *nie waffers nie* 'not up to much, not much good' and *niks waffers nie* 'nothing to write home about, nothing special'.

limited in its use to a very specific context where a certain indignation is implied, e.g.

- (1230) *Wat vir 'n kar is dit?*
 'What kind of a car is that?' (= 'Do you call that a car?')

12. *In hoe 'n mate*,⁴ *in / tot watter mate* and *in hoeverre*, in ascending order of formality, are synonymous, e.g.

- (1231) *In hoe 'n mate / tot watter mate / in hoeverre word jy finansieel ondersteun?*
 'To what extent are you financially supported?'

13. The Dutch word *welke*, which has been largely replaced by *watter* in Afrikaans, both as an interrogative and as a relative, is still heard in certain standard expressions in formal contexts, e.g.

- (1232) *In welke mate (= in watter mate) het hy aangepas?*
 'To what extent has he assimilated?'
- (1233) *Welke (= watter [een]) van hierdie wil jy hê?*
 'Which one of these two do you want?'
- (1234) *Daar sou dalk meer onluste kon wees in welke geval ons nie meer hier wil bly nie.*
 'There could be more unrest in which case we won't want to stay here any longer.'

In the previous example it is a relative and is not replaceable by *watter*, but must otherwise be rephrased, i.e. ...*en in daardie geval wil ons nie meer hier bly nie*.

14. The prepositional stranding that occurs in English with 'what + preposition', as dealt with under point 8, also occurs in English with 'who'; 'who + preposition' is rendered in Afrikaans by preposition + *wie*, e.g.

- (1235) *Aan / vir wie het jy dit gegee?*
 'Who did you give it to?'
- (1236) *Met wie het jy so lank daar gestaan en praat?*
 'Who were you standing there talking to for so long?'

Prepositional stranding does not occur in Afrikaans with *wie* the way it does with *wat* (see note 8), i.e. **Wie het jy mee gepraat?* 'Who were you talking too?' is not possible.

15. *Wie se* is used before nouns, e.g.

- (1237) *Wie se idee is dit?*
 'Whose idea is that?'
- (1238) *Op wie se plaas gaan julle bly?*
 'Whose farm are you going to be staying at?'

⁴ Related to this is *in so 'n mate* 'to such an extent', e.g. *Ek word in so 'n mate ondersteun dat ek niks tekort kom nie* 'I am supported to such an extent that I don't want for anything'.

Wie s'n is used when 'whose' stands alone not followed by a noun, e.g.

- (1239) *Dit is my idee maar wie s'n is dié.*
 'This is my idea but whose is that?'

(see *se/s'n* under 4.4 and 5.1.2).

10.1. Word order in interrogative clauses

In direct questions these words resemble English in requiring inversion of subject and verb, e.g.

- (1240) *Waar is die wildtuin?*
 'Where is the game park?'
 (1241) *Watter soort bok is dié?*
 'What kind of buck is that?'
 (1242) *Hoe laat is dit?*
 'What time is it?'

In indirect questions two word orders occur:

a) the inverted order of the direct question is retained, e.g.

- (1243) *Hy sal seker weet waar is die Kruger Wildtuin.*
 'He'll know for sure where the game park is.'
 (1244) *Weet jy watter soort bok is dié?*
 Do you know what kind of a buck it is?
 (1245) *Ek het jou al gesê hoe laat is dit.*
 'I've already told you what time it is.'
 (1246) *Raai wie is die wenner.*
 'Guess who the winner is.'
 (1247) *Kyk hoe groot het sy geword.*
 'Look how big she's got.'
 (1248) *Waar dink jy is jy op pad heen?*
 'Where do you think you are going?'
 (1249) *Weet jy waaroor het hulle baklei?*
 'Do you know what they were fighting about?'

b) the interrogative acts in a similar way to a subordinating conjunction thereby sending the finite verb to the end of the clause. This is the historically correct form and the one that will normally be found in writing:

- (1250) *Hy sal seker weet waar die wildtuin is.*
 'He's sure to know where the game park is.'
 (1251) *Weet jy watter soort bok dié is?*
 'Do you know what sort of buck that is?'
 (1252) *Ek het jou al gesê hoe laat dit is.*
 'I've already told you what time it is.'
 (1253) *Raai wie die wenner is.*
 'Guess who the winner is.'

- (1254) *Kyk hoe groot sy geword het.*
'Look how big she has got.'
- (1255) *Waar dink jy dat jy op pad heen is (with dat).*
'Where do you think you are going?'
- (1256) *Weet jy waarom hulle baklei het?*
'Do you know what you were fighting for?'

The following example incorporates a relative *wat*-clause and two indirect interrogative clauses with the finite verb in each standing at the end of each clause:

- (1257) *Die vraag wat ons interesseer, is hoedat Afrikaans so vroeg reeds in hierdie landstreek beland het en wat die posisie van Afrikaans met verwysing na sy funksievlakke was.*
'The question that interests us is how Afrikaans reached that area so early and what the position of Afrikaans was with regard to its functions.'

10.2. Interrogatives in infinitive clauses

The above interrogatives can introduce an infinitive clause in which case *om* immediately follows the interrogative and *te* precedes the infinitive, e.g.

- (1258) *Ek het nie geweet wat om te doen nie.*
'I didn't know what to do.'
- (1259) *Hierdie boekie heet Hoe om Afrikaans te leer.*
'This book is called *How to learn Afrikaans*.'
- (1260) *Gedurende die vakansie weet min moeders wat om met hul kinders te doen.*
'During the holidays few mothers know what to do with their children' (see 9.6).

10.3. Whatever, whenever etc.

Nearly all the English interrogative particles under 10.0 can be compounded with '-ever'; these structures are rendered in Afrikaans by 'interrogative particle + *ook al*' and the subject and verb of the following main clause are not normally inverted, e.g.

- (1261) *Wat sy ook al gedoen het, ek vergewe haar.*
'Whatever she's done, I forgive her.'
- (1262) *Nie dat die boek 'n moeilike storielyn het of wat ook al nie.*
'Not that the book has a difficult storyline or whatever.'
- (1263) *Wat ook al die taak, daar's 'n Tipp-Ex-produk wat dit makliker maak.*
'Whatever the task, there's a Tipp-Ex product which will make it easier.'

- (1264) *Hy bly in Kaapstad, Bellville, Parow of waar ook al – ek weet nie meer presies waar nie.*
 ‘He lives in Cape Town, Bellville, Parow or wherever – I can’t remember exactly where.’
- (1265) *Wanneer hy standpunt inneem, waaroor ook al, hou hy voet by stuk.*
 ‘Whenever he takes a stand, about whatever, he doesn’t give in.’
- (1266) *Hoe onwaarskynlik of inkriminerend dit ook al klink.*
 ‘However improbable or incriminating this sounds.’
- (1267) *Watter (een / kar) jy ook al koop, dit gaan duur wees.*
 ‘Whichever (one/car) you buy, it’s going to be expensive.’

Inversion of subject and verb in the main clause in all the examples in the previous paragraph is possible, but is not the usual word order, e.g.

- (1268) *Wat sy ook al gedoen het, vergewe ek haar*
 ‘Whatever she’s done, I forgive her’ (see 12.1.5.1).

There is an alternative transformation of the *hoe ook al* structure introduced by *al* functioning as an adverbial conjunction, e.g.

- (1269) *Niemand kan hom verstaan al probeer hy hoe duidelik praat (= hoe duidelik hy ook al probeer praat).*
 ‘No-one can understand him, however clearly he tries to speak’
 (see 9.2 for this function of *al*).

11. Prepositions

11.1. List of prepositions

As it is impossible to generalise about the use of prepositions, and particularly about their meanings, the following list presents each preposition one by one with its usual meaning(s) given in brackets next to it, followed by a list of sample sentences and common expressions which will serve to illustrate the various ways it is used.

aan 'on, at'

Among other things *aan* renders vertical 'on' as opposed to *op*, which renders horizontal 'on', e.g. *aan die muur* 'on the wall', *op die vloer / 'n eiland* 'on the floor/an island'. *Aan* is also the word required when something is 'on' the edge of something, e.g. *aan die kus* 'on the coast'.

aan die Limpopo 'on the Limpopo' (a river)

aan die grens van Mosambiek (also *op*) 'on the border of Moçambique'

die lewe aan die Kaap 'life at the Cape' (compare 'at Dions, at our place' under *by*)

Sy is aan kanker oorlede / dood 'She died of cancer.'

'n besoek aan Suid-Afrika / die museum 'a visit to SA/the museum'

'n boodskap aan elke Suid-Afrikaner 'a message to every S. African'

Hierdie berge was bekend aan die vroeë setlaars as "die Berge van Afrika"
'These mountains were known to the early settlers as...'

aan tafel sit 'to sit at the table'

aan die een kant 'on the one hand'

aan die orde van die dag 'the order of the day' (no preposition in English)

Wie is aan die woord? 'Whose turn is it to speak?'

Nou is jy aan die beurt 'Now it's your turn'

'n klop aan die deur 'a knock at the door'

aan see 'at sea' (compare *op see*)

Wat kan ek daaraan doen (= *omtrent*) 'What can I do about it?'

Hy bly naaste aan die skool 'He lives nearest (to) the school' (see *na aan*).

'n tekort / gebrek aan 'a shortage/lack of'

'n behoefte aan (Anglicism *vir* too) 'a need for'

aan die slaap raak 'to fall asleep' (see 8.3.2)

aan die begin / einde van die storie 'at the beginning/end of the story'

Hy werk aan die Universiteit van Natal (also *by*) 'He works at the University of Natal.'

hand aan hand 'hand in hand'

buffer aan buffer (also *teen*) 'bumper to bumper'

ry aan ry konfytflesse 'row upon row of jam jars'¹

'n druppeltjie aan die emmer 'a drop in the bucket' (idiom)

afgesien van 'apart from, except for' (= *behalwe / benewens*)

Niemand gaan afgesien van ons 'No-one is going except for us.'

¹ Compare *ry op ry bakstene* 'row upon row of bricks', i.e. on top of each other, whereas the rows of jam jars, if laid out on a table, are next to each other.

agter 'behind, at the back of'

Dit staan agter die kas 'It's standing behind the cupboard.'

twee Sondag agter mekaar 'two consecutive Sundays'

as 'as' (see 3.2.2.2) (also a conjunction, see 9.4)

as kind 'as a child'

behalwe 'apart from, except for, besides, in addition to'

In colloquial Afrikaans *behalwe*, where it means 'except for', is followed by an anglicistic *vir*, e.g. *Ons het alle stede besoek behalwe vir Parys* 'We visited all towns except for Paris'. Otherwise it can be followed by both subject and object pronouns, e.g. *behalwe ek / my* (see 5.1.1.4.1). Note too *behalwe dit* 'except for it/this/that' where the pronoun is not replaced by *daar-* (i.e. **daarbehalwe*), which is the case with all other prepositions, indicating perhaps that it is in fact adverbial.

More formal synonyms in the sense of 'except for' are *buiten* and *uitgesonderd* and in the sense of 'in addition to', *benewens*.

Wat het jy gedoen behalwe dit? 'What did you do apart from that?'

Ek slaap goed behalwe wanneer die maan vol is 'I sleep well except (for) when it's full moon.'

benewens 'in addition to' (see *afgesien van*, *behalwe*)

Benewens 'n verpligte skripsie omvat die kursus 'n studie van die volgende onderwerpe 'In addition to a compulsory thesis the course consists of the following topics.'

Benewens die feit dat die noodtoestand ondemokraties is, hou dit groot gevare in 'Apart from the fact that the state of emergency is undemocratic, it harbours considerable dangers.'

binne² 'in, within' (see compounds in *-kant*, 11.4)

binne een geslag 'within a generation' (temporal)

binne enkele oomblikke 'in a few moments'

Dit word net binne die universiteit erken 'It is only recognised within the university' (i.e. abstract, otherwise *binne-in* or *binnekant* are used for place.

binne ons vermoë 'within our capability'

bo 'above, over'

Kyk bo jou 'look above you'

bo alle (redelike) twyfel 'beyond all reasonable doubt'

buite³ 'out of' (see *uit* and compounds in *-kant*, 11.4)

buite sig 'out of sight'

buite die kwessie 'out of the question'

² Note the historical spelling *binnen* and *buiten* in certain compounds, e.g. *buitendien* 'what is more', *buitengewoon* 'extraordinary', *binnenshuis* 'indoors'/'*buitenshuis* 'outdoors', but *buiteland* 'abroad' (see 2.4.6.1).

³ The historically correct form, *buiten*, has survived with the figurative meaning of 'except for' (see *behalwe* and compare footnote 2).

buite beheer 'out of control'

buite bereik 'out of reach'

Die telefoon is buite werking 'The telephone is out of order.'

Hulle bly op 'n plaas buite Witrivier 'They live on a farm outside White River.'

buiten 'except for'

This word is a formal synonym of *behalwe* in the sense of 'except for', and as such is also sometimes followed by an anglicistic *vir* in colloquial Afrikaans; it is only used with nouns, e.g. *Water is vryelik beskikbaar behalwe/buiten (vir) 'n verbod op tuinslange* 'Water is freely available except for a prohibition on the use of hoses', *Vanweë die verbruikersboikot was daar buiten enkele swart werknemers nie 'n swart koper in die dorp nie* 'Because of the consumer boycott, except for/apart from a few black workers, there wasn't a black buyer in town.'

by 'at' (see *naby*)

by 'n partytjie 'at a party'

by Dion 'at Dion's' (a chain store)

Hy het by 'n Indiese restaurant kerrie geëet 'He ate curry at an Indian restaurant.'

by die inryteater 'at the drive-in (theatre)'

Hy werk by Wits/die Universiteit van Pretoria (also *aan*) 'He's working at Wits/the University of Pretoria.'

Hy werk by 'n motorhawe naby Benoni 'He's working at a garage near Benoni.'

Sy werk by mev. Koekemoer 'She's working at Mrs. Koekemoer's.'

Hy bly 'n rukkie by ons 'He's staying with us (= at our place) for a while.'

Wanneer kom jy by my kuier? 'When are you coming to visit me?'

Kom sit by my 'Come and sit next to me.'

by 'n man/vrou slaap 'to sleep with a man/woman'

Jou Afrikaans verbeter by die dag 'Your Afrikaans is improving by the day.'

by sy volle bewussyn 'fully conscious'

Sy het 'n mandjie kos by haar 'She's got a basket of food with her.'

Ek het g'n geld by my nie 'I haven't got any money on me.'

Welkom by 50/50 'Welcome to 50/50' (a TV programme). (see *in*)

Draai links by die eerste robot 'Turn left at the first traffic light.'

Daar is iemand by die deur 'There is someone at the door.'

by die duisende 'by the thousands'

by name 'by name'

Is hulle nog by mekaar? 'Are they still together?'

Ek dink by myself 'I think to myself.'

Drie jaar na Burton se dood skiet Liz Taylor se oë nog vol tranes by die noem van sy naam 'Three years after Burton's death Liz Taylor's eyes fill with tears at the mention of his name.'

by die huis kom (= *tuiskom*) / *wees* 'to come/be at home'

Sy is by haar huis vermoor 'She was murdered at her home.'

Toe ek daar kom, kom hy net by die garage uit 'When I got there he was just coming out of the garage.'

Hy stap by die deur uit 'He walked out the door.' (see 11.12).

Die hoë prys van renosterhorings is 'n geweldige aansporing vir wilddiewe en middelmanne wat by die handel betrokke is 'The high price of rhino horns is a tremendous incentive for poachers and middle men who are involved in the trade.'

danksy 'thanks to'

Danksy die mediese wetenskap lewe sy nog 'Thanks to medical science she's still alive.'

Ons kos het 'n Franse smakie gekry danksy die Hugenote 'Our cuisine has a French touch thanks to the Huguenots.'

deur 'through' (also a conjunction, see 9.6)

Ons gaan deur die Botaniese Tuin stap 'We're going to walk through the Botanical Gardens.'

Ek weet dit deur ervaring 'I know from experience.'

In the passive *deur* renders 'by' (see 8.14.2).

digby 'near' (see *naby*)

gedurende 'during' (see *tydens*)

in 'in' (see *binne*)

in die kerk 'in church'

in die middel 'in the middle'

in/op daardie stadium 'at that stage', *Dit sal in 'n later stadium voortgesit word* 'It will be continued at a later stage.'

Sy is in die ouderdom van 65 oorlede (see *op*) 'She died at the age of 65.'

welkom in Vredefort 'Welcome to Vredefort.'

If one is 'in' a town⁴ the preposition *in* is generally speaking used for larger towns, but *op* for smallish places; exactly where the line is drawn between towns large or small enough to require *in* or *op* seems to be a matter of local tradition, e.g. *Ek is in Johannesburg/op Worcester gebore* 'I was born in Johannesburg/Worcester'. *Die Hugenotemonument staan op (die skilderagtige dorp) Franschhoek* 'The Huguenot Monument stands in (the picturesque little town of) Franschhoek'. *In* seems to be gaining ground over *op* with reference to towns.

ingevolge 'in accordance/compliance with'

ingevolge die Wet op Terrorisme 'in accordance with the Antiterrorism Act'

Ingevolge Brink se egskeidingsooreenkoms met sy derde vrou, mag die boek nie in Suid-Afrika verkoop word nie 'According to Brink's divorce agreement with his third wife, the book may not be sold in South Africa.'

⁴ A town (as opposed to a city) is always called a *dorp*, never a *stad*. The expression *dorp toe gaan* 'to go to town' can be used for a town of any size as *dorp* actually refers to the main shopping area (= *sentrum*).

insake 'with regard to, re'

insake u brief van 'regarding your letter of'

jeens 'towards' (formal)

Brittanje het 'n meer positiewe houding jeens Suid-Afrika 'Britain has a more positive attitude to South Africa.'

Die swart gemeenskap het 'n wantroue jeens die pers 'The black community is suspicious of the press.'

Jeens is synonymous with *teenoor* or *ten opsigte van* in less formal style.

kragtens 'in pursuance of, under' (with reference to laws)

kragtens die Reserwebankwet van 1944 'under the Reserve Bank Act of 1944'

langs 'along, next to' (see 11.10)

langs die kus 'on/along the coast'

Sy het langs hom gaan sit 'She went and sat down next to him.'

luidens 'according to' (with reference to reports)

Luidens 'n berig in Rapport sou hy die volgende gesê het 'According to a report in Rapport he allegedly said the following.'

met 'with' (see 11.3 for *hiermee*, *daarmee*, *waarmee*)

Sny die brood met dié mes 'Cut the bread with that knife.'

Hy boer met Afrikaners 'He farms Afrikaners' (a breed of cattle).

Sy is met haar wittebrood (also *op*) 'She's on her honeymoon.'

met die eerste aanblik 'at first glance'

met die boot / kar / skip / trein / vliegtuig (also *per*) 'by boat/car/ship' etc.

Ek stap met die trap op 'I'm taking the stairs.'

Ry met die kronkelpad langs 'Drive along the winding road' (see 11.12).

na 'after, to' (direction towards a place); (see also 11.12.1 for the latter meaning)

Na in the sense of 'after' is very commonly written *ná* to clearly distinguish it from *na* meaning 'to', even where no real ambiguity is possible, e.g. *Wye inspeksie ná Boeing-noodlanding* 'Far reaching inspection after emergency landing of Boeing' (headline).

ná ete 'after dinner'

jaar na jaar 'year after year'

na my (beste) wete 'to (the best of) my knowledge'

na bewering 'allegedly, it is alleged'

na raming 'it is estimated', *Daar is na raming 6000 boere op Springbok* 'There are estimated to be 6000 farmers in the town of Springbok.'

na verwagting 'it is expected'

na my mening 'in my opinion'

na behore 'properly, as is fitting', *Die VV het nie genoeg troepe in Namibië om sy taak na behore te verrig nie* 'The UN doesn't have enough troops in Namibia to fulfil its task properly.'

Is alles na jou sin? 'Is everything to your satisfaction/as you want it?'

Haar vordering op skool is nie na wens nie 'Her progress at school is not what one would wish it to be.'

Die flik "Fiela se kind" is gemaak na 'n roman van Dalene Matthee 'The film "Fiela's Child" was based on a novel of Dalene Matthee.'

na links 'to the left'

Ek het onlangs na die platteland verhuis 'I recently moved to the country.'

The adverb 'after(wards)' is rendered by *daarna* and the conjunction by *nadat* (see 9.4).

naas 'next to, in addition to'

Naas Johannesburg is Kaapstad die grootste stad 'After Johannesburg Cape Town is the biggest city.'

Naas hom is daar nog 'n bevelhebber 'In addition to him there is another commander.'

naby 'near, nearby, close, close-by'

Mitchellsplein, naby Kaapstad, is 'n nuwe woonwyk 'Mitchellsplain, near Cape Town, is a new residential area.'

Die padongeluk het naby Pietersburg plaasgevind 'The road accident occurred near Pietersburg.'

Hy woon hier net naby my 'He lives here just near me.'

Synonymous with *naby*, but somewhat less common, are *digby* and *vlakby* (see *na aan* under 11.11)

namens 'on behalf of'

Namens kaptein Meyer en sy bemanning vertrou ons u het u vlug geniet 'On behalf of Captain Meyer and his crew we trust you have enjoyed your flight.'

Die kiesers het hom aangestel om namens hulle die departement te beheer 'The voters appointed him to run the department on their behalf.'

om 'around, at' (of time); compare *rondom*) (also a conjunction, see 9.6)

Ek gaan om die wêreld reis 'I'm going to travel around the world.'

Hulle sit om die tafel 'They're sitting around the table.'

Ons was laasjaar (om) hierdie tyd in Kaapstad 'We were in Cape Town around this time last year.'

(om) sesuur 'at six o'clock' (see 11.8.1)

om welke / dié rede (also *vir*, Anglicism) 'for what/that reason'

om die draai 'around the corner (figurative), close by'

reg om die wêreld 'right around the world'

in en om Pretoria 'in and around Pretoria'

'n aansoek om 'n visum (also *vir*, Anglicism) 'an application for a visa'

omrede (van) 'because of, by reason of' (also a conjunction, see 9.4)

Omrede (van) die vyandskap tussen die twee gaan dit nie goed nie 'Because of the enmity between the two things aren't going too well.'

Depending on the context, *omrede* is synonymous with either *as gevolg van* 'as a result of' and *vanweë* 'because of'; in the above example all three are possible.

omtrent 'about'

ek weet nie wat ek daaromtrent (daaraan) kan doen nie 'I don't know what I can do about it.'

Omtrent is also an adverb meaning 'about' in the sense of approximately.

ondanks 'in spite of'

Ondanks die weer gaan ons tog vleis braai 'Despite the weather we're going to have a barbecue anyway.'

Synonymous with *ondanks*, but higher style, is *ten spyte van*, a stylistic variant of which is *ten spyt*, which is postpositioned, e.g. *ten spyte van dié beperkinge / dié beperkinge ten spyt* 'in spite of those restrictions.'

onder 'under(neath), among'

onder die brug 'under(neath) the bridge'

onder andere 'among other things, inter alia'

onder Afrikaners 'among Afrikaners'

ongeag 'regardless of'

Dié mense leef, eet en dink saam, ongeag ras of kleur 'Those people live, eat and drink together, regardless of race or colour.'

oor 'about, over, via'

'n boek / flik / storie oor 'a book/film/story about'

praat / skryf / skinder oor 'to talk/write/gossip about'

Daar is veral kommer oor die lot van die swartrenoster 'There is above all concern about the fate of the black rhino.'

Hieroor bestaan daar nog geen sekerheid nie 'There is as yet no certainty about this.'

oor die radio 'on the radio'

oor die naweek 'at/on/during the weekend'

oor 5 jaar 'in five years' time' (compare *binne* 'within')

oor twee dae / jaar / maande 'in two days'/years'/months' time' (see use of *se* with expressions of time, see 4.4)

Dis vyf oor twaalf 'It's five past twelve' (see *voor* 'to')

oor die algemeen (also *in*) 'in general, generally'

oor die eeue heen 'over the centuries, through the ages'

Ons gaan na Barrydale oor / via Swellendam 'We're going to B. via S.'

Dis oor sy stoutigheid dat hy so 'n pak slae gekry het (= weens) 'He got such a hiding because of his naughtiness' (also a conjunction in this sense, see 9.4).

ooreenkomstig 'in accordance with'

Dis ooreenkomstig sy wense gedoen 'It was done in accordance with his wishes.'

Ooreenkomstig die bepalinge van die Haagse Konvensie van 1899 'In accordance with the statutes of the Hague Treaty of 1899.'

dienooreenkomstig 'consequently, in accordance therewith'

op 'on'

Op renders horizontal 'on' (see *aan* for vertical 'on').

There are quite a number of expressions where either *op* or *aan* is heard, e.g. *op/aan diens* 'on duty', *op/aan die telefoon* 'on the phone', *op/aan die (Wes-/Oos-Rand)/Witwatersrand* (less commonly *aan*) 'on the (West/East Rand)/Witwatersrand', *op/aan die grens tussen Suid-Afrika en Botswana* 'on the border between South Africa and Botswana.'

Die kinders speel op die vloer 'The children are playing on the floor.'

op hierdie manier, op die Franse manier 'in this way, à la française'

op die Hollandse manier 'the way the Dutch do it'

op demokratiese wyse 'in a democratic way, democratically'

Hy gaan op 50 aftree 'He's going to retire at 50.'

op dié ouderdom 'at that age'

op die ouderdom (also *in*)/*leeftyd van 18, op 18* 'at the age of 18/at 18'

op veertienjarige leef tyd / ouderdom 'at fourteen years of age'

op aandag staan 'to stand to/at attention'

Hy het die snelheidsrekord / tien boeke op sy naam 'He has the speed record/ten books to his name.'

Hy bly op Die Eike, 'n plaas buite Bronkhorstspuit 'He lives on Die Eike, a farm on the outskirts of Bronkhorstspuit.'

op pad (huis toe) 'on the way (home)'

Die krieketwedstryd word op Nuweland in Kaapstad gespeel 'The cricket match is being played at Newlands in Cape Town.'

Binne sig van Kaapstad lê reeks op reeks ruwe berge 'Within sight of Cape Town are rows and rows of rugged mountains.'

Die kans op oorlewing vir kankerslagoffers is meer as 40% 'The chance of survival for cancer victims is more than 40%.'

hoop op 'n goeie toekoms 'hope of a good future'

die uitsondering op die reël 'the exception to the rule'

op die agtergrond 'in the background'

Hulle is / gaan op wittebrood 'They are/are going on honeymoon.'

op die Hoëveld 'on the Highveld' (but *in die Laeveld* 'in the Lowveld')

op (n) dieet wees 'to be on a diet'

die man op die straat 'the man in the street, Joe Bloggs'

op die vliegtuig 'on the plane'

Hy het op die myne / treine / (as kelner) gewerk 'He worked on the mines/trains (as a waiter).'

Hulle het tronkstraf gekry weens die moord op hul seuntjie 'They got prison for the murder of their little boy.'

op die oomblik 'at the moment'

op dié tydstip 'at that point (in time)'

die Wet op die Onderdrukking van Kommunisme 'The Suppression of Communism Act'⁵

Hy is op die mielieraad 'He's on the maize board' (Anglicism).

⁵ Generally speaking *op* is used in this way in the name of acts of parliament where the name is somewhat longer; otherwise a compound is used, e.g. *die Groepsgebiedewet* 'the Group Areas Act', *die Ongevallewet* 'the Accident Act'.

op die maat van die musiek 'in tune to the music'
op die wyse van 'to the tune of'
op die kassie 'on the box' (TV)
op die fiets (also *met*) 'by bike'
op die lughawe 'at the airport'
op skool 'at school'
*Ek is op universiteit / kollege*⁶ 'I'm at university/college.'
op 'n myn werk 'to work on a mine'
op jou gemak 'at your ease'
op jou eentjie 'on your own, all alone'
op eie risiko 'at your own risk'
Pa lê op sterwe 'Father is dying.'
op Afrikaans (formal for *in*) 'in Afrikaans'
alleen op die wêreld 'alone in the world'
'n bomaanval op 'n ANC-huis 'an bomb attack on an ANC house'
Sy het baie kritiek op hul gedrag 'She's very critical of their behaviour.'
op datum 'up to date'
op see 'at sea' (compare *aan see*)
op ons dorpie 'in our town' (see *in* for uses of *op* meaning 'in a town')

per 'by'

per lugpos / seepos 'by air/seamail'
per brief 'by letter'
per adres 'care of'
per skip / trein / vliegtuig etc. (also *met*) 'by ship/train/plane'
per ongeluk (also *by*) 'by mistake'
per toeval – coincidentally'
Goud kos \$383 per ons 'Gold costs \$383 an ounce.'
100 kilometer per uur '100 kilometres an hour'
oop sewe dae per week 'open seven days a week' (*sewe dae 'n week* is common in the spoken language)
Die appels kos 'n rand (per) stuk 'The apples cost a rand each.'

rond(om) 'all around'

Rondom renders 'all around' (= on all sides of), as opposed to *om*, which renders simply 'around'.
Rondom die stad is berge 'All around the city are mountains.'
Hulle het saamgedrom rondom die standbeeld van Oom Paul 'They crowded around the statue of Paul Kruger.'
Daar is nog emosies rondom Afrikaans 'There are still emotions associated with Afrikaans.'
Die aanklag draai rondom 'n artikel wat in die betrokke uitgawe geskryf is 'The charge revolves around an article which was written in the edition in question.'

⁶ In combination with all other verbs *aan + die* is required (*by* is also heard), e.g. *Ek studeer / werk / doseer aan die Universiteit van Natal* 'I'm studying/working/lecturing at the University of Natal'.

sedert 'since' (also a conjunction, see 9.4)

sedert die Tweede Vryheidsoorlog 'since the Boer War'

The adverb 'since' is rendered by *sedertdien* (= 'since then'), e.g. *Ek het hom sedertdien nooit weer gesien nie* 'I've never seen him since.'

sonder 'without' (also a conjunction, see 9.4 and 9.6)

Ek kan nie sonder jou lewe nie 'I can't live without you.'

Hy was sonder hoed 'He didn't have a hat on' (see 3.2.2.2).

te 'at' (used highly idiomatically)

te voet 'on foot'

te perd 'on horseback'

te Burgersdorp 'in Burgersdorp' (archaic or formal for *op/in*)

iemand te woord staan 'to speak to someone, give someone a hearing, receive someone'

Te occurs in the words *ten* and *ter* where it has fused with case forms of the historical definite article. In this form it occurs in many prepositional phrases (see 11.13). These contractions are also used in other standard expressions, e.g. *die naaskortste man ter wêreld* 'the second shortest man in the world.'

teen 'against'

As a separable verbal prefix *teë* is used instead of *teen*, although both are derived from the historical form *tegen* (see 8.15.1.1), but as a preposition only *teen* is used.

Sy verkoop hulle teen 'n rand stuk 'She sells them at one rand each.'

teen 'n billike prys 'at a reasonable price' (compare *tot elke prys*)

Goud het vandag teen \$383 per ons verhandel 'Gold traded today at \$384 an ounce.'

Hy het teen 100 kilometer per uur gery 'He was driving at 100 kph.'

teen die jaar 1990 'by the year 1990'

teen môre / volgende Maandag 'by tomorrow/next Monday'

teen jou eie tempo studeer 'to study at your own rate'

die skrif teen die muur (also *aan*) 'the writing on the wall'

buffer teen buffer (also *aan*) 'bumper to bumper'

Die kat klim teen die boom op / af 'The cat is climbing up/down the tree.'

teenoor 'opposite, towards' (see *oorkant* under compounds in *-kant*, 11.4)

skuins teenoor (also *oorkant*) 'diagonally opposite'

simpatiek teenoor 'sympathetic towards'

Hy het geen sin vir verantwoordelikheid teenoor homself of teenoor ander mense nie 'He has no sense of responsibility towards himself or towards other people.'

Brittanje het 'n meer positiewe houding teenoor Suid-Afrika (also *jeens* and *ten opsigte van*) 'Britain has a more positive attitude to(wards) South Africa.'

tot 'until, till' (see 11.3 for *hier- / daartoe, waartoe*, as well as 11.11)

Ek wag tot Maandag 'I'll wait till Monday.'

tot en met 'up to and including', e.g. *Die fliëk wys tot en met Maandag* 'The film is showing till Monday' (up to and including Monday).

'n inleiding tot die taalkunde 'an introduction to linguistics'

Hy is tot ses jaar tronkstraf gevonniss 'He's been sentenced to six years' imprisonment.'

geen rede tot kommer 'no reason for worry'

tot elke prys 'at any price' (see *teen*)

van aangesig tot aangesig 'face to face, personally'

tot my verligting / verstomming / vreugde 'to my relief/amazement/joy'

'n poging tot moord 'an attempt at murder'

Dit varieer van die een streek tot die ander 'It varies from one area to another.'

Dit kos 80 tot 90 rand 'It costs 80 to 90 rand.'

Sy kan 600 tot 800 woorde per minuut lees 'She can read 600 to 800 words a minute.'

Die wind waai taamlik sterk oos tot noordoos 'The wind is blowing quite strongly east-north-east.'

tot besinning kom 'to come to one's senses'

Tot also occurs as an adverb, e.g. *Tot hy het gekom* 'Even he came.'

Note that 'not...until' is rendered by *eers* (see 13.9).

tussen 'between'

Vredefort lê tussen Parys en Winburg 'Vredefort is between Parys and Winburg.'

tydens, gedurende⁷ 'during'

tydens / gedurende die oorlog 'during the war'

uit 'out, out of, from'

groete uit Pole / Durban 'Greetings from Poland/Durban' (but *van* someone)

Hy kom uit Holland (= van Holland af) 'He comes from Holland.'

Die woord is besig om uit die taal te verdwyn 'That word is disappearing from the language.'

'n skildery uit die 17de eeu 'a painting from the seventeenth century'

Fort Pearson dateer uit 1878 'Fort Pearson dates from 1878.'

Hy het onlangs uit Kaapstad na die platteland verhuis (also *van*) 'He recently moved from Cape Town to the country.'

uit vrees 'from/out of fear'

Jan Smuts is op 24 Mei 1879 uit 'n eenvoudige boeregesin gebore 'Jan Smuts was born to a simple farming family on 24 May 1879.'

iets uit geldsug doen 'to do something from/because of greed'

iets uit weerwraak doen 'to do something out of revenge'

Kry meer uit die lewe 'Get more out of life.'

Die regter is uit sy amp ontslaan 'The judge was sacked from his office.'

'n kol uit 'n mat verwyder 'to remove a spot from a rug'

Ons gaan die kwessie uit verskeie oogpunte bespreek 'We are going to discuss the matter from various points of view.'

uit 'n ekonomiese oogpunt 'from an economic viewpoint'

Ná daardie dag het Jansen uit eie beweging gereeld oorgekom 'From that day on Jansen came over regularly of his own accord.'

⁷ In combination with the relative pronoun *waar* only *tydens* is possible, e.g. *'n vergadering waartydens...* 'a meeting during which...'. Otherwise the two prepositions are interchangeable.

uit die perd se bek 'from the horse's mouth'
uit Hebreeus vertaal 'to translate from Hebrew'
Uit wat volg, sal blyk dat... 'From what follows, it will become apparent that...'
een uit elke ses vroue 'one out of every 6 women'
Vandag is vyf uit die tien geskei 'These days 5 out of ten are divorced.'
Kies die gepaste woord uit die gegewe lys 'Choose the appropriate word from the list given.'
uit gewoonte/bygelowigheid 'out of habit, because of superstition'
Ek ken dit uit my kop 'I know it by heart.'
Wyle mnr. Fourie word môre uit die NG Kerk Melkbosstrand begrawe 'The late Mr. Fourie is being buried tomorrow from the NG Church at M.'
Sy haal aan uit 'n brief wat hulle uit Kroonstad ontvang het 'She quotes from a letter they received from Kroonstad.'
uit die vuus 'off the cuff'
Wat sien jy uit jou kantoorvenster? 'What can you see from your office window?'

van 'of, from, off'

Die hoofstad van Peru is Lima 'The capital city of Peru is Lima.'
Van wie het jy dié geskenk gekry? 'Who did you get that present from?'
Die kat het van die dak afgeval 'The cat fell off the roof' (see *van...af* below).
 'From' a town or country is usually rendered by *van*, but *uit* is also possible (see *uit*).

See 11.8.2 for the many expressions in which English 'of' is not translated.

See *vanaf* under 11.11, and *van...af* under 11.12.2.

See 5.6 note 20 on the partitive use of *van*.

vanweë, weens 'because of'

Both these words are quite formal. In the spoken language 'because of' is more likely to be rendered by *as gevolg van* 'as a result of' or the sentence may be rephrased using *omdat* 'because'.

Falcon Crest eindig dié week weens sanksies 'Falcon Crest is ending this week because of sanctions.'

Hy is tot 20 jaar tronkstraf gevonnissen weens moord op sy dogter 'He was sentenced to 20 years imprisonment for murdering his daughter.'

Groote Schuur is wêreldwyd bekend geword, hoofsaaklik weens die eerste hartoorplantingsoperasie, maar ook vanweë die navorsings-werk wat daar gedoen is 'Groote Schuur is famous throughout the world, mainly because of the first heart transplant operation, but also because of the research work that has been done there.'

verby 'past, beyond' (see 11.5)

Hy woon verby die kerk 'He lives past/beyond the church.'

verby hierdie punt 'beyond this point'

via (used as in English and synonymous with *oor*)

vir 'for' (see 11.3 for *hier-, daarvoor, waarvoor*)

Hy betaal vir die kar 'He's paying for the car.'

woord vir woord 'word for word, verbatim'

dag vir dag 'day by day'

bietjie vir bietjie 'bit by bit'

vir Suid-Afrikaanse standaarde 'by South African standards'

vir iemand goed wees 'to be good to someone'

vir my vader 'to my father' (dedication in a book)

Kry vir jou 'Help yourself.'

Hy leer / swot vir predikant 'He's studying to become a minister.'

ek is lief vir ... 'I like ...'

A personal indirect object is commonly governed by *vir* where the preposition renders 'to', whether English uses a preposition in that position or not, e.g.

(1270) *Ek het (vir) my tannie beloof dat...*

'I promised my aunt that...'

(1271) *Leen asseblief vir my 'n byl* (but *Leen my asseblief 'n byl*).

'Please lend me an axe' (= an axe to me).

(1272) *Hy het dit vir my gesê / gegee.*

'He told me/gave me it' (= it to me).

(1273) *Ek het vir haar gelieg.*

'I lied to her.'

(1274) *Leer (vir) my die name van die bome.*

'Teach me the names of the trees.'

(1275) *Wuif vir jou pa.*

'Wave to your father.'

As a general rule one can say that where 'to' either is, or can be, inserted in English, one must use *vir* in Afrikaans but in practice its usage is wider than this.

The following couplet corresponds closely to English where if the indirect object follows the direct object, the preposition must be included; but if it precedes the direct object, it may also be used in Afrikaans, whereas that is not possible in English:

(1276) *Gee (vir) my die glase / Gee die glase vir my.*

'Give me the glasses/Give the glasses to me.'

(see 12.4 for the position of nominal and pronominal direct and indirect objects).

Because *vir* can also mean 'for', in addition to very frequently rendering 'to' in the case of indirect objects, there are contexts where it may be ambiguous, e.g.

(1277) *Gee iets vir die arme diere.*

'Give something for/to the poor animals.'

But *Gee die arme diere iets* is not ambiguous.

Related to its function as a preposition governing the indirect object is its use with verbs of perception, e.g.

(1278) *Dit lyk / klink / ruik / smaak / voel vir my ...*

'It seems/sounds/smells/tastes/feels to me like...'

- (1279) *Die rokkie lyk vir my mooi* (< *Die rokkie lyk mooi*).
 'I think the dress looks lovely (< The dress looks lovely).'

Similar is its use in the following examples:

- (1280) *Dit is vir my baie interessant.*
 'I find this very interesting.'
 (1281) *Dit is vir my pragtig.*
 'I think it's beautiful.'
 (1282) *Die naam is vir my baie mooi.*
 'I like the name.'

Vir is so closely associated with personal indirect objects that it is taking over after some verbs that take a prepositional object; where there is still a choice of preposition, the historically correct preposition is the more formal, having been replaced by *vir* in the spoken language, e.g. *Kyk vir my* 'Look at me', where the preposition that follows *kyk* is normally and must be *na* if the object is not personal, e.g. *Kyk na die kamera* 'Look at the camera'. 'To' after verbs of giving and offering (e.g. *gee*, *skenk*), is now normally rendered by *vir*, but *aan* occurs in formal style, e.g. *Vir/aan hom is toestemming gegee om...* 'He was given permission to...'. The verbs *vra* 'to ask for' and *wag* 'to wait for', which were historically followed by *om* and *op* respectively, now commonly take *vir*, possibly due to English influence.

The use of *vir* before personal direct objects has even gone a step further – it is now very common indeed to use it before personal **direct** objects, although this practice tends to be limited to the spoken language, e.g.

- (1283) *Ek sien vir jou later.*
 = *Ek sien jou later*.
 'I'll see you later.'
 (1284) *Hy het vir my geslaan.*
 'He hit me.'
 (1285) *Ons ken vir mekaar.*
 'We know each other.'
 (1286) *Die boswagter het gesê die magistraat wil vir Barta in die hof hê.*
Vir hom ook, maar eintlik vir Barta.
 'The magistrate said he wanted to have Barta in court. Him too, but Barta actually.'

Because the relative pronoun is an invariable *wat*, where it is ambiguous whether this *wat* is the subject or the direct object of the relative clause, insertion of *vir* before the object indicates that *wat* is the subject, e.g.

- (1287) *Piet wat vir Jan vermoor het.*
 'Piet who murdered Jan.'
 (1288) *Piet wat Jan vermoor het.*
 'Piet who Jan murdered' (ambiguous) (see 5.3.1).

This use of *vir* is not considered colloquial. *Vir* is also used with the relative pronoun *wie*, which turns a direct object *wat* into *wie* because relative *wie* is used after prepositions with reference to people, not *wat* (see 5.3.2), e.g.

- (1289) *Dit is die vrou vir wie ek gister in die stad gesien het (= wat ek gister in die stad gesien het).*
 'That's the woman I saw in town yesterday.'

Similar to the superfluous colloquial use of *vir* described in the preceding paragraph is its insertion before the reflexive pronoun, e.g.

- (1290) *Julle beter (vir) julle dik eet.*
 'You'd better eat up.'
 (1291) *Elke boer moet (vir) hom afvra of...*
 'Every farmer should ask himself whether...'

Use of *vir* with expressions of time

'For' with periods of time is expressed in a number of ways in:

- (1292) *Sy bly al (vir) jare op Tulbagh.*
 'She has lived in Tulbagh for years.'⁸
 (1293) *Sy bly al (vir) jare lank op Tulbagh.*
 'She has lived in Tulbagh for years.'
 (1294) *Sy het (vir) jare op Tulbagh gebly.*
 'She lived in Tulbagh for years.'
 (1295) *Sy het (vir) jare lank op Tulbagh gebly.*
 'She has lived in Tulbagh for years.'
 (1296) *Ek gaan nie (vir) lank praat nie.*
 'I'm not going to talk for long' (rare).
 (1297) *Sy gaan vir twee jaar Pole toe.*
 'She's going to Poland for two years.'
 (1298) *Vir hoe lank gaan sy?*
 'How long's she going for?'
 (1299) *Hulle was net (vir) 'n dag of drie in Pole.*
 'They were only in Poland for about three days.'
 (1300) *Hulle ken mekaar al lank / lankal / al lankal.*
 'They've known each other for a long time' (see 'already' under 7.3 for further uses of *lankal*).

Use of *vir* in examples (1292) and (1293), which refer to an action which is still continuing, and in (1294) and (1295), which refer to a completed action, is due to the influence of English. Although purists disapprove of its use, it is exceedingly common in both the spoken and written languages. Only with reference to a period of time in the future, as illustrated in (1297) and (1298), is its use sanctioned and is it compulsory to use it. The use of two *al*'s in (1300), although very common, is not approved of by all speakers.

⁸ See 8.5.3.1 for this use of the present tense in Afrikaans to render a continuous perfect in English.

Note that no *vir* is used in the idioms *dae lank / jare lank / maande lank* 'for days' etc., e.g.

- (1301) *Ons was dae lank siek.*
'We were sick for days.'

vlakby 'near' (see *naby*)

volgens 'according to, in ... opinion'

volgens my 'in my opinion'

volgens berigte 'according to reports'⁹

Volgens amptelike syfers het 120 mense in die aardbewing omgekom 'According to official figures 120 people died in the earth-quake.'

As u daarvolgens handel, sal dit u deurgang deur die doeane bespoedig 'If you act accordingly, it will facilitate your passage through customs.'

voor 'before (time and place), in front of' (see *vir*)

Dit het voor Dinsdag gebeur 'It happened before Tuesday.'

Daar staan 'n standbeeld van Louis Botha voor die Uniegebou 'There is a statue of Louis Botha in front of the Union Buildings.'

Piet Botha aan die klavier 'Piet Botha at/on the piano'

'n Kar het voor sy bromponie ingery 'A car drove in front of his moped.'

Dis vyf voor twaalf 'It's five to twelve' (see *oor* 'past').

weens (see *vanweë*)

11.2. Prepositional stranding

Prepositional stranding is very common in Afrikaans, as it is in English, although it is still on the whole limited to the colloquial language in Afrikaans. It is dealt with in general under 12.8, with reference to relatives and interrogatives under 5.1.1.3.3 and 10.0 (notes 8 and 14) respectively and with reference to third person prepositional objects under 5.1.1.3.3.

See also the next paragraph.

11.3. *Met > mee, tot > toe* and *vir > voor* in combination with *daar, hier* and *waar* and in constructions involving prepositional stranding

The prepositions *met* 'with', *tot* 'to, until' and *vir* 'for' all have in common that they require a separate form when used in combination with *daar, hier* and *waar* whether prepositional stranding (see 12.8.1.1.c and following) is applied or not. These separate forms are *mee, toe*¹⁰ and *voor*, e.g.

⁹ In very formal style *sover* is used with this meaning too, e.g. ..., *sover die aanhaling/prof. Boshoff* 'according to the quotation/Prof. Boshoff' (following a quotation).

¹⁰ *Toe* also exists as both a predicative and an attributive adjective, e.g. *Die hekke is toe / die toe hekke* 'The gates are shut/the shut gates'.

- (1302) *Waarmee het jy dit skoon geskraap?*
'What did you scrape it clean with?'
(1303) *Ek het dit hiermee gedoen*
= *Ek het dit met dit gedoen.*¹¹
'I did it with this.'
(1304) *Wartoe gaan dit lei? Dit gaan tot oorlog lei.*
'What's it going to lead to? It's going to lead to war.'
(1305) *Waarvoor is jy lief? Ek is nie daarvoor lief nie. Ek is lief vir sjokolade.*
'What do you like? I don't like that. I like chocolate.'

In the colloquial construction *wat* + preposition, which is synonymous with *waar* + preposition, and in which prepositional stranding is always applied, the forms *mee*, *toe* and *voor* are also required even though they do not combine with the pronoun, e.g.

- (1306) *Ek weet nie wat jy voor lief is nie (= waarvoor jy lief is nie).*
'I don't know what you like.'
(1307) *Ek weet nie wat jy mee skryf nie (= waarmee jy skryf nie).*
'I don't know what you're writing with' (see 10.0, note 8).

The same applies to the even more colloquial prepositional stranding applied to *daar* or *hier* + preposition where they are replaced by *dit* + preposition, e.g.

- (1308) *Daarvoor / hiervoor is hy baie lief.*
Dit is hy baie lief voor (= vir dit is hy baie lief).
'He likes that/this.'

The following are examples of prepositional stranding after verbs that take a prepositional object where this special form of these three prepositions is required:

- (1309) *Net die kar sukkel ek mee.*
'It's only the car I'm having trouble with.'
(1310) *Vrede moet voor gewerk word.*
'Peace has to be worked for.'

These are transformations, with prepositional stranding (see 12.8.1), of the following:

- (1311) *Ek sukkel net met die kar,*
(1312) *Daar moet vir vrede gewerk word* (see 5.1.1.3.7).

The former are regarded as colloquial and would seldom be encountered in writing but are very common in speech.

¹¹ See 5.1.1.3.3 for an explanation of the alternation *hiermee* / *met dit*.

11.4. Compound prepositions in *-kant*

Kant 'side' is compounded with certain of the above prepositions, as well as with various other words, to form a series of new prepositions, e.g. *d(e)uskant* 'on this side of', *anderkant* 'on the other side of', *diekant* 'on that side of'; *bokant* 'on top of, above', *onderkant* 'underneath', *oorkant* 'on the other side, opposite'; *binnekant* 'in, inside, within', *buitekant* 'outside', e.g.

- (1313) *Ek bly net duskant die stasie.*
'I live just this side of the station.'
- (1314) *Die temperatuur was bokant 20.*
'The temperature was over 20.'
- (1315) *Dis oorkant (= teenoor) die slagter.*
'It's opposite the butcher's.'

Binnekant and *buitekant* are synonymous with *binne* and *buite* in the locative sense, although not always interchangeable. As a general rule one can say that the simplexes are never wrong, but in certain contexts the compounds may be possible too, e.g.

- (1316) *Hulle moes die vyand buite(kant) die kamp hou.*
'They had to keep the enemy outside the camp.'
- (1317) *Hy boer buite(kant) Prieska.*
'He has a farm in the Prieska area.'

All the above also function as adverbs of place (see 7.5).

11.5. Adverbial functions of prepositions

The following prepositions can also stand alone, separate from nouns, functioning as adverbs, the way they can in English: *aan* 'on', *agter* 'behind', *binne* 'inside', *bo* 'above', *buite* 'outside', *deur* 'through', *in* 'in', *naby* 'near', *onder* 'below', *oor* 'over', *op* 'on', *teen* 'against', *uit* 'out', *verby* 'past', *voor* 'in front of', and all the compounds with *-kant*, e.g.

- (1318) *Uitverkoping nou aan.*
'Sale now on.'
- (1319) *Hulle egskeiding is deur.*
'Their divorce is through.'
- (1320) *Is mnr. Smuts in?*
'Is Mr. Smuts in?'
- (1321) *Die kinders is binne / buite / bo / onder.*
'The children are inside/outside/upstairs/downstairs.'
- (1322) *Ons gaan oor Swaziland toe.*
'We're going over to Swaziland.'
- (1323) *Hulle wil P.W. Botha uit hê.*
'They want to have P.W. Botha out.'

- (1324) *Jy het 'n lang dag voor.*
 'You've got a long day ahead (of you).'
- (1325) *Die tyd is verby.*
 'Those times are past.'
- (1326) *Ons is die kerk al verby.*
 'We have already passed the church.'

See 7.6 as well as 7.1.4 for the comparative and superlative of prepositional adverbs.

11.6. Assimilation of the definite article to a preceding preposition

In natural speech the first sound of the definite article *die* is commonly assimilated to the final sound of any preceding preposition ending in a consonant, e.g. *aan die* > *anie*, *met die* > *meddie*, *op die* > *oppie* (see 1.9.4).

11.7. Adjectives and verbs followed by a fixed preposition

See 6.11 for adjectives that take a fixed preposition and 8.19 for verbs, i.e. verbs that take a prepositional object.

11.8. Omission of prepositions

11.8.1. Omission of prepositions with adverbial expressions of time

It is usual not to use a preposition in many adverbial expressions of time that require one in English, e.g.

- (1327) *Hy kom Sondag.*
 'He's coming on Sunday' (but *op 'n Sondag*).
- (1328) *Sy het hom Woensdag twee uur lank in die tronk gesien.*
 'She saw him in jail for two hours on Wednesday.'
- (1329) *Die veldblommeprag van Namakwaland wat lentetyd toeriste van oor die hele land trek.*
 'The floral spectacle of Namaqualand which attracts tourists from across the country in spring' (also *in die lentetyd*).

Also *begin / einde verlede maand / jaar* 'at the beginning/end of last month/year'.

'On' with dates is not normally translated, e.g.

- (1330) *Hy is die sesde Mei gebore.*
 'He was born on the sixth of May.'

'At' with religious holidays is omitted, e.g.

- (1331) *Hulle kom Kersfees / Pase na ons.*
 'They're coming to us at Christmas/Easter.'

'At' with times of the day is nearly always omitted, *om* being very formal, e.g.

- (1332) *Ek het drie-uur die oggend wakker geword.*
'I woke up at at three o'clock in the morning.'
- (1333) *Doeane en paspoortbeheer is 'n langdradige proses in Kuba, veral eenuur die nag.*
'Customs and passport control are a time consuming affair in Cuba, particularly at one o'clock at night.'
- (1334) *Wat besiel jou om my dié tyd van die nag te bel?*
'What's got into you that you ring me at this time of night?'
- (1335) *Ons was laasjaar hierdie tyd in Kaapstad.*
'We were in Cape Town (at) this time last year.'

11.8.2. Omission of *van* 'of'

There are several contexts in which the English preposition 'of' is not rendered by *van*, as is normally the case, but where no preposition is required in Afrikaans.

11.8.2.1. Omission and inclusion of *van* in official names

The names of South African universities incorporating the name of the town where they are located use *van*, e.g. *die Universiteit van Kaapstad*, *die Universiteit van Pretoria*; although this is the official name of the institution, the forms *die Universiteit Kaapstad/Pretoria* occur.¹² The use of *van* after *departement* seems to depend on whether it is a government or university department; in the former case *van* must be used, whereas in the latter it is optional, e.g. *die Departement van Landbou* 'the Department of Agriculture' (also *die Minister van Buitelandse Sake* 'the Minister of Foreign Affairs'), *die Departement (van) Afrikaans en Nederlands* 'the Department of Afrikaans and Nederlands'.¹³ The same applies to *fakulteit*, e.g. *die Fakulteit (van) Lettere en Wysbegeerte* 'the Faculty of Arts'.

Omitting the preposition in the above cases means that such forms become indistinguishable in Afrikaans from forms which have no 'of' in English but where the qualifier is mentioned first in English, e.g. *Hoërskool Die Fakkkel* 'Fakkkel High School', *Huis Rouwkoop* 'Rouwkoop House', *Lughawe D.F. Malan* 'D.F. Malan Airport', and *Universiteit Rhodes* 'Rhodes University'. A form like 'Cape Town University', not the official name of the institution but nevertheless possible in speech, must either be rendered by its official name (see above), or by *Kaapstad se universiteit*.

Although the official name of the country is *die Republiek van Suid-Afrika*,

¹² There are traditional objections to the use of *van* in such cases because of the belief that insertion of the preposition is due to English influence.

¹³ The word 'Dutch' is not commonly used in this context in South Africa. 'Dutch' and 'Dutchman' still have strong connotations of being negative terms for Afrikaans and Afrikaners in SA English, a legacy of nineteenth century history.

the *van* is sometimes omitted after *republiek* in the case of other countries, e.g. *die Republiek (van) China* 'the Republic of China'. Notice, however, that in the case of some countries the problem is avoided altogether by using adjectives, e.g. *die Chinese Volksrepubliek* 'the People's Republic of China', *die Duitse Bondsrepubliek* 'the Federal Republic of Germany'. *Van* is not used after *koninkryk*, e.g. *die Koninkryk Jordanië* 'the Kingdom of Jordan'.

11.8.2.2. Omission of *van* from certain geographic names

No *van* is required in the following geographic designations although the preposition 'of' is indispensable in English: *die dorpie Franschhoek* 'the little town of Franschhoek', *die stad Johannesburg* 'the town of Johannesburg', *die distrik Kroonstad* 'the district of Kroonstad', *die eiland Mauritius* 'the island of Mauritius', *die Kaap die Goeie Hoop* 'the Cape of Good Hope'. The same mechanism is at work in the following names: *die NG Kerk Melkbosstrand* 'the NG Church of Melkbosstrand',¹⁴ *die Kommandement Oos-Transvaal* 'the military region of Eastern Transvaal'.

11.8.2.3. Omission of *van* after *klas*, *soort* and *tipe*

The nouns *klas* (informal), *soort* and *tipe* are not followed by *van* in formal style, but it is commonly inserted in the spoken language, e.g. *daai klas (van) goed/ding* 'that sort of thing' (colloquial), *dié soort (van) mens* 'that sort of person', *daardie tipe (van) ding* 'that sort/type of thing'. In *hierdie tipe van motor* 'this type of car', where *tipe* refers literally to the kind of car, *van* is not omitted. In *Dis 'n soort Mercedes* 'It's a type of Mercedes' no *van* is used, but in the filler *soort van* (< colloquial English 'sort of') it is always inserted, e.g. *Dis soort van 'n Mercedes* 'It's sort of a Mercedes'.

Note that the following variants of the idiom 'that sort of thing' exist: *daardie soort (van) ding* or *daardie soort (van) dinge*, the most common being *daardie/dié soort van ding*.

11.8.2.4. Other English expressions where 'from' is not untranslated

The indefinite pronouns *allerlei/allerhande* 'all sorts of' require no preposition, e.g. *Ek het allerlei dinge gesien* 'I saw all sorts of things'.

'The whole of France' is expressed differently, avoiding the necessity to use *van*, e.g. *die hele Frankryk*.

'Full of' is expressed by *vol* which is not followed by *van*, e.g. *'n bus vol passasiers* 'a bus full of passengers'.

¹⁴ Although NG is an Afrikaans abbreviation (= *Nederduitse Gereformeerde*) meaning 'Dutch Reformed', it is customary to use it in SA English too.

11.8.2.5. Omission of *van* with measures and quantifiers

Note that all the following measures and quantifiers apply the same structure and do not require a preposition.

'n *kilo lemoene* 'a kilo of oranges'

'n *liter melk* 'a litre of milk'

'n *dosyn eiers* 'a dozen eggs' (where no preposition is required in English either)

'n *groot verskeidenheid (van) diere* 'a great variety of animals'

'n *handjievool kersies* 'a hand full of cherries'

'n *aantal mense* 'a number of people'

groot getalle mense 'great numbers of people'

reeks op reeks ruwe berge 'row upon row of rugged mountains'

'n *reeks lesings* 'a series of lectures' (but 'n *reeks van 5 lesings*)

die groep / spul Italiane 'a group of Italians'

'n *klompie klonkies* 'a group of (non-white) kids'

'n *hele klompie jare gelede* 'quite a few years ago'

'n *trop olifante / beeste* 'a herd of elephants/cattle'

'n *kudde buffels* 'a herd of buffalo'

'n *swerm sprinkane* 'a swarm of locusts'

'n *koppie melk* 'a cup of milk'

'n *glas (goeie) wyn* 'a glass of (good) wine'

'n *bottel (koue) bier* 'a bottle of (cold) beer'

'n *buisie vogroom* 'a tube of moisturising cream'

'n *happie kaas* 'a bite of cheese'

'n *slukkie wyn* 'a sip of wine'

'n *sny brood* 'a slice of bread'

'n *blikkie tonyn* 'a tin of tuna'

'n *koekie seep* 'a cake of soap'

'n *dosie vuurhoutjies* 'a box of matches'

'n *mandjie eiers* 'a basket of eggs'

'n *potjie skaak / tennis speel* 'to play a round of chess/tennis'

kolle lig 'spots of light'

11.9. Insertion of prepositions where none is required in English

There are very few cases where a preposition is required in Afrikaans where none is used in English. There is the expression *aan die orde van die dag* 'the order of the day' and otherwise a number of verbs that take a prepositional object, but a direct object in English (see 8.19).

11.10. Postpositioned prepositions

A few prepositions can follow the noun they govern, but this tends to be limited to set expressions, e.g. *Suid-Afrikaanse ambassades die wêreld deur / oor* 'South African embassies throughout the world/the world over', *die verdrag ten*

spyt (= *ten spyte van die verdrag*) 'in spite of the treaty', *bergaf/-op* 'down/uphill', *stroomaf/-op* 'with/against the current, down/upstream'.

It often seems as if *in* and *uit* are being postpositioned in this way, but underlying such structures is a separable verb where the prefix is being placed at the end of the clause, e.g.

(1336) *Die eekhorinkie is later op sy eie weer die veld in* (< *het die veld ingegaan*).

'The squirrel later went back into the veldt.'

(1337) *Hy is gister die huis uit en sindsdien het ek hom nie weer gesien nie* (< *uitgaan*).

'He left the house yesterday and I haven't seen him since.'

Compare

(1338) *Jy gaan nou die onbekende wêreld in.*

'You're now going out into the unknown world.'

The following example illustrates the same phenomenon if only the second *in* is used, but the possibility of using both a pre- and a postpositioned *in* puts it in the category discussed under 11.12.3:

(1339) *Poppie gaan haal die kind en dra haar (in) die huis in.*

'Poppie went and fetched the child and carried it into the house.'

It is possible that there is a mechanism at work here that goes beyond that of a verbal separable prefix, as the verbs *indra* in the previous example and *inhelp* in the next example will not be found in a dictionary, e.g.

(1340) *Isak het toe vir Stephen die huis in gehelp* (or *ingehelp?*).

'Isak then helped Stephen into the house.'

also

(1341) *Hierdie mite is nou finaal die lug in geblaas.*

'This myth has now finally been abolished.'

It would seem that at least with *in* and *uit* they can be postpositioned to emphasise a movement from one point to another (see circumpositioned *in* and *uit* under 11.12.3).

In the following examples it is optional whether *langs* and *oor* are pre- or postpositioned:

(1342) *Jy moet Paarl langs gaan om by Wellington te kom.*

'You have to drive past Paarl to get to Wellington.'

(1343) *Ek ry altyd Paarl oor na Malmesbury.*

'I always drive to Malmesbury via Paarl' (see also *Ons gaan Paarl toe* under 11.10.1).

11.10.1. Postpositioned *toe* rendering 'to a place'

'To' denoting direction or motion towards a place is most usually expressed by a postpositioned *toe*, e.g.

- (1344) *Ek gaan nou dorp/dokter toe.*
'I'm going to town/the doctor now.'

When *toe* is used in this way, the definite article is dropped (see 7.5.1 and 3.1.1.12). This is an abbreviated and infinitely more common way of expressing *na...toe*, i.e. *Ek gaan na die dorp/dokter toe*. *Na* cannot be omitted before pronominal objects (see 11.12.1).

11.11. Double prepositions

Certain prepositions occur in combination with another before the noun, similar to the use of 'up to', 'up against' and 'near to' for example in English. The preposition *tot* in particular can combine with *aan*, *by*, *in*, *langs*, *naas*, *onder*, *op* and *voor*, e.g. *tot aan die einde* 'till the end', *Die huurmotor het tot by die hotel gery* 'The taxi drove as far as the hotel', *Hy het die storie tot in die fynste besonderhede vertel* 'He told the story in the finest detail', *iets tot in jou murg voel* 'to feel something in your marrow', *tot op datum* 'to date', *Die swartrenoster is tot op die rand van uitwissing gedryf* 'The black rhino has been driven to the brink of extinction'.

Na aan differs from *naby* (see 11.1) in much the same way as 'near to' differs from 'near', e.g.

- (1345) *Jy kan geskiet word as jy te na aan die sekuriteitsone kom.*
'You can get shot if you get too close to the security zone.'

As *na* is strictly speaking an adverb in this combination, it has both a comparative and superlative form and is thus used instead of *naby* in such cases, e.g.

- (1346) *Hy woon naby Stellenbosch.*
'He lives near Stellenbosch.'
(1347) *Hy woon nader aan Stellenbosch (= digter by).*
'He lives nearer to Stellenbosch.'
(1348) *Hy bly naaste aan die skool.*
'He lives nearest the school.'

Agterop 'on the back of', *voorop* 'on the front of', *onderaan* 'at the bottom of', *teenaan* 'up against' and *vanaf* 'from', unlike the above, are written as one word, e.g.

- (1349) *Skryf u adres agterop/voorop die kovert.*
'Write your address on the back/front of the envelope.'
(1350) *Sit jou handtekening onderaan die vorm.*
'Place your signature at the bottom of the form.'

- (1351) *Dis teenaan die veekraal gebou.*
‘It was built up against the cattle-pen.’
- (1352) *Hierdie parkeermeter is in werking vanaf 8.00 tot 18.00.*
‘This parking metre is in operation from 8.00 to 18.00’ (see *van...af* under 11.12.2).

The following double prepositions of place, all of which can also function as adverbs (as can *agterop*, *voorop* and *onderaan*; compare those under 11.4), should also be regarded as one word although their phonology requires that they be hyphenated:¹⁵ *bo-aan* ‘at the top of’ (i.e. the opposite of *onderaan*), *bo-in* ‘on top of’, *bo-oor* ‘above’, *bo-op*¹⁶ ‘on top of’, *binne-in* ‘on the inside of’, *buite-om* ‘around the outside of’, *midde-in* ‘in the middle of’, e.g.

- (1353) *Die boek is al verskeie weke bo-aan die topverkoperslys.*
‘The book has been at the top of the best-seller list for several weeks.’
- (1354) *Ek sien ’n oop tas en vuil klere lê bo-in.*
‘I can see an open case and dirty clothes lying in it on top.’
- (1355) *Plaas die varktjops bo-op die aartappelskywe en skep die sous bo-oor.*
‘Place the pork chops on top of the slices of potato and pour the sauce over the top.’
- (1356) *Gill se frisgeurige skuim reinig diep binne-in die porieë.*
‘Gill’s fresh smelling foam cleanses deep into the pores.’
- (1357) *Ek het ’n gevoel binne-in my.*
‘I’ve got a feeling inside me.’
- (1358) *Die voordeur was toe en hy moes dus buite-om die huis stap.*
‘The front-door was shut and therefore he had to walk around the outside of the house.’
- (1359) *Joubertpark lê midde-in een van Johannesburg se dige bewoonde woonstelgebiede.*
‘Joubert Park is situated in the middle of one of J’s most densely populated flat areas.’
- (1360) *Hy het midde-in ’n storm beland.*
‘He ended up in the middle of a storm.’

11.12. Circumpositioned prepositions in prepositional phrases

A large number of prepositions combine with others (usually)¹⁷ to indicate direction, the first preposition preceding the noun (phrase) and the second following it. Most such combinations are standard but there is possibly still a slight degree of productivity here, e.g.

agter...aan, e.g. *Hy hardloop agter die koeie aan* ‘He’s running after the cows’,

¹⁵ A hyphen is used to preserve the appearance of the vowels belonging to separate syllables, i.e. instead of a dieresis (see 2.7.8).

¹⁶ The historically correct form, *boonop* (< Dutch *bovenop*), has survived with the figurative meaning of ‘in addition’ (see footnote 2).

¹⁷ Where direction is not indicated one has to do with an abstract concept as *op een ná* ‘all but one’ and *op die oog af* ‘seemingly’ illustrate.

agter die lekker aan eet 'to eat because something is morish'.
buite iemand om, e.g. *buite my om* 'without me knowing'.
oor...heen, e.g. *oor geslagte / die jare heen* 'for generations/throughout the ages'.
op...af, e.g. *Hulle was op die oog af 'n gelukkige familie* 'To all appearances, they were a happy family'.
op...ná, e.g. *op een ná* 'with the exception of one', *op 'n paar uitsonderinge ná* 'apart from a few exceptions'.
tot...toe, e.g. *tot nou / vandag toe* 'till now/today', *tot barstens / vervelens / walgens toe* 'till it was chock full/ad nauseam/till it made one sick'.
teen...in, e.g. *teen alle verwagtinge in* 'against all expectations', *Dit druis teen die natuur in* 'This is against the laws of nature'.
teen...langs, e.g. *Hy het teen die muur langs gekruip* 'He crept along the wall'.
tussen...deur, e.g. *Ry tussen die NG kerk en die vulstasie deur* 'Drive between the NG Church and the petrol garage',¹⁸ *Tussen die geskree deur het hulle hoogs emosioneel geklap* 'In between the shouting they clapped highly emotionally'.
tussen...in, e.g. *tussen hulle in* '(in) among them'.
voor iemand uit, e.g. *Hy sit en kyk voor hom uit* 'He's looking straight ahead', *Hy het voor hulle uit gestap* 'He walked ahead of them'.

Very common indeed is the combination *by...in / uit* where once again it is open to debate whether the final preposition is a separable prefix or not, e.g.

- (1361) *Hy loer by die venster in.*
 'He's peering through the window.'
 (1362) *Hy kyk by die venster uit.*
 'He's looking out the window.'
 (1363) *Hy stap toe by die deur uit.*
 'He then walked out the door'.

Uncertainty is possible here because *inloer*, *uitkyk* and *uitstap* are recognised separable verbs. But these constructions do not differ from *Hy stap met die sypaadjie langs* 'He walked along the footpath' and **langsstap* is not a recognised separable verb. The distinction is academic until one comes to writing it in the past tense or in a subordinate clause, i.e.

- (1364) *Hy het toe by die kantoor uit gestorm / uitgestorm.*
 'He then stormed out of the office.'
 (1365) *Toe hy by die kantoor uit storm / uitstorm.*
 'When he stormed out of the office...'

(see further examples under *by* and *met* under 11.1.)

11.12.1. *Na...toe, op...toe, af...toe* and *oor...toe*

In practice the combination *na...toe* (indicating motion 'to' a place) although

¹⁸ *Tussen* on its own, or in combination with *in*, would render the place where the driving takes place if one were driving around in circles, for example, but the addition of *deur* implies driving between the two and out the other side.

not uncommon, is usually replaced by a postpositioned *toe*, a construction which requires that the definite article be dropped (see 11.10.1).

Possibly in imitation of an English convention one can go *op...toe* 'up to' or *af...toe* 'down to' a place depending on whether one's destination is north (or at a higher altitude) or south (or at a lower altitude) respectively, e.g.

- (1366) *Ons gaan môre op Pretoria toe.*
'We are going up to Pretoria tomorrow.'
(1367) *Gaan julle af Kaap toe.*
'Are you going down to the Cape?'

In English it is also possible to go 'across/over to' a place; this is not said of towns in Afrikaans but is heard with reference to people's places, e.g.

- (1368) *Ek gaan 'n bietjie oor Van Rensburgs toe.*
'I'm just going over to the Van Rensburgs.'

11.12.2. *Van...af*

Another very common combination is that of *van...af* which expresses 'from a place'. With reference to where people's origins (countries and towns) are, *van...af* is synonymous with *van* or even *uit*, e.g.

- (1369) *Van waar kom hy af? = Van waar is hy?*
'Where does he come from?'
(1370) *Hy kom van Pole (af) = Hy kom uit Pole.*
'He comes from Poland.'
(1371) *Hy kom van Bloemfontein (af) = Hy kom uit Bloemfontein.*
'He comes from Bloemfontein.'

In the following example the name of the person is seen as synonymous with the place from which the letter has come, otherwise there is no need for *af*:

- (1372) *Daar is 'n brief van Bennie af.*
'There's a letter from Bennie.'

The need for an *af* to complement a preceding *van* is often very subtle for native-speakers of English to appreciate, e.g.

- (1373) *Daar was omtrent 'n honderd man met outomatiese wapens 'n ent van die ingang af.*
'There were about 100 men standing with automatic weapons a little way from the entrance' (compulsory).
(1374) *Daar was omtrent 'n honderd man met outomatiese wapens wat 'n ent weg van die ingang (af) gestaan het.*
'There were about 100 men with automatic weapons who were standing a little way from the entrance' (optional).

Also *'n hanetreetjie van my af* 'a stone's throw from me/my place', *iets van 'n*

afstand af bewonder 'to admire something from a distance', *Stanger is agt kilometer van die see af* 'Stanger is 8 k's from the sea', *Mens kan van buite af 'n indruk daarvan vorm* 'You can get an impression of it from outside', *die kloof van bo af gesien* 'the pass seen from above'. Note too its use in the expression *Van my kant af, goeie nag* 'Good night from me' (on radio/tv).

Van...af is particularly commonly used with expressions of time, e.g. *van nou / vandag af* 'from now on/today', *van toe af* 'from then on', *van agtuur die volgende oggend af* 'from 8.00 the following morning', *van die begin af* 'from the beginning', *van 1985 af* 'from 1985 (on)'.²⁹ An added complication with *van...af* is that it can often occur as a compound before the expression it governs, e.g. *vanaf nou* (but not **vanaf toe*), *Hoe ver is dit vanaf die stasie (= van die stasie af)?* 'How far is it from the station?' In substandard speech one might hear the following where a simple *van* (or *uit*) would suffice: *Klip wat vanaf Nederland af ingevoer is* 'Stone which was imported from Holland'. Similarly non-standard is *Af van die bed af* 'Get off the bed', where the first *af* is superfluous.

As with other circumpositioned prepositions, as mentioned in 11.12, it is particularly difficult in the case of *van...af* phrases to know whether the *af* is not in fact a separable prefix rather than a postpositioned preposition, e.g.

- (1475) *Die bus het die bakkie van die pad af gedruk / afgedruk.*
'The bus forced the pick-up off the road.'
(1476) *Elke keer as Christie van die dorp af kom / afkom...*
'Every time she came from town...'
(1477) *Haal dit van die stoof af.*
'Take it off the stove.'

Most speakers (or rather writers) would probably regard it as a separable prefix; in *Hy stam van die eerste inwoners af* 'He is descended from the first inhabitants', for example, there is no doubt one is dealing with the verb *afstam van*, a separable verb that takes a prepositional object, but structurally it does not differ from any of the above, which is why confusion exists.

11.12.3. *In...in* and *uit...uit*

In and *uit*, when designating motion rather than place, can be placed after the noun (see 11.10), but more common, especially in the spoken language, is a preposition both before and after the noun, e.g.

- (1478) *Hy storm (in) die huis in / (uit) die huis uit.*
'He storms into the house/out of the house.'

In the case of *in*, this construction renders 'into' (motion), as opposed to 'in' (place). Either one postpositioned *in* or two circumpositioned *in*'s are possible only with certain verbs indicating motion, particularly those with a separable prefix *in*; whether in such cases one is dealing with verb + *in* or *in* + verb becomes academic, as the past tense of the above example clearly illustrates,

²⁹ The force behind the 'on' in some of the English translations given comes close to what is expressed by *af* here.

e.g. *Hy het (in) die huis in gestorm / ingestorm*; such a distinction, if it exists at all, cannot after all be heard. In *Hy swem in die swembad* 'He's swimming in the pool' and *Hy spring in die swembad* 'He jumps into the pool', one is definitely dealing with *spring in* in both cases and not **inspring* (in contrast to the above *instorm*); here the distinction between 'in' and 'into' is not reflected in word order. Although **Hy spring die swembad in* is not possible, one might hear *Hy spring in die swembad in* in the spoken language.²⁰ Also:

- (1479) *Hy ry in die stad in.*
'He drives into town.'
(1480) *Klim nou uit jou bed (uit).*
'Get out of bed now.'
(1481) *Die bosoorlog om Suid-Afrika uit Namibië uit te kry is oor.*
'The bush war to get South Africa out of Namibia is over.'

Although the prime purpose of *in...in* and *uit...uit* is to express the idea of motion also inherent in a post-positioned *in* or *uit*, the construction now has a much wider distribution in Afrikaans, being applied in many contexts where there is not even a hint of motion and where a prepositioned preposition would suffice, but this practice is much more common in the spoken than the written language, e.g.

- (1482) *Die rob is deur tou gewurg en dit was binne in die vleis in.*
'The seal had been strangled by rope and it was deep in its flesh.'
(1483) *Ons het diep in die nag in gepraat.*
'We talked deep into the night.'
(1484) *Ek het die tjek in jou rekening inbetaal.*
'I paid the cheque into your account.'
(1485) *Jy moet sorg dat jy uit die tronk uit bly / uitbly.*
'You'll have to make sure you stay out of prison.'
(1486) *Dié boek is nou uit druk uit.*
'That book is now out of print.'
(1487) *Mens kry niks uit haar uit nie.*
'You get nothing out of her.'
(1488) *Dit het uit die bloute uit gekom.*
'It came out of the blue.'
(1489) *Ek ken dit uit my kop uit.*
'I know it by heart.'
(1490) *Dit was 'n goeie toespraak so uit die vuis uit.*
'It was a good off the cuff speech' (compulsory here).

²⁰ The following example shows that confusion about what is and isn't a separable prefix exists outside circumprepositional phrases: *Hy kom dae aanmekaar nooit uit sy kamer nie. En as hy daar uitkom, verdwyn hy* 'He doesn't leave his room for days on end. And if he does leave it, he disappears'. The way *uit* is used in the first sentence, i.e. governing a prepositional object, one would expect *daaruit kom* to be used in the next, but because of *uit* and *kom* ending up adjacent to each other here, the writer feels he is dealing with the separable verb *uitkom*, which is not strictly speaking the case. Such "confusion" is very common.

The preposition can also double up in cases where one is clearly dealing with a verb that takes a fixed preposition, e.g.

- (1491) *Die groep bestaan uit hulle uit.*
 'The group consists of them.'

In non-standard usage the preposition can even be trebled, e.g.

- (1492) *U moet uself uitwerk uit hierdie pos uit want dit behoort aan 'n swartman.*
 'You have to work yourself out of this position because it belongs to a black.'

11.12.4. *Vir/om* + noun [+ *se*]/personal pronoun + *onthalwe/ontwil*

The following prepositional phrase is also circumpositioned around the noun or pronoun to which it refers: *vir/om* + noun [+ *se*]/personal pronoun + *onthalwe/ontwil* 'for the sake of, for -'s sake', e.g. *vir/om die kind se onthalwe/ontwil* 'for the child's sake', *vir/om jou onthalwe/ontwil* 'for your sake', *Dit is die persoon om wie se onthalwe/ontwil ek gelieg het* 'This is the person on whose behalf I lied'.

11.13. Prepositional phrases

In many of the following prepositional phrases no article is required, unlike their English equivalents. Quite a lot of these have standard abbreviations which are commonly used:

- op aandrang van* 'on the insistence of'
- na aanleiding van (n.a.v.)* 'à propos, with reference to'
- ten aansien van (t.a.v.)* 'in/with regard to'
- in antwoord op* 'in answer to'
- onder beheer van* 'under the control of'
- met betrekking tot (m.b.t.)* 'with reference to'
- op bevel van* 'by order of'
- met behulp van (m.b.v.)* 'with the help of'
- by gebrek aan* 'through lack of'
- na gelang van* 'in accordance with'
- as ('n) gevolg van (a.g.v.)* 'as a result of' (use of 'n is an Anglicism)
- op grond van* 'on account of, by virtue of'
- uit hoofde van* 'on account of, by virtue of' (formal)
- in ruil vir* 'in exchange for'
- op soek na* 'in search of'
- in teenstelling met (i.t.m.)* 'in contrast to, as opposed to'
- by wyse van* 'as', e.g. *by wyse van spreke/verandering/'n donasie*
- in stede van/pleks van/in plaas van* 'instead of'
- te midde van* 'amid, in the midst of'
- deur middel van (d.m.v.)* 'by means of'

in vergelyking met 'compared with/to'
in verband met (i.v.m.) 'in connection with'
na gelang van 'according to, depending on', e.g. *Die bevolkingsdigtheid wissel na gelang van die gehalte van die grond.*
met verwysing na 'with reference to' (in letters)
uit vrees vir 'for fear of'
sonder vrees vir 'without fear of'
(aan) weerskante van 'on either side of'
in weerwil van 'in spite of'

There is a series of such prepositional phrases formed from the preposition *te* plus an enclitic form of the historical definite article in the masculine/neuter and feminine of the dative case, i.e. *te + den > ten*, *te + der > ter*²¹ (see 15.1.4):

ten bedrae van 'to the sum of'
ten koste van 'at the cost of'
ten spyte van 'in spite of', e.g. *ten spyte van die beperking*; also *die beperking ten spyt*, *ten spyte daarvan dat* 'in spite of the fact that'
ter steun van 'for the support of'
ten bate van (t.b.v.) 'in aid/support of'
ten behoeve van (t.b.v.) 'in aid/support of'
ter geleentheid van (t.g.v.) 'on the occasion of'
ten gunste van (t.g.v.) 'in favour of'
ten opsigte van (t.o.v.) 'with respect to' (also of currency, e.g. *die waarde van die rand t.o.v. die dollar*) (see *teenoor*)
ten tye / tyde van 'at the time of'
ten ty(d)e van 'at the time of'
ter waarde van 'to the value of'
ter wille van 'on behalf of, for the sake of'

11.14. Adverbial qualifiers of prepositions

The adverbs *dwars*, *pal* and *reg* are used in conjunction with prepositions to render 'right' (across/under/against etc.) and certain frequent combinations are written as one word, e.g. *dwarsdeur die jaar* 'right throughout the year', *dwarsoor die land* 'right across the country', *reg oor Suid-Afrika* 'right across SA', *reg oorkant die Kremlin* 'right opposite the Kremlin', *Quito lê amper reg op die ewenaar* 'Quito is situated almost right on the equator', *pal teenoor* 'right opposite' (adverbial phrase here).

In effect *na* in the combination *naby* as well as *dig* and *vlak* in *digby* and *vlakby*, all meaning 'near', are fulfilling a similar function but they have become lexicalised in these words and have no productivity.

²¹ There is also a number of adverbial expressions which are so formed, e.g. *ten alle tye* 'at all times', *te(r) geleëner tyd* 'in due course/time'.

11.15. Prepositional phrases consisting of 'with + noun + it/them'

A prepositional phrase consisting of 'with + noun + preposition + it/them' is rendered in Afrikaans by *met* + noun + preposition with the pronoun being omitted, e.g.

- (1493) *Dit was 'n groenerige bottel met patroontjies op.*
 'It was a greenish bottle with patterns on it.'
- (1494) *Dit was groot kamers met baie houtbanke in.*
 'They were big rooms with a lot of wooden benches in them' (see 12.11).

Suggested reading

Kempen (1984). This is a very detailed work on prepositional structures.

Taljaard and Smit (1987). This book deals with Afrikaans prepositions under the words they combine with, which are listed alphabetically.

12. Word order

12.1. Order of verbs

12.1.1. Position of the finite verb in a single clause statement

In a single clause statement containing one verb, a finite verb, that verb is always the second idea or concept in the sentence, unlike English, e.g.

- (1495) *Hy is siek vandag.*
'He's sick today.'
- (1496) *Vandag is hy siek.*
'Today he's sick.'
- (1497) *Agter die stadsaal naby die stasie is daar 'n vis- en skyfieswinkel.*
'Behind the townhall near the station there is a fish and chip shop.'

As the last two examples illustrate, if the clause begins with an adverbial expression,¹ inversion of subject and verb take place to maintain the verb in second position; in the second example *agter die stadsaal naby die stasie* is all one idea, i.e. that of place.

12.1.2. Position of the finite verb in a statement consisting of a main clause and a co-ordinate clause

In a second clause introduced by a co-ordinating conjunction (see 9.1), the conjunction has no effect on the position of the verb in that clause, which is otherwise treated as a second main clause, e.g.

- (1498) *Hulle speel meestal binnenshuis maar hulle speel soms buite >*
Hulle speel meestal binnenshuis maar soms speel hulle buite.
'They usually play inside but they sometimes play outside.'

In a sentence consisting of two or more clauses joined by the co-ordinating conjunction *en* where the first clause has undergone inversion of subject and verb because of the presence of an adverbial expression at the beginning, inversion also occurs after the conjunction if the second clause is also seen to be dependent on the same adverbial phrase, e.g.

- (1499) *In haar tuisstad word sy vriendelik op straat gegroet en [in haar tuisstad] vra mense haar handtekening.*
'In her home town she is greeted in a friendly fashion and people ask for her autograph.'
- (1500) *Teen daardie tyd was Profumo al 'n gebroke man en [teen daardie tyd] was die Konserwatiewe regering op die rand van instorting.*
'By that time Profumo was already a broken man and the Conservative government was on the verge of collapse.'

¹ By adverbial expression is also meant certain adverbial conjunctions which cause inversion of subject and verb, unlike all other conjunctions (see 9.2).

- (1501) *Nou is daar 'n moontlike hofsaak en [nou] is dit sub judice en [nou] kan ek nie meer praat nie.*
 'Now there is possibly going to be a court case and it's sub judice and I can't say anything any more.'

In the following example, which sounds rather formal, co-ordinating *maar* has been omitted for stylistic purposes and thus the subject and finite verb of the second clause do not invert as one might otherwise expect according to the rules given under 12.1.5:

- (1502) *Nie net het die paswette tot polarisasie gelei nie, [-] dit het ook daarin geslaag om swartes te kriminaleer.*
 'Not only did the pass laws lead to polarisation, but they also succeeded in criminalising blacks.'

12.1.3. Position of additional verbs in a main clause

If more than one verb occurs in the clause, i.e. if the finite verb is followed by a past participle and/or one or more infinitives, all these additional verbs are sent to the end of the clause,² e.g.

- (1503) *Ek het dit gister gedoen.*
 'I did it yesterday.'
 (1504) *Ek sal dit môre doen.*
 'I will do it tomorrow.'
 (1505) *Ek sal dit môre kan doen.*
 'I will be able to do it tomorrow.'
 (1506) *Ek sal 'n bietjie meer daaroor moet gaan nadink.*
 'I'll have to go and think about it a bit more.'

As the previous two examples illustrate, the verbs relegated to the end of the clause retain the order relative to each other that they have in English.

When modal verbs are used in combination with perfect tenses, the word order in a main clause is as follows:

- (1507) *Hy kon / moes / sou dit gedoen het.*
 'He could/must/would have done it.'
 (1508) *Jy hoef dit nie te gedoen het nie.*
 'You didn't have to do it.'

(see 12.1.4.2 third paragraph for the position of the these verbs in a subordinate clause.)

² Throughout this discussion on the position of verbs, where it is stated that verbs stand at the end of a clause, it is understood that should a negative be involved, the final word is always the scope marking *nie* (see 13.2) and that verbs relegated to the end of a clause take up position prior to this *nie*.

12.1.3.1. Position of infinitives after copula verbs in a main clause

Some copula verbs (see 8.16.1.3) are sometimes regarded as inseparable from the verbs for which they are acting as auxiliaries and the two stay together where Afrikaans word order in the present tense would otherwise require the infinitive to stand at the end of the clause; it is never compulsory to leave the infinitive together with the finite verb (i.e. the copula), however, and it is safer to separate them if in doubt as this is always correct. This tendency to stay together applies in particular to verbs combined with *bly*, *gaan*, *kom*, *laat* and *loop*, e.g.

- (1509) *Toe bly sit die kinders onder die boom / Toe bly die kinders onder die boom sit.*
 'The children then continued to sit underneath the tree.'
- (1510) *Kom ons gaan drink 'n bier / Kom ons gaan 'n bier drink.*
 'Let's have a beer.'
- (1511) *Toe dinge te warm word, gaan werk hy by die Anglikaanse kerk in Namibië / ...gaan hy werk by...*
 'When things got too hot he went and worked for the Anglican church in Namibia.'
- (1512) *Dis 'n wanvoorstelling om te dink mens gaan slaap een aand onder 'n apartheidsbestel en word die volgende dag wakker in 'n egte demokrasie / ...mens gaan een aand slaap...*
 'It is unrealistic to think you can go to sleep one night under an apartheid regime and wake up the next day in a true democracy.'
- (1513) *Al kom help net vier van die seuns ons, sal dit al help / Al kom net vier van die seuns ons help...*
 'Even if only four of the boys come and assist us, that will already be a help.'
- (1514) *Toe laat vaar hy die gedagte om Kaapstad toe te verhuis / Toe laat hy die gedagte vaar om Kaapstad toe te verhuis.*
 'He then decided to drop the idea of shifting to Cape Town.'
- (1515) *Hy loop koop toe 'n splinternuwe kar / Hy loop toe 'n splinternuwe kar koop.*
 'He then went off and bought a brand-new car' (see 8.3.1 on this use of *loop*).

The two verbs in such cases can be seen as having fused both semantically and syntactically to form one idea, rather than being merely a combination of copula plus infinitive. That this can be the case with copula verbs is also borne out by the fact that *laat* + infinitive constructions can be rendered in the passive (see 8.14.5).

12.1.4. Position of verbs in subordinate and relative clauses

12.1.4.1. One verb

In a subordinate or relative clause introduced by a subordinating conjunction (see 9.4) or a relative pronoun (see 5.3) respectively, the finite verb is placed at the end of that clause, e.g.

- (1516) *Jy weet dat ek dit môre doen.*
 'You know I'm doing it tomorrow.'
 (1517) *Dit is die mense wat langsaaan bly.*
 'These are the people who live next-door.'

In the following example, the relative clause (*wat jy in jou hand het*) is embedded in the main clause (*Die potlood is myne*) and the verb in the relative clause, *het*, stands at the end of the clause, while the verb in the main clause, *is*, stands in second position in its clause, i.e.

- (1518) *Die potlood wat jy in jou hand het, is myne.*
 'The pencil (that) you have in your hand is mine.'

When relative clauses are embedded in this way, the verbs of the two clauses end up adjacent and are consequently commonly separated by a comma to assist the eye, particularly when they are the same verb, e.g.

- (1519) *Die baadjie wat ek aan het, het ek in Hong Kong laat maak.*
 'The coat I've got on I had made in Hong Kong.'

12.1.4.2. More than one verb

When a subordinate or relative clause contains more than one verb, i.e. when the finite verb is followed by a past participle and/or one or more infinitives, the finite verb in such cases must also shift towards the end of the clause but its order in relation to the other verbs depends on whether those other verbs are a past participle or (an) infinitive(s), e.g.

- (1520) *Jy weet dat ek dit gister gedoen het.*
 'You know I did it yesterday.'

i.e. when the second verb is a past participle, the finite verb, *het*, must follow the participle³;

- (1521) *Jy weet dat ek dit môre sal doen.*
 'You know I will do it tomorrow.'

³ It is a peculiarity of *wees* 'to be', the only verb that takes *wees* as its auxiliary in the past tense, that although 'He was sick' is *Hy was siek gewees*, if this clause is subordinated to another, the transformation one may expect, i.e. **Ek weet dat hy siek gewees was*, is not possible; the correct transformation is *Ek weet dat hy siek was* (see 8.11).

i.e. when the second verb is an infinitive, the finite verb precedes it. In relative clauses the same rules apply, e.g.

- (1522) *Die potlode wat jy vir my gekoop het, skryf baie sleg.*
 'The pencils you bought for me write very badly.'
 (1523) *Die potlode wat ek met soveel geld sal kan koop, sal seker baie goed wees.*
 'The pencils which I'll be able buy with that money are sure to be very good.'

Where there are no adverbs or objects in the subordinate/relative clause, the word order corresponds with the English as the finite verb + infinitive already stand at the end of the clause, e.g.

- (1524) *Jy het geweet dat ek wou saamgaan.*
 'You knew that I wanted to go along.'

If there are two or more infinitives in a clause, the order is the same as when there is only one, i.e. the finite verb precedes them, e.g.

- (1525) *Hy sal môre kan kom.*
 'He will be able to come tomorrow' (main clause).
 (1526) *Jy weet mos dat hy môre sal kan kom.*
 'You know that he will be able to come tomorrow' (subordinate clause).
 (1527) *Hy sou waarskynlik môre kan / kon kom help.⁴*
 'He would probably be able to come and help tomorrow' (main clause).
 (1528) *Weet jy of hy miskien môre sou kan / kon kom help?*
 'Do you know if he would perhaps be able to come and help tomorrow?' (subordinate clause).

When a perfect tense is used in combination with a modal verb, the order of the verbs is as follows:

- (1529) *Hy sal / moet seker later gekom het.⁵*
 'He will/must surely have come later' (main clause).
 (1530) *Ek is seker dat hy later sou / moet gekom het.*
 'I am sure he would/must have come later' (subordinate clause).
 (1531) *Ek is seker dat hy gister (sou) kan / kon⁴ gekom het.*
 'I am sure that he would have been able to (= could have) come yesterday' (subordinate clause).
 (1532) *Die kaptein moes die skip probeer red het.*
 'The captain should have tried to save the ship' (main clause with a double infinitive).

⁴ Although grammatically the infinitive *kan* might be expected here, corresponding to the English 'be able', preterite assimilation triggered by *sou* leads to *kon* being more commonly used in such cases (see 8.13.4).

⁵ Although grammatically an infinitive is expected here, as indeed is the case with English 'have', Afrikaans does not use the infinitive *hê* in compound tenses but the finite form *het* (see 8.12).

- (1533) *Ek het geles dat die kaptein die skip moes probeer red het.*
 'I read that the captain should have tried to save the ship'
 (subordinate clause with a double infinitive).
- (1534) *Jy behoort dit al te betaal het.*
 'You should have already paid it' (main clause).
- (1535) *Jy weet dat jy dit al behoort te betaal het.*
 'You know that you should have already paid it' (subordinate clause).
- (1536) *Die banke moes oop gewees het, om dit gister te kan / kon⁶ betaal het.*
 'The banks should have been open to be able to have paid this yesterday' (infinitive clause).

A subordinating conjunction or a relative pronoun can have more than one clause dependent on it with both subordinate or relative clauses being joined by a co-ordinating conjunction, e.g.

- (1537) *Hy het gesê dat hy vanmiddag 'n draai by sy ma gaan maak en (dat hy) eers later tuis kom.*
 'He said that he was going to visit his mother this afternoon and (that he) won't be home till later' (two subordinate clauses).
- (1538) *Dis iets wat ek nooit sou kon bekostig maar (wat ek) ook nooit sou wou besit nie.*
 'That's something I could never afford but which I wouldn't want to own anyway' (two relative clauses).

A subordinate clause can have another subordinate clause or an indirect interrogative clause embedded in it, but the finite verb in each stands at the end of its particular clause, e.g.

- (1539) *Sy sê dat (waar sy 'n verandering kon vasstel,) [*] dit nie juis beduidend [was] nie.*
 'She says that where she was able to ascertain a change, it wasn't particularly significant.'

In this example and the next, the round brackets indicate the embedded clause; the position of *kon* is governed by *waar* and that of *was* by *dat*;

- (1540) *Hy sê dat (hoewel veeboere nog nie rede tot kommer het nie,) [*] heelparty koringboere reeds [#] weens die nat toestande [sukkel].*
 'He says that although cattle farmers have no cause to worry yet, many wheat farmers are already in difficulty because of the wet conditions.'

In this example the position of *het* is governed by *hoewel* and that of *sukkel* by *dat*. In both the above examples it is not uncommon in speech for the finite verb in the *dat* clause to be placed where the asterisk is. In the case of the second example, [#] is also a grammatically correct alternative to final position for the finite verb given that what then follows is a prepositional adjunct (see

⁶ See 8.13.4 footnote 28.

12.1.11). This alternative word order is possible because the speaker apparently forgets that the other subordinate clause is in fact embedded and believes he is dealing with a structure like the following, where inversion in the main clause is required after a subordinate clause:

- (1541) *Hoewel veeboere nog nie rede tot kommer het nie, sukkel heelparty koringboere reeds weens die nat toestand.*

12.1.4.3. Position of the finite verb in a *dat* clause when the conjunction is omitted

Wherever it is permissible to omit the subordinating conjunction *dat* in English, it is also possible to do so in Afrikaans. When this is done subordinate word order is not applied, e.g.

- (1542) *Ek het gehoor jy gaan môre wildtuin toe (= dat jy môre wildtuin toe gaan).*
‘I’ve heard (that) you’re going to the game park tomorrow.’

12.1.4.4. Position of the finite verb in an *al* clause (see 9.2)

‘Even if’ (i.e. adverb + subordinating conjunction) can be replaced by the adverbial conjunction *al* which triggers inversion of subject and verb in its clause, e.g.

- (1543) *Al het jy dit nie geweet nie, behoort jy dit te geweet het (= selfs as jy dit nie geweet het nie, behoort jy dit te geweet het (with subordinate word order).*
‘Even if you didn’t know it, you should have known it.’

12.1.5. Position of the finite verb in a main clause when preceded by a subordinate clause, indirect interrogative clause, infinitive clause or participial clause

When a sentence begins with any one of the above clauses, that clause assumes the role of first idea in the sentence as a whole, i.e. it is regarded as the first idea of the main clause and consequently triggers inversion of the subject and the finite verb in the main clause, thereby retaining second position for the finite verb of the main clause, e.g.

- (1544) *Omdat veselperskes op die oomblik so duur is, eet ons papaja vir ontbyt.*
‘Because mangoes are so expensive at the moment we have pawpaw for breakfast’ (subordinate clause).⁷
- (1545) *Waar hy nou bly, weet ek nie.*
‘I don’t know where he is now living’ (indirect interrogative clause).

⁷ See 12.1.8.b for inversion in the main clause after a special transformation of an ‘if’ clause (i.e. a subordinate clause) from which the ‘if’ has been omitted.

- (1546) *Om aansoek te doen, moet jy hierdie vorms invul.*
 '(In order) to apply you have to fill in these forms' (infinitive clause).

Because such inversion causes the verbs of the two clauses to end up side by side, a comma is commonly used to separate them.

Both present and past participles can stand at the beginning of a phrase causing inversion of the subject and verb of the main clause; these constructions may well be regarded as adverbial phrases acting as first idea in the main clause, but they function as clauses and are usually separated from the main clause by a comma, e.g.

- (1547) *Komende⁸ van 'n voormalige groot indoena van die AWB, spreek dit boekdele.*
 'Coming from a former headman of the AWB, this speaks volumes' (present participle).
- (1548) *Gegee / gesien die toestand in die land op die oomblik, gaan dit nie te sleg met die ekonomie nie.*
 'Given the the situation in the country at the moment the economy isn't doing too badly.'

Similar to the above are clauses like the following which are transformations of subordinate clauses from which only the past participle has been retained; functioning like subordinate clauses, they cause inversion of the subject and verb in the main clause, e.g.

- (1549) *Soos in die program verduidelik, begin die laeronderwys in die RSA met twee substandaardklasse.*
 'As explained in the program, primary education in the RSA begins with two sub standards.'
- (1550) *By 'n rivier aangekom, moes die ossewaens dit oorsteek.*
 'Having arrived at a river, the oxwagons had to cross it.'

12.1.5.1. Position of the finite verb in a main clause when preceded by a clause introduced by an interrogative + *ook al*

There is one exception to the rule given in 12.1.5 that the subject and verb of the main clause are inverted when another clause precedes. When a clause begins with an interrogative used in combination with *ook al* to render '-ever' (i.e. whatever, wherever etc.), it is not usual to invert, although it is possible, e.g.

- (1551) *Wat jy ook al mag doen, hy gaan nie daarmee tevrede wees nie / gaan hy nie daarmee tevrede wees nie.*
 'Whatever you may do he's not going to be satisfied with it' (see 10.3).

⁸ This use of the present participle, as opposed to its use as an adjective, belongs to the realm of higher style (see 8.17).

12.1.6. Position of the finite verb after reported speech

For reasons similar to those given under 12.1.4, when direct speech is reported and followed by clauses like 'I thought, he said, she wrote, they claimed' etc., the reported speech is seen as the first idea in the sentence as a whole and thus causes inversion of subject and verb in the clause that follows, e.g.

- (1552) *Kom binne, sê hy.*
'Come in, he said' (*said he?).'
(1553) *Voertsek, antwoord die bediende.*
'Scram, the servant answered/answered the servant.'
(1554) *As 80 persent van die studente in sommige vakke druip, voer sy aan, is daar iets verkeerd.*
'If 80% of the students in some subjects are failing, she claimed, there is something wrong.'

As the second example illustrates, English permits the same inversion when the subject is a noun, although it is not compulsory as it is in Afrikaans, but inversion is not possible in natural spoken English when the subject is a pronoun.

For stylistic reasons similar to those applying in English, the main clause with inverted subject and verb can be inserted somewhere in the middle of the reported speech or thought, e.g.

- (1555) *As seuntjie, is hy lief om te vertel, het hy draadkarre gemaak.*
'As a boy, he's keen to tell, he used to make toy cars from wire.'
(1556) *Fossey, kom ons later agter, is een van die standbeelde wat daar staan.*
'Fossey, we realised later, was one of the statues that were standing there.'

12.1.7. Position of the finite verb in a question

As in English, inversion of subject and finite verb is applied in a question, e.g.

- (1557) *Voel jy naarf?*
'Do you feel nauseous?'

Any additional verbs, whether a past participle or one or more infinitives, are placed at the end of the clause, e.g.

- (1558) *Het jy naarf gevoel?*
'Did you feel nauseous?'
(1559) *Sal jy dit asseblief vir my doen?*
'Will you please do it for me?'

Two questions can be joined by a co-ordinating conjunction with the conjunction having no effect on this word order, e.g.

- (1560) *Sal jy my asseblief kom haal en kan ek volgende week dieselfde vir jou doen?*
 'Will you please come and fetch me and can I do the same for you next week?'

12.1.7.1. Position of the finite verb after an interrogative

When a direct question is introduced by an interrogative (see 10.1), inversion of subject and object also occurs, as in English, e.g.

- (1561) *Waar bly jy nou?*
 'Where do you live?'
 (1562) *Hoekom het jy soveel daarvoor betaal?*
 'Why did you pay so much for it?'

In the answers to such questions, i.e. in indirect questions introduced by interrogatives, the interrogative functions like a subordinating conjunction sending the finite verb to the end of the clause, e.g.

- (1563) *Ek weet waar jy nou bly.*
 'I know where you now live.'
 (1564) *Ek verstaan nie hoekom jy soveel daarvoor betaal het nie.*
 'I don't understand why you paid so much for it.'

Nevertheless an alternative word order is quite common, more so in speech than in writing, whereby the inversion of the direct question is retained in the indirect question, e.g.

- (1565) *Ek weet waar bly jy nou.*
 'I know where you're living now.'
 (1566) *Ek verstaan nie hoekom het jy soveel daarvoor betaal nie.*
 'I don't understand why you paid so much for it.'

When a second question is embedded in a question introduced by an interrogative, inversion of subject and verb of both clauses takes place in Afrikaans whereas in English this obviates the need for inversion in the clause introduced by the interrogative, e.g.

- (1567) *Waar dink jy kom al die geld vandaan? (< Waar kom al die geld vandaan, dink jy?).*
 'Where do you think all the money is coming from? (< Where is all the money coming from, do you think?).'

12.1.7.2. Word order in negated rhetorical questions

Under negation (13.15) examples are given of a form of exclamatory rhetorical question incorporating a negative which turns the real interrogative into a rhetorical one. The examples given there are as follows:

- (1568) *Wat 'n wonderlike uitnodiging is dit nie.*
'What a wonderful invitation!'
- (1569) *Hoe ryk moet hulle nie wees nie.*
'How rich must they be!'
- (1570) *Wat se wêreldbeeld moet hy nie hê om so te dink nie.*
'What view of the world must he have to think like that!'
- (1571) *Wat vroue nie daardie jare alles gedra het nie.*
'What women wore in those years!'

The word order in (1571) differs from that in the other examples in not having inversion of subject and object, i.e. not **Wat het vroue nie daardie jare alles gedra nie*; it has subordinate word order. In (1568), (1569) and (1570) the interrogatives *wat* and *hoe* do not stand alone but are part of complex phrases and only the word order given above is possible with them. In (1571), because the interrogative consists of *wat* alone, inversion is not applied because to do so makes it sound too much like a real interrogative – compare also

- (1572) *Wat mense nie alles doen nie.*
'What people will do!'

12.1.8. Finite verb in first position

Other than in questions (see 12.1.7) a finite verb can stand in first position in the following cases:

a) in imperatives, where it is always first, e.g.

- (1573) *Gee die hond 'n bietjie kos.*
'Give the dog some food.'
- (1574) *Moenie jou vrou so behandel nie.*
'Don't treat your wife like that.'

b) in higher style the subordinating conjunction in an 'if' clause, i.e. *as*, can be omitted, as in English, in which case the verb takes up first position in that clause, e.g.

- (1575) *Het die leeu nie daar bly staan nie, het ek hom vrek geskiet.*
'Had the lion not remained there, I would have shot it.'
- (1576) *Was dit nie vir daardie pille nie, het sy vandag nog gelewe.*
'Had it not been for those pills, she would be alive today.'

The subject and verb of the main clause remain inverted just as they do when *as* is used and subordinate word order is applied to the first clause (see 9.2 for the optional use of *dan* in these main clauses).

12.1.9. Position of verbs in the passive

The passive voice in the present and past tenses is formed from the auxiliaries *word* and *is* plus a past participle respectively; the word order in these cases does not differ from that which applies in the past active, e.g.

- (1577) *Dié brood is gister gebak.*
 'This bread was baked yesterday' (main clause).
 (1578) *Ek glo dat dié brood gister gebak is.*
 'I think this bread was baked yesterday' (subordinate clause).

In the future perfect and conditional perfect tenses, where the past participle *gewees* is also required, the following order of verbs applies:

- (1579) *Die brood sal / sou gister gebak gewees het.*
 'The bread will/would have been baked yesterday' (main clause).
 (1580) *Ek glo dat die brood gister gebak sou gewees het* (subordinate clause).
 'I think the bread would have been baked yesterday.'

In such cases the auxiliary verbs follow the past participle, but the order *sou gebak gewees het* is possible.

When modal verbs are used in the passive in subordinate clauses, the most usual order is to place the auxiliary verbs after the past participle, e.g.

- (1581) *Afrikaans kan nie 'n kreoolse taal genoem word nie.*
 'Afrikaans can't be called a creole language' (main clause).
 (1582) *Hy glo dat Afrikaans 'n kreoolse taal genoem kan word.*
 'He believes that Afrikaans can be called a creole language'
 (subordinate clause).
 (1583) *Die minister het daarop gewys dat die inwoners van die gebied verskuif sal moet word.*
 'The minister pointed out that the inhabitants of the area will have to be moved.'
 (1584) *Hy het gesê dat die bitterheid tussen die twee groepe vermy kon gewees het.*
 'He said that the bitterness between the two groups could have been avoided.'

In the above subordinate clauses the order *kan genoem word*, *sal verskuif moet word* and *kon vermy gewees het*, where the modal auxiliary precedes the past participle, also commonly occurs, e.g.

- (1585) *Ek weet dat dit gedoen kan word / kan gedoen word.*
 'I know that it can be done' (see 8.14.4).

The position of modals in subordinate clauses in the passive as described above is in contrast to where they stand in perfect tenses in the active, in which case they precede the past participle (see 12.1.4.2).

12.1.10. Position of separable verbal prefixes (see also 12.2.5)

Only in questions, imperatives and main clauses where a separable verb acts as the finite verb does a separable verbal prefix stand apart from the verb to which it belongs, e.g.

- (1586) *Skakel jy die lig af?*
'Are you turning the light off?'
(1587) *Skakel die lig af.*
'Turn the light off.'
(1588) *Ek skakel die lig nou af.*
'I'm turning the light off now.'

In all other cases, i.e. where either the infinitive or the past participle of the separable verb is used, the prefix remains attached to the verb, e.g.

- (1589) *Ek sal die lig afskakel.*
'I'll turn the light off' (infinitive).
(1590) *Ek weet dat hy die lig nooit afskakel nie.*
'I know he never turns the light off' (present tense, subordinate clause).
(1591) *Het jy die lig afgeskakel?*
'Did you turn the light off?' (past tense).

Only in contexts where the infinitive of a separable verb occurs in collaboration with *te* (see 8.16.1.1) is the prefix separated from its infinitive; in such cases the prefix, *te* and the verb are written as three separate words, e.g.

- (1592) *Ek het vergeet om die lig af te skakel.*
'I forgot to turn the light off.'
(1593) *Jy behoort die lig af te geskakel het.*
'You should have turned the light off.'

A separable prefix must be inserted at the end of the clause in which its verb is functioning as the finite verb before a new clause begins, e.g.

- (1594) *Gaan asseblief u kleingeld, kwitansies en aankope na voordat u die toonbank verlaat (< nagaan 'to check').*
'Please check your change, receipts and items purchased before you leave the counter.'

A separable prefix can precede nominal or adverbial complements of the verb to which it belongs in the present tense or the imperative when there are multiple complements given in list form, e.g.

- (1595) *Ons bied aan: vervoer, verversings en 'n rolprent (= Ons bied vervoer, verversings en 'n rolprent aan).*
'We offer a transport, refreshments and a film.'

The separable prefix *terug* often behaves as an independent adverb standing in positions separated from the infinitive or past participle to which it belongs where other such prefixes cannot stand, e.g.

- (1596) *Die regering het begin om al die mense terug na die gemeenskap te laat keer / te laat terugkeer.*
 'The government has begun to let all the people in the community return.'

But the alternative positions of *terug* in the following example are in accordance with the concept discussed under the next paragraph:

- (1597) *Al die Germaanse tale gaan [terug] op 'n oorspronklike taal [-] wat nie meer bestaan nie.*
 'All Germanic languages go back to an original language which doesn't exist any more' (see 12.2.6).

12.1.11. Position of verbs and separable verbal prefixes before or after prepositional adjuncts

What was said about the position of past participles and infinitives in main clauses, finite verbs in subordinate and relative clauses, and separable prefixes in paragraphs 12.1.3–4 and 12.1.10 needs to be qualified by the following. The above rules for the placing of verbs and verbal prefixes at the end of a clause are not always strictly enforced. One always has the option of inserting them before an adverbial phrase which starts with a preposition (i.e. a prepositional adjunct). It is never compulsory to do so, but this alternative word order is commonly applied when there is so much extra information in the clause (i.e. most commonly adverbial expressions of time, manner or place, or prepositional objects of verbs [see 8.19] or predicative adjectives) that the verb or prefix is otherwise felt to end up too far from the subject or verb to which it refers,⁹ e.g.

- (1598) *Hiemstra het self aansienlik [bygedra] tot die totstandkoming van die skrifbeeld van Afrikaans [-].*
 'Hiemstra himself contributed considerably to the formulation of the writing system of Afrikaans.'
- (1599) *Dit was so lekker om jou weer by ons [te kon hê] vir 'n kuiertjie [-]*
 'It was so nice to be able to have you visit us again.'
- (1600) *Ek beveel hierdie room [aan] vir enigiemand met 'n velprobleem [-].*
 'I recommend this cream to anyone with a skin problem.'¹⁰
- (1601) *Die omgewing oefen 'n beslissende invloed [uit] op 'n persoon se taalgebruik [-].*
 'The environment has a decisive influence on a person's speech.'

Even if a clause is not particularly long, this word order remains possible as a stylistic variant, e.g.

⁹ In all the examples that follow the square brackets indicate the alternative position of the verb or prefix.

¹⁰ The prefix cannot in this case be placed before *met 'n velprobleem*, because although this too is a prepositional adjunct, it forms an inseparable whole with *enigiemand*.

- (1602) *Hulle het so [baklei] in die bad [-].*
 'They fought so much in the bath.'
- (1603) *U dokter sal vasstel watter behandeling reg [is] vir u [-].*
 'Your doctor will determine what treatment is best for you.'

On occasions, applying this option means that a verb that would otherwise be placed at the end of the clause, remains in second position in a subordinate or relative clause, e.g.

- (1604) *Dit is 'n goeie idee wat 'n mens in die hoed moet gooi as dit [kom] by 'n skikking [-].*
 'This is a good idea which one should be thrown into the hat when it comes to arranging matters.'

The prepositional phrase *na + noun + toe*, which indicates destination, is replaced more often than not by *noun + toe* (see 11.10.1), in which case this prepositional adjunct is not introduced by a preposition; nevertheless it behaves syntactically like an adverbial phrase that is introduced by a preposition, e.g.

- (1605) *Sy het saam met hom [weggegaan] Florida toe [-] (= na Florida toe).*
 'She went off with him to Florida.'

The noun in a prepositional adjunct may be replaced by the pronoun *daar* (see 5.1.1.3.3), which also results in the expression no longer beginning with a preposition and yet behaving syntactically as if it does, e.g.

- (1606) *Die mense kan nie [ophou praat] daarvan [-] nie (< van die verkiesing).*
 'People won't stop talking about it' (< about the election).
- (1607) *Ek dra 'n mini wanneer ek in die bui [is] daarvoor [-].*
 'I wear a mini when I'm in the mood for it.'
- (1608) *Gaandeweg is wit Namibiërs besig om gewoon [te raak] daaraan [-] dat hulle onafhanklik gaan word.*
 'Little by little white Namibians are getting used to the fact that they are going to be independent.'

There are three possible positions for the finite verb in the subordinate clause in the following sentence:

- (1609) *Daar is 'n geweldige agterstand wat [1 betref] die lewering [2] van openbare biblioteekdienste aan alle bevolkingsgroepe [3].*
 'There is a tremendous backlog as far as the provision of public library services to all population groups is concerned.'

The normal position for the verb (i.e. according to the rules in 12.1.4.1) would be 3, but the verb can precede the prepositional adjunct and thus stand at 2; however, due to the excessive length of the predicate and the fact that *wat betref* is a fixed expression, in this particular case it can also stand at 1, which is an exception to the rules, but ensures that the verb is not forgotten. Precisely with the English expression 'as far as - is concerned' the 'is concerned' is often

left out because of the length of what precedes it. This cannot happen in Afrikaans because of the various earlier possible positions for the verb.

When the agent of the action is mentioned in the passive, the verb(s) or verbal prefix are very commonly placed before the prepositional phrase introduced by *deur* (by, see 8.14.2), e.g.

- (1610) *Suid-Afrika se grense met sy buurstate word [beskerm] deur 'n netwerk van radarstelsels [-].*
 'South Africa's borders with its neighbours are protected by a network of radar systems' (main clause).
- (1611) *Fabrieksaftval besoedel ons vars water, terwyl ons oseane [bedreig word] deur oliebesoedeling [-].*
 'Factory effluent is polluting our fresh water whilst our oceans are being threatened by oil spills' (subordinate clause).

Non-prepositional adverbial expressions are only found after the verb(s) or verbal prefix in careless speech, e.g.

- (1612) *Wat het jou besiel om Suid-Afrika toe terug te kom as jy so goed [gevaar het] oorsee [-]?*
 'What motivated you to return to South Africa if you were doing so well overseas?'

12.1.12. Suspension of verbs and verbal prefixes when a subordinate, indirect interrogative, relative or infinitive clause is embedded in another clause

It is possible for a main, subordinate or relative clause to have another clause embedded in it. When this occurs the additional verbs in a main clause or the separable prefix of its finite verb (if that verb is a separable verb) are not necessarily placed at the end of the main clause, but after the embedded clause. The same occurs with the verb(s) in a subordinate or relative clause when another is embedded in it. Generally speaking it is tidier, and one is less likely to make an error, by completing each clause before proceeding with the next, i.e. avoiding embedding altogether, but the option not to do so remains.

12.1.12.1. Suspension of verbal prefixes and additional verbs in a main clause when another clause is embedded in it

The following examples illustrate the concept described in 12.1.12 being applied in main clauses:

- (1613) *Die skool bied lesings [-] in die kursusganger se moedertaal [-], of in 'n taal wat vir die klas aanvaarbaar is, [aan].*
 'The school offers lectures in the participant's mother tongue or a language which is acceptable to the class' (suspended separable prefix after an embedded relative clause).

- (1614) *Lesings word in die kursusganger se moedertaal [-], of 'n taal wat vir die klas aanvaarbaar is, [aangebied].*
 'Lectures are offered in the participant's mother tongue or a language which is acceptable to the class' (suspended past participle in the passive after an embedded relative clause).
- (1615) *Ek het twee van die seuns [-] wat skelmpies gaan rook het agter die pakkamer, [betrap].*
 'I caught two of the boys who had gone to smoke on the sly behind the store-room' (suspended past participle in the past tense after an embedded relative clause).
- (1616) *Ek het die boek [-] wat jy vir my geleen het [al ge lees].*
 'I have already read the book that you lent me' (suspended past participle in the past tense + adverbial qualifier after an imbedded relative clause).

Because English verbs do not stand at the end of their clause, and therefore the relative pronoun and the noun to which it refers are always adjacent to each other (compare 'boys who' in example c above), English speakers sometimes feel compelled to suspend verbal particles, as in the example given, so as to keep the relative pronoun and the noun together. However, as the square brackets here indicate, it is not necessary to do this, nor is it generally speaking advisable as one may forget to insert the verb. The next sample sentence is a good example of the extent to which suspension can be applied and thus increase the possibility of forgetting to insert the verb.

- (1617) *Suid-Afrika het bewerings [-] dat hy meer as 100 000 soldate in Suidwes-Afrika het en dat die polisiemag in die gebied 13 000 man sterk is, [verwerp].*
 'South Africa has rejected claims that it has more than 100 000 soldiers in SWA and that the police force in the area numbers 13 000 men' (suspended past participle after two embedded subordinate clauses).
- (1618) *Hy behoort volkome te herstel, het 'n woordvoerder van die hospitaal [-], waar hy opgeneem is, [gesê].*
 'He should recover completely, said a spokesman for the hospital where he has been admitted' (suspended past participle after an embedded indirect interrogative clause).
- (1619) *Hy het die gedagte [-] om Kaap toe te gaan, [laat vaar].*
 'He dropped the idea of going to the Cape' (suspended double infinitive after an embedded infinitive clause).
- (1620) *Slabbert het die tendens [-] om sekere sprekers daarvan te weerhou om op die kampus te praat, [terloops gekritiseer].*
 'Slabbert fleetingly criticised the tendency to prevent certain speakers from speaking on campus' (suspended past participle plus its adverbial qualifier after an embedded infinitive clause).

12.1.12.2. Suspension of the verbs in a subordinate clause when another clause is embedded in it

The following examples illustrate the concept described in 12.1.12 being applied in subordinate clauses.

- (1621) *Nuwe tegnologiese ontwikkelings word nagevors sodat ons aan u die soort diens [-] wat u van u bank verwag, [kan lewer].*
 'New technological developments are being researched so that we can deliver to you the sort of service that you expect from your bank' (suspended finite verb + infinitive after an embedded relative clause).
- (1622) *Wat ons met absolute sekerheid kan voorspel, is dat [-] wanneer jy eenmaal dié versekeringspolis het, [jy beter daaraan toe sal wees].*
 'What we can predict with certainty is that [-] once you have this insurance policy, [you will be better off]' (suspension of an entire subordinate clause minus its conjunction when another subordinate clause has been embedded in it; the same embedding can be applied to the English).
- (1623) *Jy betaal nie dieselfde nie terwyl jy dieselfde voordele [-] as hy [kry].*
 'You don't pay the same but you get the same advantages as he [gets]' (suspended finite verb after an embedded subordinate clause; this example is also paralleled in English where, as in Afrikaans, the verb of the second subordinate clause can be repeated or omitted).

12.1.12.3. Suspension of the verbs in an indirect interrogative or relative clause when another clause is embedded in it

As the word order in an indirect interrogative or a relative clause is identical to that in a subordinate clause, what was said of subordinate clauses in 12.1.12.2 applies equally to these two sorts of clause.

- (1624) *Sy kon hoor wat die mense [-] wat haar wou begrawe, [gesê het].*
 'She could hear what the people who wanted to bury her were saying'¹¹ (suspended past participle and finite verb of an interrogative clause after an embedded relative clause).
- (1625) *Die gerestoureerde geboue is vandag 'n goeie beeld van die sfeer wat op die plaas [-] waar genl. Smuts sy jeugjare deurgebring het, [moes geheers het].*
 'The restored buildings are today a good example of the atmosphere that must have prevailed on the farm where Gen. Smuts spent his youth' (suspended auxiliary verbs + past participle of a relative clause after an embedded indirect interrogative clause).

¹¹ Note that the acceptability of the order 'what the people were saying who wanted to bury her' is questionable in English, but not in Afrikaans.

- (1626) *'n Skilder kan beskryf word as 'n kunstenaar wat die wêreld [-] soos hy dit sien, [met verf uitbeeld].*
 'A painter can be described as an artist who reproduces in paint the world as he sees it' (suspended finite verb + adverbial qualifier in a relative clause after an embedded subordinate clause).

12.1.12.4. Suspension of the auxiliaries *word* and *is* in the passive

In passive constructions in which *word* or *is* are not in second position in their clause and more than one past participle is dependent on them, they can be suspended and placed adjacent to the second participle, thereby avoiding repetition of the auxiliary, but they can also stand in both positions simultaneously (i.e. the first can be omitted, the second cannot), e.g.

- (1627) *Kinders moet gesien [-], nie vermink [word] nie.*
 'Children should be seen, not hurt.'
- (1628) *Daar moet nie beloftes gemaak [-] wat nie nagekom kan [word] nie.*
 'No promises should be made that can't be kept.'
- (1629) *Die kalklig het op hom geval toe hy in hegtenis geneem [-] en saam met die ander aktiviste aangekla [is].*
 'The spotlight fell on him when he was arrested and charged with the other activists.'

12.1.12.5. Suspension of *het* in the past tense (see 8.5.4)

In past tense constructions in which *het* is not in second position in its clause and more than one past participle is dependent on it, it can be suspended and placed adjacent to the second participle, thereby avoiding repetition of the auxiliary, but it can also be repeated, e.g.

- (1630) *Hy besef dat hy haar baie seergemaak [-] en ook sy seuns se vertroue in hul vader geskok [het].*
 'He realises that he hurt her very badly and also shook his sons' faith in their father.'
- (1631) *As ek net self met hulle kon gepraat [-] en sake aan hulle verduidelik [het], was dit beter.*
 'If only I could have talked to them and explained things to them, it would have been better.'
- (1632) *As gevolg van sy uitsprake wat kritiek hier en oorsee uitgelok [-] en die aansien van die Suid-Afrikaanse regstelsel laat daal het, is die regter ontslaan.*
 'As a result of his judgements which solicited criticism here and overseas and tarnished the South African legal system, the judge was fired.'

12.2. Nominal and adjectival/adverbial adjuncts that can behave like separable prefixes

When used in combination with an auxiliary verb (i.e. a copula or modal verb or *sal* or *het* in the future and past tenses respectively), a verb which is qualified by a nominal direct object, an adjective or an adverb can behave like a separable verb on the condition that that qualifier consists of only one word;¹² in other words, in constructions where a separable prefix remains attached to the verb to which it belongs (see 12.1.10 and 12.2.5), in a similar way these qualifiers can remain next to their verb – although written as two separate words – or they can be separated and put before the verbs appearing at the end of the clause. The former order is generally speaking the more usual of the two. This phenomenon is most commonly found with respect to nominal direct objects.

12.2.1. Nominal direct objects

The following series of examples utilising *water drink* 'to drink water' (i.e. verb + one word direct object) can be compared syntactically with a real separable verb with a nominal prefix like *perdry* (see 12.2.5), but with those verbs only the first option in each couplet is possible:¹³

- (1633) *Die volstruise drink hier water.*
'The ostriches drink water here.'
- (1634) *Hulle kom hier water drink.*
'They come and drink water here.'
- (1635) *Hulle sal hier kom water drink or*
Hulle sal hier water kom drink.
'They will come and drink water here.'
- (1636) *Hulle het hier kom water drink or*
Hulle het hier water kom drink.
'They came and drank water here.'
- (1637) *Hy sê dat hulle hier kom water drink or*
Hy sê dat hulle hier water kom drink.
'He said that they come and drink water here.'
- (1638) *Hy sê dat hulle hier kom water drink het or*
Hy sê dat hulle hier water kom drink het.
'He said that they came and drank water here.'

¹² Exceptions to the single word verbal complement are few and far between, e.g. *Jy sal dit moet in ag neem / in ag moet neem* 'You will have to take this into consideration' (*in ag neem* 'to consider'), where strictly speaking *in ag* consists of two words but, as the nominal formation *inagneming* 'consideration' indicates, the two are easily perceived as an inseparable unit. Compare also *As jy dit wil van toepassing maak / van toepassing wil maak, moet jy...* 'If you want to apply this, you'll have to...' (< *van toepassing maak* 'to apply').

¹³ In this respect Afrikaans differs markedly from Dutch where both word orders are also possible with separable prefixes.

Further examples:

- (1639) *Daar was net die Joodse smous wat nie kon Afrikaans praat nie*
(= *wat nie Afrikaans kon praat nie*).
'There was only the Jewish hawker who couldn't speak Afrikaans.'
- (1640) *Toe ons een dag met die honde in die veld gaan hase soek het* (= *hase gaan soek het*) *het Koos sy been gebreek*.
'When one day we went looking for hares in the veldt, Koos broke his leg.'
- (1641) *Na 'n rukkie het hy ophou dagga rook* (= *dagga ophou rook*).
'After a while he stopped smoking marijuana.'
- (1642) *Laat ek gaan klere aantrek* (= *klere gaan aantrek*).
'Let me go and put some clothes on.'

12.2.2. Adjectival adjuncts

The following series of examples utilising *wyer maak* 'to widen, let out' (clothing) (i.e. verb + one word adjectival qualifier) can be compared syntactically with a real separable verb with an adjectival prefix like *grootmaak* (see 12.2.5), but with those verbs only the first option in each couplet is possible.

- (1643) *Ek maak die broek wyer*.
'I'm letting the pants out.'
- (1644) *Ek moet die broek wyer maak*.
'I must let the pants out.'
- (1645) *Ek sal die broek moet wyer maak* or
Ek sal die broek wyer moet maak.
'I will have to let the pants out.'
- (1646) *Ek dink dat ek die broek moet wyer maak* or
Ek dink dat ek die broek wyer moet maak.
'I think I must let the pants out.'

Further examples:

- (1647) *Ek het begin lief word vir die plaas*.
'I began to fall in love with the farm.'
- (1648) *Sy sou my leer vry wees*.
'She would teach me to be free.'

12.2.3. Adverbial adjuncts

The following series of examples utilising *nader kom* 'to come closer, approach' (i.e. verb + one word adverbial qualifier) can be compared syntactically with a real separable verb with an adverbial prefix like *agteruitgaan* (see 12.2.5), but with those verbs only the first option in each couplet is possible.

- (1649) *Hy sien ons nader kom*.
'He sees us approaching.'

- (1650) *Hy kan / het ons sien nader kom* or
Hy kan / het ons nader sien kom.
 'He can see us approaching/has seen us approaching.'
 (1651) *Ek weet dat hy ons sien nader kom het* or
Ek weet dat hy ons nader sien kom het.
 'I know that he saw us approaching.'

Further examples:

- (1652) *Ons het nie geweet of die kinders dit dalk sal nodig hê nie.*
 'We didn't know whether the children wouldn't perhaps need it.'
 (1653) *Hoeveel jare het sy nie haar kop moet regop hou nie?*
 'How many years did she have to keep her head held high?'

12.2.4. Expanded direct objects, adjectival adjuncts and adverbial adjuncts

As soon as the direct object as in 12.2.1, the adjective as in 12.2.2 or the adverb as in 12.2.3 are expanded, for example when the object is preceded by an article or the adjective or adverb are qualified by an adverb, only the second word order given above is possible, in which case the analogy with separable verbs no longer applies, e.g.

- (1654) *Hy het haar oorreed om oorsee te kom vakansie hou.*
 'He talked her into coming and having a holiday overseas.'

but

- (1655) *Hy het haar oorreed om haar vakansie oorsee te kom hou.*
 'He talked her into coming and having her holidays overseas.'

– the addition of *haar* here to the direct object is the complicator.

- (1656) *Hy het toe begin siek word.*
 'He then began to get sick.'

but

- (1657) *Hy het toe baie siek begin word.*
 'He then began to get very sick.'

– the addition of the adverb *baie* to the adjective is the complicator.

Adverbial expressions of direction consisting of a noun + *toe* where the definite article is automatically omitted (see 7.5.1), although formally consisting of two words, behave like single word adverbs in the above respect, e.g.

- (1658) *Toe het hy in die donkerte begin huis toe loop* or
Toe het hy in die donkerte huis toe begin loop.
 'He then began to walk home in the dark.'

12.2.5. Position of the nominal, adjectival or adverbial prefix of a real separable verb

The above constructions (12.2.1–4) differ from real separable verbs whose prefixes are derived from nouns, adjectives and adverbs in that in those cases the two word orders are possible and further qualification cancels out the possibility of the second order. Compare them with the real separable verbs *skoolhou* ‘to teach’ and *oopsluit* ‘to unlock’:

- (1659) *Sy het laasweek begin skoolhou.*
 ‘She began teaching last week.’
 **Sy het laasweek skool begin hou* (see footnote 12).
- (1660) *Die opsigter het die deur kom oopsluit.*
 ‘The janitor came and opened the door.’
 **Die opsigter het die deur oop kom sluit.*

Separable verbs with nominal and adjectival/adverbial prefixes (see 8.15.1.2) are formally distinguishable in writing from the constructions under discussion in 12.2.1–4 by being written as one word in constructions where they stand together, but in speech of course this distinction cannot be heard.

12.2.6. Inconsistencies of the constructions described in 12.1.10 and 12.2.1–5

There are also several common inconsistencies with regard to whether such verbal expressions are written as one word or two. The AWS (p. 76) advocates tolerance for variation in this respect with regard to fixed combinations like *kapot slaan* ‘to smash’, *mis loop* ‘to fail to find’, *nader kom* ‘to come nearer’, *tuis bly* ‘to stay home’ and *wakker maak* ‘to wake up’, but even with regard to not so fixed combinations such as *gerus slaap* ‘to sleep well’, *hard werk* ‘to work hard’, *krom loop* ‘to stoop’ and *lank wag* ‘to wait a long time’ where the first element is still much more felt to be an independent (qualifiable) adjective/adverb and therefore subject to two possible word orders (see footnote 48 under 8.15.1.2).

Lief word ‘to grow fond of’ is not regarded as a separable verb but *liefhê* ‘to love’ is and is written as one word, but what happens to *liefhê* when it is qualified by *baie* is rather unclear, i.e.

- (1661) *Ek het (baie) lief geword vir jou.*
 ‘I grew (very) fond of you.’
- (1662) *Ek het jou liefgehad.*
 ‘I loved you.’
- (1663) *Ek het jou baie liefgehad or*
Ek het jou baie lief gehad.
 ‘I loved you very much.’

Belang stel ‘to be interested’ is commonly written as one word, implying it is a formal separable verb, but it is not.

The reverse situation, as it were, applies to the adverb *terug* ‘back’. Although

it is usually written together with the verb, thereby implying that it is a formal separable prefix, it can in fact behave as an independent adverb standing separately from the verb to which it applies, e.g.

- (1664) *Hy gaan môre terug Engeland toe vlieg* or
Hy gaan môre Engeland toe terugvlieg.
 'He's flying back to England tomorrow.'

– both derivatives of *terugvlieg* 'to fly back' (see 12.1.10).

Occasionally one meets constructions of this kind which are always kept together although they are written as two words and thus, according to the above explanation, should be able to adopt one of two word orders. Such expressions are presumably in the process of becoming real separable verbs, e.g. *krieket/rugby/tv kyk* 'to watch cricket/rugby/tv', *Bybel/koerant lees* 'to read the Bible/newspaper', *radio luister* 'to listen to the radio'. As the last two examples illustrate, the omission of the definite article in Afrikaans, reducing the objects to one word, is part of the idiomisation and a prerequisite for qualification to enter the ranks of separable verbs – compare what has already happened to *perdry* 'to ride a horse' (with omission of the indefinite article), *nagsê* 'to say goodnight' (with omission of the adjective) (see 8.15.1.2 for more examples).

12.3. Order of objects, adjectives and adverbs qualifying verbs in the continuous constructions formed from *lê*, *loop*, *sit* and *staan* (see 8.3.1)

When the verb for which any of the connector verbs *lê*, *loop*, *sit* and *staan* is acting as auxiliary takes a one word direct object, the object can be placed either next to the auxiliary or next to the verb to which it applies;¹⁴ the former order is more usual, e.g.

- (1665) *Hy staan water en mors.*
Hy staan en water mors.
 'He's (standing there) wasting water.'

But when the object consists of more than one word, only the former order is possible, e.g.

- (1666) *Hy staan baie water en mors.*
 **Hy staan en baie water mors.*
 'He's (standing there) wasting lots of water.'

In the future and past tenses this transforms as follows:

future:

- (1667) *Hy sal water staan en mors.*
Hy sal staan en water mors.
 **Hy sal staan water en mors.*
 'He'll waste water.'

¹⁴ When it is placed next to the verb of which it is the object, the combination of object + verb is acting like a separable verb as described in 12.2. When the object is expanded this position is no longer possible as the analogy with separable verbs then breaks down.

- (1668) *Hy sal baie water staan en mors.*
 'He'll waste a lot of water.'

past:

- (1669) *Hy het water staan en mors.*
Hy het (ge)staan en water mors.
 **Hy het (ge)staan en baie water mors.*
 'He wasted a lot of water.'
- (1670) *Hy het baie water (ge)staan en mors.*
 'He wasted a lot of water.'

Further examples:

- (1671) *Die krummels is van toe jy melktert (ge)sit en eet het or*
Die krummels is van toe jy (ge)sit en melktert eet het.
 'The crumbs are from when you were (sitting) eating milk tart.'

And with an expanded object:

- (1672) *Die krummels is van toe jy dié lekker melktert (ge)sit en eet het.*
 **Die krummels is van toe jy (ge)sit en dié lekker melktert eet het.*
 'The crumbs are from when you were (sitting) eating that lovely milk tart.'
- (1673) *Dit is waar ons gaan brame loop en pluk or*
Dit is waar ons gaan loop en brame pluk or
Dit is waar ons brame gaan loop en pluk (preferable).
 'This is where we are going to pick (= are going to go picking) blackberries.'

And with an expanded object:

- (1674) *Dit is waar ons al die brame gaan loop en pluk.*
 **Dit is waar ons gaan al die brame loop en pluk or*
 **Dit is waar ons gaan loop en al die brame pluk.*
 'This is where we are going to pick (= are going to go picking) all the blackberries.'
- (1675) *Ons het die vuur aan die gang gekry en daar koffie gesit en drink or*
Ons het die vuur aan die gang gekry en daar gesit en koffie drink.
 'We got the fire going and sat drinking coffee.'

And with an expanded object:

- (1676) *Ons het die kaggelvuur aan die gang gekry en daar heerlike koffie gesit en drink.*
 'We got the fire going and sat drinking delicious coffee.'
- (1677) **Ons het die kaggelvuur aan die gang gekry en daar gesit en heerlike koffie drink but*
Ons het die kaggelvuur aan die gang gekry en daar gesit en heerlike koffie gedrink.
 'We got the fire going and sat and drank delicious coffee.'

In this example the addition of the perfective prefix to *drink* changes the *drink* from a simultaneous action with *sit* to a subsequent action, thus putting *heerlike koffie* in a separate clause where it can take up position alongside the verb to which it belongs (see 8.5.3 for the past tense of these constructions).

Where these verbal constructions are qualified by adverbial expressions, there are also two possible word orders, e.g.

- (1678) *Hy loop langs die straat en sing.*
Hy loop en sing langs die straat.
 'He 's walking down the street singing.'
- (1679) *Hy sit daar die hele tyd en slaap.*
Hy sit en slaap daar die hele tyd.
 'He sits there sleeping all the time.'
- (1680) *Die kat lê voor die vuur nes 'n groot versadigde leeu en slaap.*
Die kat lê en slaap voor die vuur nes 'n groot versadigde leeu.
 'The cat is lying sleeping in front of the fire like a great satiated lion.'

The former order, where the second verb is held in suspension till the rest of the sentence – be it object or adverb – has been uttered, is called the “verbal hendiadys” in the literature on the topic.

12.4. Position of nominal and pronominal direct and indirect objects

When a verb is followed by both a direct and an indirect object, whether those objects be nouns or pronouns, the preferred word order is first the direct object, and then the indirect object, with *vir* before the indirect object (examples 1681 to 1684). The alternative forms (examples 1685 to 1688) are possible but not usual, except in idiomatic combinations, e.g. *Ek gee hom 'n klap / 'n kans* 'I'll give him a slap/chance', but no alternative is possible in such cases in English either, i.e. *I'll give a slap/chance to him. The word order in 1689 to 1692 is possible, but only in emphatic contexts, e.g. *Stuur vir hom 'n brief, nie 'n telegram nie* 'Send him a letter, not a telegram'.

- (1681) *Gee die pop vir die baba.*
 'Give the doll to the baby.'
- (1682) *Gee dit vir die baba.*
 'Give it to the baby.'
- (1683) *Gee die pop vir hom.*
 'Give the doll to him.'
- (1684) *Gee dit vir hom.*
 'Give it to him.'
- (1685) *Gee die baba die pop.*
 'Give the baby the doll.'
- (1686) *Gee die baba dit.*
 'Give the baby it.'
- (1687) *Gee hom die pop.*
 'Give him the doll.'

- (1688) *Gee hom dit.*
'Give him it.'
- (1689) *Gee vir die baba die pop.*
'Give the baby the doll.'
- (1690) *Gee vir die baba dit.*
'Give the baby it.'
- (1691) *Gee vir hom die pop.*
'Give him the doll.'
- (1692) *Gee vir hom dit.*
'Give him it.'

See 12.6.2 for the position of direct and indirect objects when used with adverbial expressions of time, manner and place.

12.5. Position of reflexive pronouns

When the only object of a reflexive verb in a statement is its reflexive pronoun, that pronoun stands immediately after the finite verb, whether that finite verb is the reflexive verb itself (see 1693) or an auxiliary verb (see 1694 and 1695), e.g.

- (1693) *Hy gedra hom baie sleg.*
'He behaves very badly.'
- (1694) *Hy het hom baie sleg gedra.*
'He behaved very badly.'
- (1695) *Hy gaan hom baie sleg gedra.*
'He's going to behave very badly.'

When the same sentences are put in the interrogative, the reflexive pronoun stands after the subject, e.g.

- (1696) *Gedra hy hom baie sleg?*
'Does he behave very badly?'
- (1697) *Het hy hom baie sleg gedra?*
'Did he behave very badly?'
- (1698) *Gaan die ou hom sleg gedra?*
'Is the guy going to behave badly?'

When a reflexive verb occurs in a subordinate or relative clause and thus stands at the end of that clause, the reflexive pronoun remains where it stands in a main clause but ends up next to the subject as the verb has been removed from second position, e.g.

- (1699) *Ek weet dat hy hom baie sleg gedra het (< Hy het hom baie sleg gedra).*
'I know that he behave very badly.'

12.5.1. Position of the reflexive pronoun in imperatives

In the imperative the reflexive pronoun also stands immediately after the finite verb, e.g.

- (1700) *Sluit jou daarby aan.*
 'Join it immediately' (affirmative).
 (1701) *Moenie jou daarby aansluit nie* or
Jy moet jou nie daarby aansluit nie.
 'Don't join it' (negative).

12.5.2. Position of the reflexive pronoun vis-à-vis a pronominal object

When a reflexive verb takes a pronominal object in addition to its reflexive pronoun, that pronoun normally stays in the positions described above, e.g.

- (1702) *Ek kan my dié land baie goed voorstel.*
 'I can picture that country very well' (nominal object).
 (1703) *Kan jy jou hom voorstel?*
 'Can you imagine what he looks like?' (pronominal object).

But when the object is the pronoun *dit*, the reflexive can stand either before or after *dit*, e.g.

- (1704) *Kan jy jou dit (dit jou) voorstel?*
 'Can you imagine it?'

12.5.3. Position of the reflexive pronoun vis-à-vis negators

With one exception, negatives do not ever come between the finite verb and the reflexive pronoun, e.g.

- (1705) *Ek bekommer my nie oor hom nie.*
 'I don't worry about him.'
 (1706) *Het jy jou nooit oor hom bekommer nie?*
 'Haven't you ever worried about him?'
 (1707) *Ek kan [-] my [dit] nie voorstel nie.*
 'I can't imagine it.'
 (1708) *Hoekom kan jy [-] jou [dit] nie voorstel nie?*
 'Why can't you imagine it?'
 (1709) *Ek kan my julle huis nie voorstel nie.*
 'I can't imagine your house.'

Only when the negative imperative auxiliary *moenie* is used does a negator precede the reflexive pronoun (see 12.5.1).

(See 13.4 for further comment on the position of negators)

12.5.4. Position of the reflexive in verbal hendiadys constructions

In verbal hendiadys constructions (i.e. *sit en doen* etc., see 8.3.1 and 8.5.3) where the verb for which *lê*, *loop*, *sit* or *staan* are acting as auxiliary is a reflexive verb, the reflexive pronoun behaves as follows, e.g.

- (1710) *Ek sit en vra my af hoe gaan ek regkom.*
 'I'm wondering how I'm going to get by.'
 (1711) *Ek gaan my sit en afvra hoe...*
 'I'm going to wonder how...'
 (1712) *Ek het my (ge)sit en afvra hoe...*
 'I wondered how...'

Compare

- (1713) *Ek het gaan sit en my afgevera hoe...* (two separate actions).

12.6. Position of adverbs

The position of single word adverbs or adverbial phrases which indicate the place, manner or time of an action assume a position in a main clause which usually differs from English. Firstly, where one word adverbs in English can be inserted between the subject and its verb, this is impossible in Afrikaans, e.g.

- (1714) *Hulle speel selde / soms buite.*
 'They seldom/sometimes play outside.'

Compare too the position of the English negator *never*, e.g.

- (1715) *Hulle speel nooit buite nie.*
 'They never play outside.'

(see 13.2 and 13.4 for further comments on the position of negatives.)

Secondly, if there is more than one adverbial expression in a sentence, the order PMT (place, manner, time) usually applies in English, whereas in Afrikaans the reverse is the case, e.g.

- (1716) *Ek gaan [elke dag] [met die bus] [stad toe].*
 'I go to town by bus every day.'

The TMP rule may be abused in speech, but seldom in writing, thus one will never go wrong by observing it; it is stricter than the reverse rule is in English:

- (1717) *Hy het vroeër as kelner op die treine gewerk* (TMP).
Hy het vroeër op die treine as kelner gewerk (TPM, possible).
 'He formerly worked on the trains as a waiter.'

- (1718) *Gaan jy vanaand saam met ons fliiek (toe)*¹⁵ (TMP).
Gaan jy saam met ons vanaand fliiek (toe) (MTP, possible).
 'Are we going to the movies together tonight.'
- (1719) *Twee is met ernstige beserings hospitaal toe geneem* (MP).
 'Two were taken to hospital with serious injuries.'
- (1720) *Ons gaan oor Swellendam na Barrydale* (MP).
Ons gaan na Barrydale oor Swellendam (PM, possible).
 'We are going to Barrydale via Swellendam.'
- (1721) *'n Vrou is dié naweek aan Kongokoors in die hospitaal in Pretoria oorlede* (TMP).
'n Vrou is dié naweek in die hospitaal in Pretoria aan Kongokoors oorlede.
 'A woman died in hospital in Pretoria of Congo fever this week.'

Although this alternative would seem to be an example of TPM, and thus an abuse of the TMP rule, it is quite acceptable because *aan Kongokoors oorlede* can be regarded as a compound.

It is permissible to begin a sentence with an adverbial expression of place or manner for stylistic variation or emphasis so long as there is no expression of time present, e.g.

- (1722) *Om die rede is die kind weggegee* (< *Die kind is om die rede weggegee*).
 'The child was given away for that reason.'
- (1723) *In Bloemfontein is die kind gebore* (< *Die kind is in Bloemfontein gebore*).
 'The child was born in Bloemfontein.'

(see 12.7 for emphasis and 12.6.1 for the placing of time in first position.)

12.6.1. Position of adverbial expressions of time

When an adverb of time is used in a sentence with a nominal direct object, it can either precede or follow the object, e.g.

- (1724) *Ek het verlede week daardie boek gelees.*
Ek het daardie boek verlede week gelees.
 'I read that book last week.'

But if the object is a pronoun, it must follow the object, e.g.

- (1725) *Ek het dit verlede week gelees.*
 'I read it last week.'

It is, however, always acceptable to start statements with an expression of time, e.g.

¹⁵ In the phrase *fliiek toe gaan*, *fliiek* is a noun and thus part of an adverbial expression, but when *toe* is omitted *fliiek* is an infinitive used in combination with the copula *gaan*.

- (1726) *Verlede week het ek daardie boek / dit gelees.*
'I read that book/it last week.'

Beginning with time thus never conflicts with the TMP rule if there are additional adverbial expressions in the sentence, e.g.

- (1727) *Elke oggend gaan ek met die bus stad toe.*
'I go to town by bus every morning.'

When there are two expressions of time, it is somewhat more usual for the more general to precede the more specific, e.g.

- (1728) *Hy kom volgende jaar die tiende Mei terug.*
'He's coming back on the tenth of May next year.'

With periods of the day in combination with the time, either order is usual, e.g.

- (1729) *Hy kom môreoggend tienuur / tienuur môreoggend aan.*
'He's arriving at ten o'clock tomorrow morning.'

12.6.2. Position of direct and indirect objects when used with adverbial expressions of time, manner and place

In this paragraph the rules for the position of direct and indirect objects given under 12.4, and those for the order of adverbs of TMP given under 12.6, are brought together. Those rules remain valid and give rise to the following when combined:¹⁶

time with a pronominal direct object:

- (1730) *Ek het dit gister vir haar gegee.*
'I gave it to her yesterday.'

Ek het dit vir haar gister gegee is possible, but is marked, i.e. there is an emphasis on *gister*.

time with a nominal direct object:

- (1731) *Ek het gister die pop vir haar gegee* or
Ek het die pop gister vir haar gegee.
'I gave her the doll yesterday.'

Ek het die pop vir haar gister gegee is possible, but is marked.

(time) and place with a pronominal direct object:

- (1732) *Ek het dit (gister) by die stasie vir haar gegee.*
'I gave it to her at the station yesterday.'

¹⁶ In all the examples given here, the word order is the same whether the indirect object is a noun or a pronoun and thus only pronominal indirect objects have been used.

Ek het dit (gister) vir haar by die stasie gegee is possible, but is marked.¹⁷

(time) and place with a nominal direct object:

- (1733) *Ek het (gister) die pop by die stasie vir haar gegee* or
Ek het die pop (gister) by die stasie vir haar gegee.
 'I gave her the doll at the station yesterday.'

12.7. Placing of various parts of speech at the beginning of a sentence for emphasis

It is very common in Afrikaans, but unusual in English, to place an object, adverbial expression, infinitive or past participle at the beginning of a sentence to give particular emphasis to it, for example:

nominal direct objects:

- (1734) *Dié uitstappie het sy geweldig geniet.*
 'She enjoyed that excursion tremendously.'
 (1735) *Die instansie waarvandaan dié brief kom, ken ek nie.*
 'I don't know the organisation this letter is from.'
 (1736) *Geld om na Londen te gaan, het hy nie gehad nie, en na Moskou mag hy nie gaan nie.*
 'He didn't have money to go to London, and he wasn't allowed to go to Moscow.'

This sentence contains two examples of the phenomenon, the first clause with an object and the second with an adverbial expression.

pronominal direct objects:

- (1737) *My het niks oorgekom nie.*
 'Nothing happened to me.'

nominal indirect or prepositional objects:

- (1738) *Aan besoekers word verduidelik hoe Nyl-krokodille geteel word.*
 'It is explained to visitors how Nile crocodiles are bred.'
 (1739) *Van die vuurwerke wat hierdie week tussen FW en PW moes spat, het niks gekom nie.*
 'Nothing came of the fireworks which were meant to explode this week between FW and PW.'

pronominal indirect or prepositional objects:

- (1740) *Vir hom kon niemand tog die skuld gee.*
 'Surely no-one could blame him.'
 (1741) *Vir hom ken ek nie.*
 'I don't know him.'

¹⁷ Compare the English 'I gave her the doll at the station yesterday' (unmarked) and 'I gave her the doll yesterday at the station' (marked).

- (1742) *Van dit hou ek nie/Daarvan hou ek nie/Daar hou ek nie van nie*¹⁸ (< *Ek hou nie daarvan nie*).
'I don't like that.'

adverbial expressions:

- (1743) *So Nederlands is ons nie meer nie.*
'We're not all that Dutch any more.'
(1744) *Laasweek het ek hom gesien.*
'I saw him last week.'
(1745) *Na Moskou mag hy nie gaan nie.*
'He's not allowed to go to Moscow.'

infinitives and past participles:

- (1746) *Verkoop sal (het) ons die huis nie, maar wel verhuur.*
'We won't sell the house, but we'll let it (We haven't sold the house, but let it).'
(1747) *Ná daardie dag het Jansen uit eie beweging – want aangemoedig het ek hom nooit – gereeld oorgekom.*
'From that day on Jansen came over regularly of his own accord, because I didn't encourage him.'

12.8. Prepositional stranding

Prepositional stranding refers to the placing of a preposition later in a clause, separated from the noun or pronoun it governs. Certain forms of stranding are found predominantly in the spoken language (12.8.1–2). Various types of stranding are also common in English (12.8.2.1–2), a language in which it is also generally speaking tolerated in writing although the more formal the context, the less common it is.

12.8.1. Stranding of the preposition in prepositional object constructions

The many verbs and adjectives that are followed by a fixed preposition (see 8.19 and 6.11 respectively) – in the case of verbs it is customary to talk of them taking a prepositional object – can be subjected to prepositional stranding in speech, but virtually never in writing. The following are analogous constructions in English, illustrating how rare the phenomenon is in English: A holiday like this I've been looking forward to for years, These kids I'm fed up with.¹⁹ Placing the prepositional objects first in the sentence in this way, thereby giving rise to prepositional stranding in these cases, is an instance of the placing of parts of speech at the beginning of a sentence for emphasis which is discussed in 12.7.

¹⁸ See prepositional stranding (11.2 and 12.8) for more on this type of construction.

¹⁹ These examples sound like yiddishified American English as Yiddish has inherited the same construction as Afrikaans from its Germanic past.

12.8.1.1. Stranding with verbs that take a prepositional object

When objects are governed by a preposition belonging to a verb occurring later in the sentence, the sentence can either begin the whole prepositional phrase, complete with preposition – this practice is also acceptable in written Afrikaans – or the preposition can be left after the verb in the position it occupies when emphatic inversion is not applied, thereby resulting in stranding, e.g.

a) stranding with nominal prepositional objects:

- (1748) *Sulke dinge praat hulle nie oor nie* (< *Hulle praat nie oor sulke dinge nie*).
‘They don’t talk about such things.’
- (1749) *Die hele lot hou ek nie van nie* (< *Ek hou nie van die hele lot nie*).
‘I don’t like the lot of them.’
- (1750) *’n Vakansie in die berge verlang ek al lankal na* (< *Ek verlang al lankal na ’n vakansie in die berge*).
‘I’ve been longing for a holiday in the mountains for ages.’
- (1751) *Dié berg is dit vernoem na* (< *Dit is vernoem na dié berg*).
‘It was named after that mountain.’

b) stranding with personal pronominal prepositional objects:

- (1752) *Haar kan jy eintlik nooit op reken nie*.
‘You can’t really ever rely on her.’
- (1753) *Hom hou ek glad nie van nie*.
‘I don’t like him at all.’

c) stranding with *daar* as the pronominal prepositional object:

Under pronouns (5.1.1.3.3) it is explained that the third person pronouns *hom*, *dit*²⁰ and *hulle*, when used with reference to inanimate objects and governed by a preposition, are usually replaced by *daar*- + preposition (= ‘it/them, that/those’) or *hier*- + preposition (= ‘this/these’), e.g.

- (1754) *Ek hou nie van hierdie plek nie > Ek hou nie daarvan / hiervan nie*.
‘I don’t like this place’ > ‘I don’t like it/this.’

For emphasis one can start with *daarvan* (particularly when *daar* means ‘that’ rather than ‘it’) or *hiervan* and then stranding can occur, e.g.

- (1755) *Daar / hier hou ek nie van nie*.
‘I don’t like that/this.’
- (1756) *Jy kan nie op dié stoel sit nie want ’n kat sit daarop / ...want daarop sit ’n kat / ...want daar sit ’n kat op*.
‘You can’t sit on that chair because there’s a cat sitting on it.’

Stranding of this kind, unlike all the above instances of stranding, does not belong to the realm of colloquial speech but rather to that of formal written

²⁰ See 5.1.1.3.1 for the alternation of *hom* or *dit* with reference to inanimate objects.

style, although there are cases which enjoy a certain frequency in the spoken language too,²¹ e.g.

- (1757) *Daar weet ek niks van nie.*
 'I don't know anything about that' (i.e. with *niks*).

What does commonly occur in emphatic speech, as opposed to writing, is the replacement of *daar* or *hier* by *dit* when stranding is applied, e.g.

- (1758) *Dit is hy baie lief voor* (< *Vir dit is hy baie lief*)
 = *Daar is hy baie lief voor* (< *Daarvoor is hy baie lief*).
 'He likes it a lot' (see 5.1.1.3.3).

When a repletive or existential *daar* is used in combination with a preposition (see 5.1.1.3.6), stranding can occur but the norm is repetition of the *daar* to avoid stranding of the preposition, e.g.

- (1759) *Daar het baie mense lank (daar)op gewag.*
 'A lot of people waited a long time for it.'
 (1760) *Daar sal onmiddellik iets (daar)aan gedoen moet word.*
 'Something will have to be done about it immediately.'
 (1761) *Dit is tyd dat ek iets sê oor my opvattinge, want dáár moet geen onduidelikheid oor bestaan nie.*
 'It's time I said something about my ideas because there must be no doubt about them.'

Omission of the second *daar* is somewhat more formal, but stranding is more common in constructions like these that take two *daar*'s if no stranding is applied, than in cases like those given in the two previous paragraphs where only one *daar* is possible. One can talk of absorption of prepositional *daar* in such cases.

This form of stranding with *daar* is more common than with relative and interrogative *waar* (see 5.3.2.2 and 10.0 note 8 respectively).

12.8.1.2. Stranding with adjectives that take a fixed preposition

Under adjectives (see 6.11) those adjectives that take a fixed preposition are listed. These prepositions normally have a noun or pronoun dependent on them (see 12.9 for the one exception to this). In this way they are syntactically very similar to verbs that are followed by a prepositional object (see 8.19), also with regard to the possibility of prepositional stranding being applied to them, e.g. *gewoond aan* 'used to': *Ek het gewoon daaraan geraak* (normal word order) > *Daaraan het ek gewoon geraak* (emphatic) > *Daar het ek gewoon aan geraak* (with stranding) *Dit het ek gewoon aan raak* (with stranding and substitution of the personal pronoun with *daar*) 'I've got used to it'.

²¹ This statement is based on data collected by Ponelis (1985a). Ponelis refers to stranding with *daar*, *hier* and *waar* (see the following paragraph) collectively as "R-stranding" and regards it generally speaking as obsolete with very few exceptions, one of those exceptions is as in the example above with *niks*.

12.8.2. Prepositional stranding with interrogatives and relatives

Unlike the stranding discussed under 12.8.1–12.8.1.2, that which is described in the paragraphs 12.8.2.1–2 is paralleled in English, e.g. Who are you writing to? (= to whom, interrogative) (see 12.8.2.1), The man you were talking to is my uncle (= to whom, relative) (see 12.8.2.2). But where these constructions are the norm in spoken English, as well as being permissible in written English, they are not the norm in either spoken or written Afrikaans; unlike English, they are more likely to be found in writing than speech.

12.8.2.1. Stranding with interrogatives

‘What are you writing with?’ (non-personal) and ‘Who are you writing to?’ (personal) are both acceptable spoken and written English, whereas ‘With what are you writing?’ and ‘To whom are you writing?’ are unacceptable spoken English and very stilted written English. The first two constructions employ prepositional stranding. Both types of interrogative construction occur in Afrikaans, but only with non-personal nouns, e.g. *Waarmee skryf jy?* (normal word order) > *Waar skryf jy mee?* (with stranding, formal), > *Wat skryf jy mee?* (with stranding and substitution of the interrogative pronoun *wat* for *waar* [colloquial] – compare the alternation of *daar/dit* in 12.8.1.1.c). The transformation *Met wat skryf jy?* occurs but is not common, unlike preposition + *dit*, which is not at all uncommon in the spoken language.

With personal nouns only one construction, that without stranding, is possible, e.g. *Aan wie skryf jy?* ‘Who are you writing to?’

Other examples:

- a) *Waarom dink jy?* (normal word order) > *Waar dink jy aan?* (with stranding, formal) > *Wat dink jy aan?* (with stranding and substitution of the interrogative pronoun *wat* for *waar* [colloquial]) > *Aan wat dink jy?* (uncommon) ‘What are you thinking of?’
- b) *In watter straat bly julle nou?* (normal word order) > *Watter straat bly julle nou in?* (with stranding) ‘What street do you live in now?’
- c) *Afhangende van in watter stemming hy is, kan hy baie aangenaam wees* (normal word order) > *Afhangende van watter stemming hy in is,...* (with stranding [colloquial]) ‘Depending on what mood he’s in, he can be quite pleasant.’
- d) *Vir watter vakke is jy verantwoordelik?* (normal word order) > *Watter vakke is jy voor verantwoordelik / Watter vakke is jy verantwoordelik voor?* (with stranding) ‘What subjects are you responsible for?’

12.8.2.2. Stranding with relative pronouns

‘The pot (that/which) I boiled the peas in was too small’ (non-personal) and ‘The people (that/who) we’re talking about now are our neighbours’ (personal) are both acceptable spoken and written English, whereas ‘The pot in which I boiled the peas was too small’ and ‘The people about whom we’re now talking

are our neighbours' are unacceptable spoken English and very stilted written English. The first two constructions employ prepositional stranding. Both types of relative construction occur in Afrikaans regardless of whether the antecedent is non-personal or personal (unlike with interrogatives under 12.8.2.1), e.g. *Die pot waarin ek die ertjies gekook het was te klein* (normal word order) > *Die pot waar ek die ertjies in gekook het was te klein*²² (with stranding, formal) > *Die pot wat ek die ertjies in gekook het was te klein* (with stranding and substitution of the relative pronoun *wat* for *waar* [colloquial]) 'The pot I boiled the peas in was too small'.

12.8.3. Stranding with quantifiers

A *van* following an indefinite quantifier can be subjected to stranding in colloquial speech, e.g.

- (1762) *Hy moes 'n paar van die tamaties weggooi* >
Die tamaties moes hy 'n paar van weggooi.
 'He had to throw some of the tomatoes away.'
- (1763) *Hy het net een eksemplaar van dié boek* >
Dié boek het hy net een eksemplaar van.
 'He has only got one copy of that book.'

Similar, but with a different preposition', is

- (1764) *Daar is 'n tekort aan water in hierdie land* >
Water is daar 'n tekort aan in hierdie land.
 'There is a shortage of water in this country.'

12.9. Position in an infinitive clause of a preposition dependent on a predicative adjective or a verb

Closely related to the instances of prepositional stranding described under 12.8–12.8.3, but nevertheless syntactically distinct from them because they are independent objectless prepositions, is the position of a fixed preposition belonging to an adjective or verb when it occurs in an infinitive clause, i.e. in an *om te* clause; the concept is common to both English and Afrikaans, but there are normally two possible positions for the preposition in Afrikaans, for example:

adjectives:

trots op 'proud of: *Dis 'n seuntjie om trots op te wees* or *...om op trots te wees*
 'That's a boy to be proud of.'

skaam oor 'ashamed of: *Sommige wat Kaapse Afrikaans besig, ervaar hul*

²² In constructions of this kind a momentary confusion sometimes occurs where the writer, because the stranded preposition ends up adjacent to a verb, believes he is dealing with a separable verbal prefix and consequently joins it to the verb, e.g. *Daar is niks waar 'n mens jou tande kan inkry nie* 'There's nothing one can get one's teeth into'.

dialek as iets om skaam oor te wees or ...*as iets om oor skaam te wees* 'Some people who speak Kaaps regard their dialect as something to be ashamed of.
verbs:

rekening hou met 'to reckon with': *Soos in die meeste lande is die boere 'n drukgroep om rekening mee te hou* or ...*om mee rekening te hou* 'As in most countries, the farmers are a pressure group to be reckoned with'.

koffie maak vir 'to make coffee for': *Dis 'n helse klomp mense om koffie voor te maak* or ...*om voor koffie te maak* 'That's a hell of a lot of people to make coffee for'.

When the *om te* clause consists of nothing but the verb and its preposition, only one order is of course possible, for example:

wag op 'to wait for': *Dit is iets wat die moeite werd is om op te wag* 'It is something that is worth waiting for'.

loop op 'to walk on': *Die vloer is te glad om op te loop* 'The floor is too slippery to walk on'.

There is also only one possible order when the direct object of the verb that takes a fixed preposition consists of more than one word, i.e. when it is qualified by an article and/or adjective, for example:

vuur maak met 'to make fire with': *Gebruik liever droë takkies om vuur mee te maak* or ...*om mee vuur te maak* 'Use only dry twigs to make a fire with', but only ...*om 'n groot vuur mee te maak*.

'n huis bou met 'to build a house with': *Hulle het vir hom materiaal gegee om 'n tydelike huis mee te bou* 'They gave him material to build a temporary house with'.

12.10. Position of adjectives that take a fixed preposition (see 6.11)

12.11. Independent prepositions rendering preposition + 'it/them'

In 12.9 one variety of independent preposition is discussed which has a direct parallel in English. There is one more instance of independent prepositions in Afrikaans, but this sort does not have an English parallel. In all the following examples the preposition on its own corresponds to English preposition + 'it/them' (i.e. non-personal third person pronouns) which refer to the preceding singular or plural noun respectively:

- (1765) *Op die tafeltjie lê 'n boek met name in.*
'On the table there's a book with names in it.'
- (1766) *Dit was groenerige bottels met patroontjies op.*
'They were greenish bottles with patterns on them.'
- (1767) *Die uitlaatpyp het 'n gat in.*
'The exhaust has a hole in it.'
- (1768) *Die buffers het duike in.*
'The bumpers have got a dents in them.'

There's a preference to rephrase (1767) and (1768) as they are not acceptable Afrikaans to everybody, i.e. *Daar is 'n gat in die uitlaatpyp, Daar is duike in*

die buffers. On the other hand, examples (1765) and (1766) are representatives of very common, totally acceptable constructions consisting of *met* + noun + preposition (see 5.1.1.3.5 for further examples, explanation and transformations of these structures).

12.12. Idiomatic expressions consisting of two elements with the reverse order to English

naalde en spelde 'pins and needles'

dag en nag 'night and day'

my oom en tante 'my aunt and uncle'

min of meer 'more or less'

in 'n mindere of meerdere mate 'to a greater or lesser extent/degree'

pyl en boog 'bow and arrow'

tot mindere of meerdere mate 'to a greater or lesser degree'

daar en dan 'then and there'

ek en jy 'you and I'

13. Negation

Afrikaans is perhaps best known for its double negation, the full intricacies of which are quite difficult to master. The exact origins of the so-called double negative in Afrikaans are still not fully understood. In the description that follows, the term “scope marker” is used to refer to the second negative particle, *nie*, where one is required, whereas the first is called the “negator”.

13.1. The negators

The following words negate: *geen/g'n* ‘no, not a/any’, *geeneen* ‘not one’, *geensins* ‘by no means, not in any way’,¹ *nêrens* ‘nowhere’, *nie* ‘not’, *niemand* ‘no-one, nobody’, *niks* ‘nothing’, *nooit* ‘never’.² In certain limited contexts they function alone, but in the majority of cases they are complemented by a *nie* (the scope marker), which demarcates the extent of the negation.

13.2. Rules for the use and position of the scope marker

If a sentence consists of only a subject and a finite verb, only the negator is required, e.g.

- (1769) *Ek weet nie.*
‘I don’t know.’
(1770) *Hy bid nooit.*
‘He never prays.’

If it consists of only a subject, verb and a pronominal object, once again only the negator is required, e.g.

- (1771) *Weet jy dit nie?*
‘Don’t you know that?’
(1772) *Ek ken hom nie.*
‘I don’t know him.’

(see 13.3.1 for the addition of an optional scope marker where the negator stands in final position.)

If a sentence consists of only a subject, a finite verb and a direct or indirect object and it begins with that object for emphasis (see 12.7), the negator ends up in final position because of the inversion of the subject and finite verb and therefore a scope marker is not required, e.g.

- (1773) *Vir hom sien jy nooit (= Jy sien nooit vir hom nie).*
‘You never see him.’

¹ For example *Jy mag geensins hiervan gebruik maak nie* ‘You may not use this under any circumstances/You may not by any means use this’.

² The emphatic phrase ‘never ever’ is expressed by *nooit ofte/as te nimmer*, e.g. *Dis ’n vakansie wat jy nooit as/of te nimmer sal vergeet nie* ‘It’s a holiday you will never ever forget’. *Nimmer*, an archaic word for ‘never’, also occurs in *nimmereindigend* ‘never-ending’.

13.2.1. Use of the scope marker when negators form the subject of the sentence

The negators *geen*, *geeneen*, *niemand* and *niks*, being pronouns, can act as the subject of a sentence, in which case a scope marking *nie* is required, e.g.

- (1774) *Geen mens weet nie.*
'No-one knows.'
- (1775) *Geeneen van hulle het enigiets negatiefs oor hom te sê gehad nie.*
'Not one of them had anything negative to say about him.'
- (1776) *Niemand kom nie.*
'Nobody is coming.'
- (1777) *Niks gebeur nie.*
'Nothing is happening.'

13.2.2. Use of the scope marker when the predicate contains a nominal object, adjective, adverb or separable prefix

If a nominal object, an adjective, an adverb or a separable prefix³ follow the verb, the scope marker is required, e.g.

- (1778) *Ek ken nie daardie man nie.*
'I don't know that man.'
- (1779) *Dit is nie reg nie.*
'That is not right.'
- (1780) *Jy praat nie duidelik nie.*
'You're not speaking clearly.'
- (1781) *Jy let nie op nie. (< oplet)*
'You don't pay attention.'

13.2.3. Use of the scope marker when the predicate contains an additional verbal form

If there is more than one verbal form in a negated clause, i.e. if the finite verb is followed by an infinitive or a past participle, the scope marker is required,⁴ e.g.

- (1782) *Hy sal nie kom nie.*
'He won't come.'
- (1783) *Hy het nie gekom nie.*
'He didn't come/hasn't come.'

³ These words that trigger the need for a scope marker are called the "complicators".

⁴ In effect this rule means that a sentence like *Ek weet (dit) nie* requires only a negator in the present tense, but a negator plus a scope marker in the past and future tenses, e.g. *Ek het (dit) nie geweet nie*, *Ek sal (dit) nie weet nie*.

13.2.4. Use of the scope marker when a clause begins with negative for emphasis

A sentence can begin with a negator for special emphasis; in such cases a scope marker is always necessary, even where what is being negated is not a clause, e.g.

- (1784) *Nie hy het die werk gedoen nie.*
'He didn't do the work.'
- (1785) *Nie Piet nie, maar Jan het my gehelp.*
'Not Piet, but Jan helped me.'
- (1786) *Nie ver daarvandaan nie het 'n bobbejaan 'n kind aangeval.*
'Not far from there a baboon attacked a child.'

13.2.5. Exceptional cases where of the scope marker is omitted

In cases where a negator and a scope marker would normally be required in accordance with the above rules, one may find the marker being dropped in headlines or on signs for the sake of abbreviation, e.g.

- (1787) *Jaloers, maak nie maklik vriende (< Maak nie maklik vriende nie).*
'Jealous, doesn't make friends easily.'
- (1788) *Stad gaan nie verander (< Stad gaan nie verander nie).*
'City isn't going to change.'
- (1789) *Treurnicht repudieer g'n AWB.*
'Treurnicht doesn't repudiate AWB' (see 13.5).
- (1790) *Geen honde toegelaat.*
'No dogs allowed.'
- (1791) *Niks te verklaar.*
'Nothing to declare' (sign at airport).
- (1792) *Geen storting.*
'No dumping.'

The marker is also omitted from the idiom *niks te danke* 'don't mention it, you're welcome'.

13.2.6. The situation in compound sentences

13.2.6.1. Main clause plus subordinate clause

In a compound sentence consisting of a main clause and a subordinate clause, where the first clause is negated, the scope marker is most usually placed at the end of the second clause, not at the end of the first, e.g.

- (1793) *Ek het nie geweet dat hy sou kom nie.*
'I didn't know that he would be coming.'

Although that is the norm, the following variant with the scope marker placed at the end of the main clause is possible:

(1794) *Ek het nie geweet nie dat hy sou kom.*

If only the second clause is negated, the following occurs:

(1795) *Ek het geweet dat hy nie sou kom nie.*
'I knew that he wouldn't be coming.'

If both clauses are negated, the first clause contains a negator while the second contains a negator and a scope marker, which is consistent with the above, e.g.

(1796) *Ek het nie geweet dat hy nie sou kom nie* (plus the variants given at the end of the previous paragraph).

In Afrikaans, as in English, it is possible to omit subordinating *dat*, which has the following effect when it is the subordinate clause that is being negated: *Ek weet hy kom nie* = *Ek weet dat hy nie kom nie*. The following illustrates that it makes no difference whether *dat* is inserted or omitted when it is the main clause that is negated, e.g.

(1797) *Hy het geweet hy is Lucas van Rooyen, maar hy wou nie hê (dat) hulle moes weet (dat) hy weet nie.*
'He knew he was Lucas van Rooyen but he didn't want them to know that he knew.'

The following complex sentence with three negated clauses shows multiple *nie*'s at work:

(1798) *Moet ons benadering tot taal **nie** wees nie* dat jy moet skryf of sê wat jy bedoel [-], sodat mense **nie** hoef te vertolk nie, en **nie** moet spartel om die boodskap te probeer vind [=] in die see van woorde nie?***
'Shouldn't our approach to language be that you should write or say what you mean so that people don't have to interpret and battle to try and find the message in the sea of words'. (The negators are in bold and the scope markers are underlined.)

*According to the rules given above, the first scope marking *nie* should stand at the end of the second dependent clause introduced by *wat*, i.e. at [-]; this would also be correct but has not been applied in this case because of the length of the sentence as a whole and the preponderance of negatives; one might otherwise lose track of what is being negated and what not. **The final scope marking *nie* could also be inserted at [=] in accordance with the rule given under 13.2.6.3.

In the following example the scope marker could also be inserted at [-] because of the length of the final clause which makes the distance between it and the negator rather extreme, but nevertheless possible:

- (1799) *Ek kan nie wag vir bouwerk om klaar te kom en die nuwe meubels om aan te kom [-] sodat die sitkamer tot sy reg kan kom [nie].*
 'I can't wait for the the construction to be finished and the new furniture to arrive so that the lounge can look the way it should.'

13.2.6.1.1. Colloquial use of the scope marker in subordinate clauses introduced by *tensy* 'unless' and *voordat* 'before'

It is very common in spoken Afrikaans, but disapproved of by prescriptive works, to negate a subordinate clause introduced by *tensy* 'unless' or *voordat* 'before' when strictly speaking it is only the main clause that is being negated, e.g.

- (1800) *Jy kan nie gaan (nie) tensy/voordat jou werk **nie** klaar is nie or Tensy/voordat jou werk **nie** klaar is **nie**, kan jy nie gaan nie.*
 'You can't go unless/before you've finished your work' (the bolded *nie*'s are the offenders).

Although *mits* means 'provided that', in combination with *nie* it means 'unless' and is thus synonymous with *tensy*, resulting in the same sort of confusion with regard to what is being negated, e.g.

- (1801) *Mits die wind **nie** noord draai **nie**, sal dit nie reën nie.*
 'Unless the wind turns north it's going to rain' (the bolded *nie*'s are the offenders) (see 13.2.6.4).

13.2.6.2. Main clause plus relative clause

Where a relative clause follows a negated main clause the usual structure is identical to the above where a subordinate clause follows a main clause, e.g.

- (1802) *Ons het nooit die mense geken [-] wat in hierdie huis gebly het nie.*
 'We never knew the people that lived in this house.'

The scope marker could also have been placed at [-] or at both [-] and at the end of the sentence, but the most usual practice is to do what has been done here. In the following sentence the relative clause is imbedded in a subordinate clause which follows a negated main clause:

- (1803) *Poppie het nie geweet [-] dat die kind wat swaar asemhaal en koorsig is, so siek is nie.*
 'Poppie didn't know that the child which was feverish and breathing heavily was so sick. An additional scope marker could also be inserted at [-].'

Where a negated relative clause is imbedded in a main clause, sense demands that the scope marker stand at the end of that relative clause, not at the end of the sentence, e.g.

- (1804) *Mense wat nie rook nie lewe langer.*
 'People who don't smoke live longer.'

13.2.6.3. Main clause ending in a prepositional phrase

In a sentence consisting of a main clause which ends in a prepositional phrase, it is possible for the scope marker to be inserted prior to the prepositional phrase whether that phrase be long or short, e.g.

- (1805) *Hoekom word daar nie meer ingegaan [-] op die direkte invloed van die bruin Afrikaanssprekendes nie?*
 'How come one isn't delving any more into the influence of coloured speakers of Afrikaans?'
 (1806) *Hy het nie gedink [-] aan die ernstige gevolge [nie].*
 'He didn't think of the serious consequences.'

It is more usual for it to be placed at the end of the sentence unless the prepositional phrase is particularly long. It is also possible, although not the most common construction, to insert both scope markers. In the following example the *nie*'s are wrapped around the word they are negating for emphasis, but the scope marker could be placed at the end instead:

- (1807) *Referente moet 'n lesing van nie langer nie as 30 minute voorberei.*
 'Speakers should prepare a talk of no longer than 30 minutes.'

Summary: In all these respects the position of the scope marker with regard to prepositional phrases tallies with that described under 13.2.6.1 and 13.2.6.2: *Ek het nie gedink [-] dat hy kom nie* (with a subordinate clause, see 13.2.6.1), *Ek het nie die boek gelees [-] wat hy aanbeveel het nie* (with a relative clause, see 13.2.6.2), or, less commonly, with the insertion of two scope markers.

13.2.6.4. Subordinate clauses which the scope marker precedes

There are several subordinating conjunctions which, because of semantics, when preceded by a negated main clause, require that the scope marker be placed at the end of the main clause, unlike with other subordinating conjunctions (see 13.2.6.1). (*Al*)*hoewel* 'although' is one such conjunction, e.g.

- (1808) *Ek kon jou nie gesien het nie alhoewel jy voor die boom gestaan het.*
 'I could not have seen you although you were standing in front of the tree.'

Strictly speaking *mits* 'provided that' and *tensy* 'unless' are also conjunctions whose clauses stand semantically outside the scope of the negation of the main clause, but not all speakers necessarily feel this to be the case and negate that clause too incorporating both a negator as well as a scope marker, e.g.

- (1809) *Jy sal geen skade ly nie mits jy jou goed verseker > Jy sal geen skade ly mits jy jou nie goed verseker nie.*
 'You won't suffer any damage if you insure yourself well.'
- (1810) *Jy kan nie goeie dienste lewer nie tensy jou saak in 'n goeie toestand is > Jy kan nie goeie dienste lewer nie tensy jou saak nie in 'n goeie toestand is nie.*
 'You can't render good service unless your business is in good condition.'

Although this concept is particularly prevalent with those two conjunctions, it can occur in conjunction with others too but is always considered non-standard in the written language, e.g.

- (1811) *Jy kan dit nie glo totdat / voordat jy dit **nie** self gesien het nie.*
 'You can't believe it until you've seen it yourself' (see 13.2.6.1.1).

The semantics of *omdat* (because) give one the choice of placing the scope marker before or after the subordinate clause, depending on the meaning, e.g.

- (1812) *Hy kom nie vandag nie omdat hy siek is.*
 'He's not coming today because he's sick' (the reason is given in the subordinate clause and thus the marker precedes it; this is the usual connotation of *omdat*).
- (1813) *Hy kom nie vandag omdat hy siek is nie.*
 'He's not coming today because he's sick' (but because he wants to go fishing, uttered with the appropriate intonation in both Afrikaans and English).

13.2.6.5. Main or subordinate clause plus co-ordinate clause

If a negated main clause is followed by a co-ordinate clause (i.e. one introduced by *en*, *maar*, *of* or *want* with V2 word-order, not SOV as with subordinating conjunctions), the scope marker is placed at the end of the main clause, e.g.

- (1814) *Hy kan nie kom nie want hy is siek.*
 'He won't be coming because he's sick.'
- (1815) *Ek het jou nie gehelp nie maar jy moet my nou asseblief help.*
 'I didn't help you but you must please help me now.'

Where both the main and the co-ordinate clause are negated, each clause contains a scope marker – that of the co-ordinate clause cannot do service for the main clause too, e.g.

- (1816) *Ek sou dit nooit kon bekostig nie maar sou dit ook nooit wou besit nie.*
 'I would never be able to afford it but wouldn't ever want to own it either.'

If a negated subordinate clause is followed by a second subordinate clause connected to the former by a co-ordinating conjunction (i.e. where the second is also still governed by the subordinating conjunction of the first), the scope marker is inserted prior to the co-ordinating conjunction, e.g.

- (1817) *Hy het gesê dat hy nie die mense ken nie en (dat hy) liewers van hulle wegbly.*
 'He said that he doesn't know the people and that he would rather stay away from them.'

13.2.6.6. Main clause plus clause introduced by an adverbial conjunction

If the clause following the negated main clause is introduced by an adverbial conjunction (as evidenced by the inversion of subject and object), the scope marker is placed at the end of the main clause, e.g.

- (1818) *Ek stel nie belang in museums nie, tog gaan ek saam met jou.*
 'I'm not interested in museums, but I'll go with you.'
 (1819) *Ek sal dit nie doen nie al betaal jy my duisend pond.*
 'I won't do it even if you pay me a thousand pounds.'

13.2.6.7. Main clause plus infinitive clause

If the clause following the negated main clause is an infinitive clause (see 9.6), the scope marker is placed at the end of the infinitive clause, e.g.

- (1820) *Dis nie so moeilik om Afrikaans te leer nie.*
 'It isn't so difficult to learn Afrikaans.'

In the following example the infinitive clause, which is connected to a relative clause, is too long to have the marker placed after it and so it precedes it:

- (1821) *Die Amerikaners laat geen geleentheid verbygaan nie om Suid-Afrika by te kom vir die geringste voorval wat maar net ruik na rassisme.*
 'The Americans don't let any opportunity pass to criticise South Africa for the slightest incident that even smacks of racism.'

13.3. Use of the scope marker with the negators *geen/g'n* 'no, not any', *nêrens* 'nowhere', *niemand* 'no-one', *niks* 'nothing', *nooit* 'never'⁵

13.3.1. Use of the scope marker when the negator stands at the end of the sentence

Where negators stand at the end of the sentence, addition of a scope marker is optional, e.g.

- (1822) *Ek weet niks (nie).*
 'I know nothing.'

⁵ The opposites of the last four words are respectively *êrens* 'somewhere', *iemand* 'someone', *iets* 'something' and *ooit* 'ever'; *iewers* is synonymous with *êrens* but its antonym is also *nêrens*.

- (1823) *Hy skryf nooit (nie).*
 'He never writes.'
 (1824) *Ek ken niemand (nie).*
 'I know nobody.'

13.3.2. Use of the scope marker with various colloquial alternative negative forms

Colloquially one hears *niks* being used in the sense of both 'not' (i.e. *nie*) and 'no/not any' (i.e. *geen*, see 13.5) for emphasis, e.g.

- (1825) *Hy het niks verander nie.*
 'He hasn't changed.'
 (1826) *Ek het niks geld nie.*
 'I have no money.'

One also hears *Hy wil g'n niks luister nie*, which is also an emphatic form.⁸ Compare also the following very colloquial double negator:

- (1827) *Jy gaan met hierdie ding g'n nêrens kom nie.*
 'You're not going to get anywhere with this thing.'

Geniemand (= *niemand*) is also very emphatic and colloquial, e.g.

- (1828) *Permissie het hy nog nooit van geniemand gevra nie.*
 'He's never asked anyone for permission.'

Just as *niks* can replace *nie* in colloquial speech, so too can *g'n* in very colloquial, emphatic style, e.g.

- (1829) *Hy is g'n van die Kaap (nie).*
 'He's definitely not from the Cape' (sounds more natural without *nie*).
 (1830) *Hulle ken g'n iets soos rassisme of apartheid nie.*
 'They're definitely not acquainted with anything like racism or apartheid.'

13.3.3. Optional use of the scope marker with *nooit*, *niks*, *niemand* and *nêrens* when the latter are uttered in isolation

If *nooit*, *niks*, *niemand* or *nêrens* are uttered in isolation, i.e. not in the context of a sentence but as a reaction to something just stated, *nie* is optional, e.g.

- (1831) *Gaan jy dit toelaat? Nooit (nie)!*
 'Are you going to allow it?' Never!
 (1832) *Wat het hy jou daarvoor gegee? Niks (nie)!*
 'What did he give you for it? Nothing!'
 (1833) *Waarheen gaan jy? Nêrens (nie)!*
 'Where are you going? Nowhere!'

Compare the following phrases where two *nie*'s are required:

- (1834) *Hoelank het jy daar gebly? Nie lank nie.*
 'How long did you stay there? Not long.'
 (1835) *Duitse motors is duur. Nie noodwendig nie.*
 'German cars are expensive. Not necessarily.'

13.3.4. Position of the scope marker with certain adverbial expressions when these are used in mid-sentence

Certain negative adverbial expressions occurring in the middle of a sentence require the scope marker to be placed after them rather than at the end of the sentence, e.g.

- (1836) *Moeder Natuur het vir nie minder nie as drie beskermende lae gesorg.*
 'Mother Nature has provided for not less than three protective layers.'

The same can be done in the following example for emphasis, but the scope marker can also be placed at the end instead:

- (1837) *Hy het niks anders nie as 'n Mercedes gery.*
 'He never drove anything but a Mercedes.'

13.4. Position of the negator

With all the rules given below for the position of the negator (i.e. 13.4.1–13.4.6), it is assumed there is no extra emphasis being put on any part of the sentence. When that is the case, these rules may be abused, e.g.

- (1838) *Jy mag dit nie sê nie* (the position prescribed under 13.4.1),
 'You're not allowed to say that.'

but

- (1839) *Jy mag nie dit sê nie.*
 'You're not allowed to say that.'

- (1840) *Hy het nie in Kaapstad gewoon nie.*
 'He didn't live in Cape Town' (the position prescribed under 13.4.6)

but

- (1841) *Hy het in Kaapstad nie gewoon nie, maar net gewerk.*
 'He didn't live in Cape Town, but just worked there.'

13.4.1. Position of the negator in a clause containing a pronominal object

The negator (i.e. *nooit* or *nie*)⁶ always follows pronominal objects, whether direct or indirect (i.e. those without a preposition, see 13.4.3), e.g.

- (1842) *Hy ken my nie.*
 'He doesn't know me' (see 13.2).
 (1843) *Hy het my nie gesien nie.*
 'He didn't see me.'
 (1844) *Hy gee my nooit iets nie.*
 'He never gives me anything.'

The only exception to a negator having to follow a pronominal object is in the negative of the imperative when *moenie* is used, but not *moet nie*, e.g.

- (1845) *Moenie hom so behandel nie.*
 = *Moet hom nie so behandel nie.*
 'Don't treat him like that' (see 13.11).

13.4.2. Position of the negator in a clause containing a nominal direct object

A certain freedom exists as to the position of the negator in clauses containing nominal direct objects, e.g.

- (1846) *Ek het nog nooit 'n kar gehad nie* or
Ek het 'n kar nog nooit gehad nie.
 'I've never had a car.'⁷
 (1847) *Ek het nog nie die sleutel gevind nie* or
Ek het die sleutel nog nie gevind nie.
 'I haven't found the key yet.'

Compare *Ek het nie die sleutel nie* where a negator and a scope marker are required and there is no other possible position for the negator; but in such a case where only a definite nominal direct object follows the finite verb, it is possible to use just a negator, which is placed at the end of the sentence (see 13.2), although to include a negator and a scope marker is more usual (see 13.2.2), e.g.

- (1848) *Ek ken daardie man nie.*
 'I don't know that man' (this form is somewhat more emphatic).

⁶ Although theoretically "the negator" here can also refer to *niks*, *niemand* and *nêrens*, in the vast majority of cases one will only face the problem with regard to *nooit* and *nie*, and thus the examples that follow only contain these two negators.

⁷ *Nog* 'still' is commonly used in combination with *nooit*, as in these examples, but is not necessary. As the next example in the above text illustrates, *nog nie* means 'not yet' but nevertheless *nog* is commonly used in collaboration with *nie* even in cases where in English one may not feel compelled to insert 'yet', e.g. *Ek het nog nie geëet nie* 'I haven't eaten (yet)'. The opposite of *nog nooit* is *al ooit*, e.g. *Was jy al ooit in Plett?* 'Have you ever been to Plett?'

13.4.3. Position of the negator in a clause containing an indirect object preceded by *aan* or *vir*

The negator can also stand either before or after indirect objects preceded by *aan* or *vir*, e.g.

- (1849) *Politici gee nooit vir ons waarborge nie / Politici gee vir ons nooit waarborge nie.*
 'Politicians never give us guarantees.'

13.4.4. Position of the negator in a clause containing an adverbial expression

The same choice of word order exists with regard to adverbial expressions of time, e.g.

- (1850) *Ek het nie gister geweet dat hy nie vandag sou kom nie* or
Ek het gister nie geweet dat hy vandag nie sou kom nie (or any
 combination of these two).
 'I didn't know yesterday that he wouldn't be coming today.'

The negator always precedes *altyd* 'always', *dikwels* 'often' and expressions such as *elke jaar / maand / week* 'every year/month/week' all of which have a connotation of repetition, e.g.

- (1851) *Daar is nie altyd 'n watertekort nie.*
 'There's not always water shortage.'
 (1852) *Die mynwerkers gaan nie elke maand huis toe nie.*
 'The miners don't go home every month.'

13.4.5. Position of the negator in a clause containing an adverbial expression of manner

The negator always precedes adverbial expressions of manner, e.g.

- (1853) *Ek gaan nie vandag met die bus nie* or
Ek gaan vandag nie met die bus nie.
 'I'm not going by bus today.'

Here the rule given under 13.4.4 is being applied, i.e. before or after time, and time always precedes manner and place).

13.4.6. Position of the negator in a clause containing an adverbial expression of place

The negator usually precedes adverbial expressions of place, e.g.

- (1854) *Die seun het sy fiets nie in die tuin gelaat nie or
Die seun het nie sy fiets in die tuin gelaat nie.*
'The boy didn't leave his bike in the garden' (for the position before
or after the direct object *fiets* see 13.4.2).
- (1855) *Hy het nooit in dié kamer gerook nie.*
'He never smoked in that room.'

However, there are instances where either the style permits the negator to follow place (e.g. *Hy het in die kamer nooit gerook nie*) or the sense demands it, e.g.

- (1856) *Hy het in Kaapstad nie gelukkig gevoel nie.*
'He didn't feel happy in Cape Town.'

In the following example sense permits only this order:

- (1857) *Hy het nie in Kaapstad gewoon nie.*
'He didn't live in Cape Town.'

13.5. *Geen/g'n* 'no, not a, not any'

Geen and the interchangeable variant *g'n* (pronounced [xin])⁸ translate 'no, not any, not a' as in 'I have no money/I haven't any money/I don't have a car': *Ek het geen (g'n) geld nie, Ek het geen (g'n) kar nie*; but *geen/g'n* is interchangeable with *nie*, e.g. *Ek het nie geld nie, Ek het nie 'n kar nie* (see 13.3.2). Unlike the other negators (see 13.3.1), when only *geen* follows the finite verb, or *geen* is uttered outside a full sentence as a retort (see 13.3.3), it is never followed by *nie*, e.g.

- (1858) *Ek het geen.*
'I have none.'
- (1859) *Hoeveel geld het jy? Geen.*
'How much money have you got? None.'

Just as *nie* can replace *g'n/geen* (see 13.3.2), and is a very common practice, so also *g'n* (not *geen*) can replace a negator *nie*, but this is not as frequent as the reverse, e.g.

- (1860) *Treurnicht repudieer g'n die AWB nie.*
'Treurnicht does not repudiate the AWB' (emphatic).

It is possible for *geen* to occur in a sentence together with another negator, e.g.

- (1861) *Ek kry geen hulp van niemand nie.*
'I don't get any help from anyone.'

⁸ Despite appearances this word can be stressed just as much as the unabbreviated form *geen*. When emphasised it is often pronounced [xan].

Geen van beide nie renders 'neither (of the two)', e.g.

- (1862) *Watter een wil jy hê? Ek het geen van beide nodig nie.*
 'Which one do you want? I need neither (of the two)/I don't need either (of the two).'

(see footnote 10 for another rendition of 'not...either'.)

13.6. *Nie eens/eers* 'not even', *nooit eens/eers* 'never even'

Whereas 'even' is *selfs*, 'not/never even' is rendered by *nie/nooit eens nie* or *nie/nooit eers*, e.g.

- (1863) *Daar is selfs gebiede in Afrika waar 'n jagter nie eens/eers hierdie kaliber op die groot diere mag gebruik nie.*
 'There are even areas in Africa where a hunter may not even use that calibre on the big animals.'
- (1864) *Daar is dele van die bos waar ek nog nooit eens/eers was nie.*
 'There are parts of the forest where I have never even been before.'

Because there are instances where *nie eers* can lead to ambiguity, as it also renders 'not at first', one sometimes finds a puristic preference for *nie eens* but in speech *nie eers* is more common (see Hiemstra 1980: 40).

13.7. *Glad/hoegenaamd nie* 'not/no ... at all'

'Not at all' can be expressed in two ways, e.g.

- (1865) *Johannesburg is glad nie 'n mooi stad nie.*
 'Johannesburg is not at all a pretty city.'
- (1866) *Dit is hoegenaamd nie mooi nie.*
 'It is not pretty at all/not at all pretty.'

Hoegenaamd geen is used with reference to nouns in which case there are two possible word orders:

- (1867) *Daar bestaan geen verband hoegenaamd (or hoegenaamd geen verband) met die ander ding nie.*
 'There's no connection at all with the other thing.'

13.8. *So nie* 'if not', *al dan nie* 'or not', *nie so seer nie* 'not so much'

The expression 'if not' which stands in for a full clause with reference to something just uttered, is rendered by *so nie*, but the Anglicism *indien nie* is also commonly heard, e.g.

- (1868) *Ons moet Swapo uithou. So nie verloor ek alles wat ek het.*
 'We have to keep Swapo out. If not. I'll lose everything I have.'

- (1869) *Gaan dit reent? Indien nie, sal ek moet natlei.*
 'Is it going to rain? If not, I'll have to water.'

Indien wel 'if so' renders the opposite of *so/indien nie*, e.g.

- (1870) *Indien wel, hoef ek nie nat te lei nie.*
 'If so, I won't need to water' (see 13.13 for other uses of *wel*).

'(Whether) or not' can also be rendered literally by *of nie* or, in higher style, by *al dan nie*, e.g.

- (1871) *Mens word gevra om op die vorm aan te dui of jy aan die uitstappie wil deelneem, al dan nie/of nie.*
 'One is asked to indicate on the form whether one wants to take part in the excursion or not.'
- (1872) *Die potensiele probleme draai veral om die verkleining al dan nie van die VV-toesigmag.*
 'The potential problems revolve above all around the reduction or not of the UN observation force.'

'Not so much' is rendered by *nie so seer...nie*, e.g.

- (1873) *Is hy lui? Nee, dis nie soseer dat hy lui is nie, maar hy is onbehulpsaam.*
 'Is he lazy? No, it's not so much that he's lazy, but he is unhelpful.'

(see 'very' under 7.2 for other uses of *seer*.)

13.9. *Eers* 'not until'

'Not until' is not rendered by a negative in Afrikaans but by the adverb *eers* 'only', e.g.

- (1874) *Die Volksraad vergader eers volgende week weer.*
 'Parliament isn't meeting again until next week' (= is meeting only next week).

13.10. *Net nie* 'simply not', *nie net* 'not only/just'

The combination of *net* and *nie* changes semantically depending on the word order, e.g.

- (1875) *Hy wou dit net nie doen nie.*
 'He simply didn't want to do it.'
- (1876) *Hy wou nie net help nie, maar ook alles betaal.*
 'He not only wanted to help (= didn't just want to help), but also wanted to pay for everything.'

13.11. *Moenie/moet* + *nie* in imperatives

The imperative form 'don't' + verb⁹ is rendered by *moet...nie* or *moenie*; the latter contracted form is the more usual but *moet* and *nie* can stand separately, with other (short) words between them, e.g.

- (1877) *Moenie jou bekommer nie / Moet jou nie so bekommer nie.*
'Don't worry' (where *jou* is a reflexive pronoun).
(1878) *Moenie dit vandag doen nie / Moet dit nie vandag doen nie.*
'Don't do it today' (where *dit* is the direct object, see 13.4.1).
(1879) *Moet hom nie vra nie.*
'Don't ask him.'
(1880) *Moet asseblief nie hier parkeer nie / Moenie hier parkeer nie, asseblief.*
'Please don't park here.'
(1881) *Moenie dink jy kan my met jou mooi woorde beïndruk nie en moet ook nie dink jy kan my omkoop nie.*
'Don't think you can impress me with your nice words and don't think you can bribe me either.'¹⁰

Note too *Moenie* 'Don't'. If nothing stands between *moet* and *nie* they are nearly always contracted to *moenie*; separating them is somewhat more emphatic, e.g.

- (1882) *Moet nie langer as tien dae gebruik sonder om u geneesheer te raadpleeg nie.*
'Don't use longer than ten days without consulting your doctor.'

'Don't ever' can be expressed in two ways, e.g.

- (1883) *Moet hom nooit vertrou nie / Moenie hom ooit vertrou nie.*
'Don't ever trust him.'

This separation of *moet* and *nie* is not just limited to imperatives like the above that have no subject pronoun, e.g.

- (1884) *Jy moenie jou dit so aantrek nie / Jy moet jou dit nie so aantrek nie.*
'You mustn't take it to heart.'

A variant of the above is *moenie dat*, meaning 'don't let', e.g.

- (1885) *Moenie dat die kinders verdrink nie.*
= *Moenie die kinders laat verdrink nie.*
'Don't let the children drown.'
(1886) *Moenie dat hy doodgaan nie.*
'Don't let him die.'

⁹ Negative imperatives formed just from *nie*, (e.g. *Nie rook nie* 'Don't smoke', *Gee dit nie vir hom nie* 'Don't give it to him') instead of *moenie* (e.g. *Moenie rook nie*, *Moenie dit vir hom gee nie*) are not used in natural speech and are better avoided in writing too.

¹⁰ This sentence also illustrates how *ook nie* renders 'not...either'; compare *Hy weet ook nie waar ek bly nie* 'He doesn't know either where I live'; more emphatic is *Ook hy weet nie waar ek bly nie*.

- (1887) *Jy moet nou net nie dat jou Engels agteruitgaan nie.*
 'You simply mustn't let your English deteriorate.'

'Don't ever' is rendered by *moet...nooit*, e.g.

- (1888) *Moet hom nooit weer vertrou nie.*
 'Don't ever trust him again.'

13.12. Nie- 'non-' (+ noun)

'Non-' as in 'non-smoker', 'non-native-speaker', 'non-members' etc. is rendered by *nie-*, e.g. *nie-roker*, *nie-moedertaalspreker*, *nie-lede*.

13.13. Use of *wel* to reverse a negative

In answer to a negative question or when contradicting a negative statement, the adverb *wel* is used where in English very often stressed auxiliary verbs are used to render the same effect, e.g.

- (1889) *Jy gaan sekerlik nie vandag vertrek nie? Ek gaan wel vandag vertrek.*
 'Surely you're not going to leave today?' Yes, I am leaving today.'
- (1890) *Ek het nie meer kinders nie, maar mense wat wel het, kan sekerlik huishulp gebruik.*
 'I no longer have any children but people who do, can certainly use household help' (i.e. *wel het* = do have).
- (1891) *As jy nie nou die werk kan doen nie, dan wel miskien oor 'n week*
 'If you can't do the work now, then perhaps you can in a week's time.'
- (1892) *Mense pleeg wèl moord in Rusland.*
 'People do commit suicide in Russia.'

This is the opposite of *Mense pleeg nie moord in Rusland nie*.

See 13.8 for *indien wel*.

13.14. Use of *nè*, *nie waar nie* and *is dit nie*

Where in English one seeks confirmation of something one has just said by adding a negated auxiliary verb, i.e. 'shouldn't he, won't they, isn't it' etc., in speech Afrikaans usually adds *nè* with an interrogative intonation, e.g.

- (1893) *Die mielies is nou al ryp, nè?*
 'The corn is already ripe, isn't it?'

In written style one may see *nie waar nie*, but this is not common in the spoken language.'

See 8.13.8 for the synonymous constructions *Is dit nie?* 'Isn't it?' and *Jy het 'n Toyota, het jy nie?* 'You've got a Toyota, haven't you?'

13.15. Negation in rhetorical questions

A form of negation occurs in exclamatory rhetorical questions after interrogatives which has no parallel in English; insertion of the negative turns the direct question into a rhetorical question, e.g.

- (1894) *Wat 'n wonderlike uitnodiging is dit nie.*
 'What a wonderful invitation!' (see 10.0, note 8).
 (1895) *Hoe ryk moet hulle nie wees nie.*
 'How rich must they be!'
 (1896) *Wat se wêreldbeeld moet hy nie hê om so te dink nie.*
 'What view of the world must he have to think like that!'
 (1897) *Wat vroue nie daardie jare alles gedra het nie.*
 'What women wore in those years!' (see 12.1.7.2 on the lack of inversion in this example).

13.16. Non-negator negatives

There are expressions not dealt with above which, although implying a negative idea, are not regarded as negators in Afrikaans and thus do not require a scope marker.¹¹ To this category belong:

a) the conjunctions *nòg...nòg* 'neither...no' and *sonder* 'without', e.g.

- (1898) *Nòg hy nòg sy pa het die nodige ondervinding om die plaas te bestuur.*
 'Neither he nor his father has the necessary experience to run the farm.'
 (1899) *My dogter het baie laat laas nag tuisgekome sonder dat ek haar gehoor het.*
 'My daughter came home very late last night without me hearing her.'

b) the adverbs *kwalik / nouliks / skaars* 'scarcely', *eers* 'not until' (see 13.9), *min* 'little' (not much), *selde* 'seldom' (= not often), e.g.

- (1900) *Ek het hom selde / skaars gesien.*
 'I've seldom/scarcely seen him.'
 (1901) *Hulle kom eers Maandag terug.*
 'They're not coming back till Monday.'

c) an adverb or adjective negated by the prefix *on-* in a clause does not require a scope marker, e.g.

- (1902) *Dis onmoontlik om uit dié tronk te ontsnap.*
 'It is impossible to escape from that prison.'¹²

¹¹ The use of 'any' after these words in English is an indication that one is dealing with a concept that is closely related to that of negation, e.g. He has neither money nor the desire to earn any, He walked past the beggar without giving him any money, It is impossible to get any money out of him, He seldom/scarcely has any money.

¹² Note the following alternative uses of this adverb with or without a negator + scope marker, despite the fact that the latter are superfluous to the meaning, given that *moontlik* already bears a negative prefix: *Hy kan dit onmoontlik doen / Hy kan dit onmoontlik nie doen nie* 'He can't possibly do it', but not **Hy kan dit onmoontlik doen nie*.

Verniet, meaning 'in vain' or 'for nothing' (with the same ambiguity as the English expression), is not a negator, e.g.

- (1903) *Ek het dit verniet gedoen.*
'I did it for nothing' (no payment or in vain).

Tevergeefs is synonymous with *verniet* in the sense of 'in vain'.

'Not to mention...' can be expressed in two ways, one with a negator and the other without, e.g.

- (1904) *Sulke roekeloosheid het hom byna sy lewe gekos, om nie te praat van die wedstryd nie/wat nog te sê van die wedstryd.*
'Such recklessness nearly cost him his life, not to mention the match.'

13.17. Assimilation of *nie* to preceding consonants

When the verb preceding a negator *nie* ends in a consonant, the *n* of the *nie* is assimilated to that consonant in colloquial Afrikaans, e.g. *Ek weet nie* > *wetie*, *het nie* > *hettie*, *sal nie* > *sallie*, *wil nie* > *willie* etc. (see *moenie* under 13.11 where such a contracted form is also written). Such assimilation of the scope marker also occurs, e.g.

- (1905) *Ek gaan nie wag nie* > *Ek gaan nie waggie.*
'I'm not going to wait.'
(1906) *Dit lyk my nie te erg nie* > *Dit lyk my nie te ergie.*
'It doesn't seem too bad to me.'
(1907) *Dit maak nie saak nie* > *Dit makie sakie.*
'It doesn't matter' (sounds comical).

Suggested reading

Combrink *Afrikaans: its origin and development* p.79–85 in Lanham and Prinsloo (1978). This is a good summary of the workings of double negation and its possible origins.

Waher (1978). This unpublished PhD is the most comprehensive study of the double negative there is.

14. Numerals

'Odd/even numbers' is expressed by (*on*)*ewe getalle*.

14.1. Cardinal numerals (*hooftelwoorde*)¹

<i>nul</i>	'0'	<i>vyf</i>	'5'	<i>tien</i>	'10'	<i>vyftien</i>	'15'
<i>een</i>	'1'	<i>ses</i>	'6'	<i>elf</i>	'11'	<i>sestien</i>	'16'
<i>twee</i>	'2'	<i>sewe</i>	'7'	<i>twaalf</i>	'12'	<i>sewentien</i>	'17'
<i>drie</i>	'3'	<i>agt</i>	'8'	<i>dertien</i>	'13'	<i>agttien</i>	'18'
<i>vier</i>	'4'	<i>nege</i>	'9'	<i>veertien</i>	'14'	<i>negentien</i>	'19'

<i>twintig</i>	'20'	<i>sestig</i>	'60'
<i>dertig</i>	'30'	<i>sewentig</i>	'70'
<i>veertig</i>	'40'	<i>tagtig</i>	'80'
<i>vyftig</i>	'50'	<i>negentig</i>	'90'

Numerals 21–99 are formed from the above as follows:

<i>een-en-twintig</i>	'21'	<i>ses-en-twintig</i>	'26'
<i>twee-en-twintig</i>	'22'	<i>sewe-en-twintig</i>	'27'
<i>drie-en-twintig</i>	'23'	<i>agt-en-twintig</i>	'28'
<i>vier-en-twintig</i>	'24'	<i>nege-en-twintig</i>	'29'
<i>vyf-en-twintig</i>	'25'		

For historical reasons *vier* alternates with *veertien/veertig*, *sewe* with *sewentien/sewentig* and *nege* with *negentien/negentig*.

Dertien and *dertig* are pronounced as if they had a circumflex on the first vowel, i.e. as [ɛ:] (see 1.1.2).

Alternative forms:

Less common variants of *agt* and *agttien* are *ag²* and *agtien*; less common again is *taggentig*.

Nege/negentien/negentig are usually pronounced with [x] but [g] also occurs. The syncopated variants *neëntien/neëntig*, but not **neën³*, are also very common, as is *neën* when used as a cardinal numeral in combination with tens, e.g. *neën-en-twintig* (29).

Hundreds:

(*n*) *honderd* or *eeenhonderd*⁴ '100'

¹ In the spelling of numerals (i.e. whether hyphenated or written as one word) the most usual practice has been adhered to here, but the AWS (p. 77) does not regard the writing of numerals (both cardinal and ordinal) as separate words without hyphens as wrong, i.e. *een en twintig* or *een-en-twintig*, *tweehonderd* or *twee honderd*, *een en twintigste* or *een-en-twintigste*, but only *die tweehonderste/tweehonderdseendertigste keer* is recognised, i.e. when ordinals are used as attributive adjectives.

² Final *t* after certain consonants was apocoped in Afrikaans but in this numeral it has been retained; in *ag* the sound change has been systematically applied.

³ However, *neënde* 'ninth' occurs alongside *negende*.

⁴ The distinction between (*n*) *honderd* and *eeenhonderd* is identical to that in English between 'a hundred' and 'one hundred' and can be applied to any number from 101–199.

(<i>n</i>) <i>honderd-en-een</i> or <i>honderd-en-eeen</i>	'101'
(<i>n</i>) <i>honderd-en-twee</i> or <i>eenhonderd-en-twee</i>	'102'
(<i>n</i>) <i>honderd-en-drie</i> or <i>eenhonderd-en-drie</i> etc.	'103'

The distinction between the two forms is identical to that in English between *a hundred (and one)* and *one hundred (and one)* etc.

1–19 are connected to 100 by means of *en* and a hyphen; this applies to even tens as well, but not to other numerals,⁵ i.e. '*n* *honderd/eenhonderd-en-twintig* but '*n* *honderd/eenhonderd een-en-twintig*, without a hyphen between the hundreds and the tens. All multiples of a hundred are usually written together but can be written as separate words, e.g. *seshonderd* '600', *driehonderd vyf-en-twintig* '325', *vierhonderd-en-sestig* '460'.

In English we sometimes have the following choice: 'What room are you in? In room three-nine-four/three hundred and ninety-four' (possibly more usually the former), but in Afrikaans only the latter is possible, i.e. *Kamer driehonderd vier-en-negentig*.

Thousands:

(*n*) *duisend* or *eenduisend*⁴ 1000

All multiples of a thousand, when written out in full, are written like those for a hundred and *en* is used for 1–19 and the even tens, e.g. *vyfduisend* '5000', *tweeduisend-en-negentien* '2019', *vierduisend-en-veertig* '4040', *drieduisend vyfhonderd twee-en-twintig* '3522'. Nevertheless the AWS (p. 77) recognises the following alternatives: *twee duisend vyfhonderd*, *twee duisend vyf honderd*, *tweeduisendvyfhonderd* '2500'.

As in English, it is common for even hundreds from 1100–1900 to be referred to in two ways, i.e. *elfhonderd* 'eleven hundred', or *eenduisend eenhonderd* 'one thousand one hundred', *veertienhonderd* 'fourteen hundred', or *eenduisend vierhonderd* 'one thousand four hundred' etc. Even hundreds from 2100–9900 follow the British convention, not the American and Dutch one, i.e. *tweeduisend eenhonderd* 'two thousand one hundred, not twenty-two hundred'.

Millions and billions:

'*n* *half miljoen* 'half a million'

'*n* *miljoen* or *eenmiljoen* 'a/one million'⁶

tweemiljoen, *driemiljoen* etc. 'two, three million'

'*n* *miljard* or *eenmiljard*; '*n* *biljoen* or *eenbiljoen* 'a/one billion'

tweemiljard or *tweebiljoen* etc. 'two billion'

e.g. (*n*) *honderd vyf-en-vyftig* 'a hundred and fifty-five', *eenhonderd vyf-en-vyftig* 'one hundred and fifty-five'. Whether one says 'a thousand' or 'one thousand' for the numbers from 1000–1099 is stylistic in Eng, e.g. a/one thousand and eighty-five rand; exactly the same distinction applies in Afrikaans to (*n*) *duisend* and *eenduisend* for numerals from 1000–1099. Note however the following deviation from English practice: '*n* *duisend tweehonderd kinders* where 'one' must be used in English but where in Afrikaans one has the choice of '*n*, *een* or nothing. Use of '*n* before *honderd* and *duisend* is optional, but it must be used before *miljoen* and *miljard*.

⁵ The use of the conjunction *en* here differs markedly from English *and* where it is used with all numerals above 100 in British English, but omitted from those numerals in American English, e.g. British English *three hundred and thirty*, *three hundred and thirty-one*; American English *three hundred-thirty*, *three hundred thirty-one*.

⁶ Large figures are written as 5 450 890 with spaces between the millions, thousands and hundreds, not commas or fullstops (see Temperature, 14.9).

There was a time in the British Empire when one was taught that a British billion was a million million and an American billion was a thousand million. Theoretically the terms *biljoen* and *miljard* apply respectively to those two numbers, but in practice these days in British English we no longer use a billion in its original sense. Thus the official word for 'a thousand million' in Afrikaans is 'n *miljard*, and this is the only term used by the government and the media, but one regularly hears the word *biljoen* being used by the average speaker in the sense of 'n *miljard*. The former British billion is now called a trillion ('n *triljoen*) and 'n *biljoen* is not used officially in Afrikaans.

14.1.1. Derivatives and other uses of cardinal numerals

a) For the pronominal use of *een/ene/enetjie* after adjectives (i.e. *die groot een/ene/enetjie* = *die grote* 'the big one', see 6.3). *Enetjie* is used as a colloquial stylistic variant of pronominal *een*, e.g.

(1908) *Ek het al een/enetjie.*
'I already have one.'

In conversational style one occasionally finds *twee* and *drie* being diminutised too, but not other numerals, e.g.

(1909) *Julle tweetjies/drietjies, kom julle hier.*
'The two/three of you, come here.'

b) *Een* is used adjectivally, in which case it is inflected when it means 'a certain' but is otherwise left uninflected, e.g.

(1910) *Hy het die plaas gekoop van ene P. Burgers.*
'He bought the farm from a certain P. Burgers.'

(1911) *Sy een wang is seer.*
'One of his cheeks is sore.'

(1912) *Hulle een dogter woon in Pretoria (= een van hulle dogters).*
'One of their daughters lives in Pretoria.'

(1913) *Die een wil dit doen, die ander dat.*
'One wants to do this, the other that.'

(1914) *Hy het die een sigaret na die ander geroek.*
'He smoked one cigarette after another.'

(1915) *Die een oomblik staan ek en kyk en die volgende oomblik word ek saamgesleep.*
'One moment I was standing there looking and the next I was being dragged along.'

c) Expressions involving a numeral and a plural personal pronoun are rendered as follows in Afrikaans, e.g.

(1916) *Daar was twee van ons/hulle. Ons/hulle twee het kerk toe gegaan.*
'There were two of us/them. (The) two of us/them went to church.'

d) Cardinal numerals belong to one of the categories of words that can be reduplicated in Afrikaans, e.g.

(1917) *Die kleintjies het twee-twee die saal in gemarsjeer.*
 'The little ones marched into the hall in pairs' (see 15.7.1.4).

e) *Honderde mense* 'hundreds of people', *honderde der honderde mense*⁷ 'hundreds and hundreds of people', *Die mense kom in hul honderde / in hul honderdtalle* 'The people are coming in their hundreds'.

Duisende kinders 'thousands of children', *tienduisende rande* 'tens of thousands of rand', (*duisende*) *derduisende mense* 'thousands and thousands of people', *Hulle het by die duisende gekom* 'They came by the thousands'.

Miljoene mense 'millions of people', *miljoene der miljoene mense* 'millions and millions of people', *biljoene mense* 'billions of people'.

f) *Dubbel* 'double', *trippel* 'triple' (only used with phone numbers, see 14.6), *driedubbel* 'threefold, treble', e.g.

(1918) *Hierdie tou is driedubbel die sterkte van die ander een.*
 'This rope is treble the strength of the other one.'

Verdubbel 'to double', *verdrievoudig / verviervoudig* etc. 'to treble/quadruple' etc.

g) Street numbers should follow the street name, e.g. *Rissikrylaan 23* '23 Rissik Drive'. It is not uncommon to hear or see them being placed before the street name but this is generally regarded as an unacceptable Anglicism.

h) Flat numbers should follow the name of the block of flats whereas they precede it in English, e.g. *Die Eike 6* '6 The Oaks'.

i) The abbreviation for *nommer* is *nr.* or *no.*

j) The word *tal* (number) occurs in various common compounds, e.g. *'n vyftal / tiental mense* 'about five/ten people', *'n tiental jare* 'about ten years, ten years or so', *'n vyftiental* 'about fifteen, a rugby team', *tientalle gevalle* 'dozens of cases'. Also *tal van / talle immigrante* 'many migrants'.

k) See 3.1.1.8 for constructions of the type *al dertien die mans* 'all thirteen men'.

14.2. Ordinal numerals (*rangtelwoorde*)

<i>eerste</i>	1st	<i>sesde</i>	6th
<i>tweede</i>	2nd	<i>sewende</i>	7th
<i>derde</i>	3rd	<i>agtste</i>	8th
<i>vierde</i>	4th	<i>negende</i>	9th
<i>vyfde</i>	fifth	<i>tiende</i>	10th

⁷ Note that with *honderd* and *miljoen*, *honderde* and *miljoene* must precede *der honderde / der miljoene* (written as two words) whereas it is not necessary with *derduisende* (written as one word). Note too its use with *jare*, e.g. *Sy siekte het jare der jare aangehou* 'His illness lasted for years and years'.

<i>elfde</i>	11th	<i>sestiende</i>	16th
<i>twaalfde</i>	12th	<i>seventiende</i>	17th
<i>dertiende</i>	13th	<i>agttiende</i>	18th
<i>veertiende</i>	14th	<i>negentiende</i>	19th
<i>vyftiende</i>	15th	<i>twintigste</i>	20th
<i>een-en-twintigste</i>	21st	<i>sestigste</i>	60th
<i>twee-en-twintigste</i>	22nd	<i>sewentigste</i>	70th
<i>drie-en-twintigste</i>	23rd	<i>tagtigste</i>	80th
<i>dertigste</i>	30th	<i>negentigste</i>	90th
<i>veertigste</i>	40th	<i>honderdste</i>	100th
<i>vyftigste</i>	50th		
<i>honderd-en-eerste</i>	101st		
<i>honderd-en-tweede</i>	102nd		
<i>honderd-en-derde</i>	103rd		
<i>honderd-en-twintigste</i>	120th		
<i>honderd-een-en-twintigste</i>	121st		
<i>honderd-twee-en-twintigste</i>	122nd		
<i>duisendste</i>	1000th		
<i>duisend-en-eerste</i>	1001st		
<i>duisend-en-tweede</i>	1002nd		
<i>duisend-en-dertigste</i>	1030th		
<i>duisend-een-en-dertigste</i>	1031st		
<i>miljoenste</i>	millionth		

Inclusion or omission of *en* in the ordinals over 100th corresponds with where it is used with cardinal numerals (see footnote 5).

See footnote 1 for comments on the omission or inclusion of hyphens.

The historical *n* that returns in the cardinals *seventien* (< *sewe*) and *negentien* (*nege*), also returns in the ordinals *sewende* and *negende*.

The following alternative forms of the ordinals exist where there are similar alternative forms of the cardinals: *agste*, *agtiende*, *neënde*, *neëntiende*, *neëntigste*, although the cardinal **neën* does not occur.

The abbreviations corresponding to English '1st, 2nd, 3rd, 4th' etc. are *1ste*, *2de*, *3de*, *4de*, *8ste*, *20ste*, *21ste*, *100ste* etc. according to the ending on the ordinals above. With reference to dates, however, the abbreviation is omitted, e.g. *13 Maart 1989* (*die dertiende Maart 1989*).

14.2.1. Derivatives and other uses of ordinal numerals

a) 'Firstly, secondly, thirdly, lastly' is *eerstens*, *tweedens*, *derdens* and *laastens*. Alternative forms are *ten eerste*, *ten tweede*, *ten derde*, *ten laaste*. 'Fourthly' and beyond can only be expressed by *ten vierde* etc. Just as in English one can say here *in die eerste / tweede / derde plek* etc. 'in the first/second/third place' etc.

b) *Die eerste die beste* 'the first to come along', e.g.

- (1919) *Ons het die eerste die beste vliegtuig Oos-Londen toe gevat.*
 'We took the first plane we could to East London.'

c) *Die heel eerste / laaste* 'the very first/last'.

d) *Eersgenoemde* and *laasgenoemde* render 'the former' and 'the latter' and are used without the definite article.

e) As an adverb meaning '(at) first', *eers* is used, e.g.

- (1920) *Wat gaan jy eers doen.*

'What are you going to do first?'

- (1921) *Ek het eers nie geweet wat hy gaan doen nie.*

'At first I didn't know what he was going to do.'

Eerste is also possible in the first example, but not in the second.

f) 'The second biggest/best' etc. is usually *die tweede grootste / beste* or less commonly *die naasgrootste / naasbeste*. 'The third/fourth biggest' etc. is *die derde / vierde grootste*. It is also possible, although less usual, to express this as follows:

- (1922) *Dit was op een / twee / drie na die grootste ontploffing.*

'It was the second/third/fourth largest explosion' (i.e. with the exception of one/two/three).

g) 'Every third tree' etc. is *elke derde boom*, as in English, but with expressions involving periods of time there is an alternative: *elke tweede / derde week = al om die ander / derde week* 'every second/third week'.

h) These days it is not uncommon for streets to be named '13th Street' etc. in South Africa. These are either written *13de Straat* or *Veertiende Laan* '14th Avenue' without a hyphen.

i) Note *hoeveelste* 'how many' and *soveelste* 'umpteenth',⁸ e.g.

- (1923) *Jou hoeveelste koppie tee is dit?*

'How many cups of tea have you had?'

- (1924) *Vir die soveelste keer, hou op om dit te doen.*

'For the umpteenth time, stop doing that.'

j) 'World War I / II' can only be expressed as *die Eerste / Tweede Wêreldoorlog*. Note too that 'the Boer War' is referred to officially as *die Tweede Vryheids-oorlog* (also *die [Anglo-]Boereoorlog*), a reference to there having been a previous one, *die Eerste Vryheidsoorlog*, between Britain and the Transvaal in 1880–81.

k) Expressions like 'He came second/ended third' etc. in sport are rendered in exactly the same way in Afrikaans, e.g.

- (1925) *Hy het tweede gekom / derde geëindig.*

⁸ These words are also used with reference to dates (see 14.7).

14.3. Fractions

The adjective *half* is normally inflected when used attributively, e.g. *'n halwe lemoen* 'half an orange', but *'n halfuur* 'half an hour' and *'n half/halwe kilo* 'half a kilo'. In combination with cardinals it usually remains uninflected but the inflected form is found, e.g. *tien en 'n half ure/weke/maande/jare* 'ten and a half hours/weeks/months/years'. 'One and a half hours/weeks/months/years'⁹ is more usually expressed as *'n uur/week/maand/jaar en 'n half* rather than *een en 'n half uur* etc. In higher style there is an alternative to both the above in which the adjectival inflection is optional, e.g. *'n program van anderhalf/anderhalwe uur* 'a programme of one and a half hours'. (Note that the noun stays in the singular in these constructions.)

Although traditional grammar demands that *helfte* 'half' (noun)¹⁰ be used with the definite article, the article is often omitted in cases where it is not used in English, e.g.

- (1926) *Hy het (die) helfte van sy lewe in Sjina gewoon.*
'He lived in China half his life.'
(1927) *Gee my (die) helfte van jou appel.*
'Give me half your apple.'
(1928) *Gee my (die) helfte.*
'Give me half.'

Also *helfte-helfte* 'half and half' (= *vyftig-vyftig* 'fifty-fifty') (see 3.1.1.8).

A 'quarter' is *'n kwart*, but quarters of the moon and 'a quarter of an hour' (see 14.5) are rendered by *kwartier*. *'n Kwartaal*, is 'a quarter of a year', e.g.

- (1929) *Die Volksblad kos omtrent R50 'n/per kwartaal.*
'The Volksblad costs about R50 a quarter.'

'n/een agtste, twee agstes etc. 'an/one eighth, two eighths'
'n/een derde, twee derdes etc. 'a/one third, two thirds'
driekwart 'three quarters'

The decimal point is officially expressed by a *komma* in Afrikaans but one regularly hears *punt*, e.g. 7,5 or 7.5 – *sewe komma vyf* or *sewe punt vyf*.

14.4. Arithmetic

$5 + 2 = 7$	<i>vyf plus twee is sewe / is gelyk aan sewe</i>
$4 - 2 = 2$	<i>vier minus twee is twee</i>
$5 \times 2 = 10$	<i>vyf maal twee is tien (= times)</i>
$4 \times 2 = 8$	<i>vier vermenigvuldig met twee is vier (= multiplied by)</i>
$4 \div 2 = 2$	<i>vier gedeel deur twee is twee</i>

⁹ As in English, however, it is more usual to talk of *agttien maande* 'eighteen months'.

¹⁰ There is also a much less common synonymous variant *halfte*.

14.5. Telling the time

Afrikaans does not normally use the twenty-four hour clock except in timetables and the like.

- (1930) *Hoe laat is dit?*
'What time is it?'
(1931) *Dit is eenuur/twee-uur/drie-uur/vieruur/vyfuur/sesuur/sewe-
uur/agtuur/nege-uur/tienuur/elfuur/taalfuur.*
'It is one o'clock etc.'

Note that these times are written as one word and that those ending in a vowel are hyphenated. As in English the word *uur* can be omitted in speech, i.e.

- (1932) *Ek sien jou vieruur.*
'I'll see you at four (o'clock).'

The word *minuut* is only used in those few cases where it is also mentioned in English, e.g.

- (1933) *Dit is vyf (minute) voor/oor een.*
'It's five (minutes) to/past one.'
(1934) *Dit is vyf-en-twintig voor/oor drie.*
'It's twenty-five to/past three.'
(1935) *Dit is kwart voor/oor een.*
'It is a quarter to/past one.'

On the half hour one looks forward to the hour ahead.¹¹ Note therefore that the Americanism 'half seven' (i.e. half past seven) is *halfagt* in Afrikaans.

- (1936) *Dit is halfeen/halftwee/halfdrie etc.*
'It is half past twelve/one/two.'

These times are always written as one word. It is also possible to say 'six-thirty' etc., e.g.

- (1937) *Ek kom jou ses dertig se kant haal.*
'I'll come and get you at about six-thirty.'

14.5.1. Expressions relating to time

uur 'hour', *minuut* 'minute', *sekonde* 'second'.

In addition to rendering 'o'clock', *uur* also means 'hour', in which meaning it is not put in the plural when preceded by a numeral, e.g.

¹¹ Although this practice follows Dutch practice, Afrikaans speakers do not use the forms **tien/vyf voor half een* and **tien/vyf na half een* for 'twenty/twenty-five past' and 'twenty/twenty-five to' as that language does.

- (1938) *Ek het twee uur vir jou gewag.*
'I waited for you for two hours.'

Compare *twee-uur* 'two o'clock' above where the time is written as one word. It is pluralised in all other cases, e.g.

- (1939) *Ek het ure / urelank vir jou gestaan en wag.*
'I stood waiting for you for hours.'

Minuut and *sekonde* are pluralised wherever they are in English, e.g. *vyf minute, drie sekondes*.

Although *kwart* is used to render 'a quarter to/past' when telling the time, *kwartier* means 'a quarter of an hour', e.g.

- (1940) *Ek het 'n kwartier / drie kwartier ('n driekwartuur) vir jou gewag.*
'I waited for you for a quarter of an hour/three quarters of an hour.'

but

- (1941) *Ek het 'n uur en 'n kwart gewag.*
'I waited for an hour and a quarter.'

Compare *'n uur en 'n half* 'an hour and a half' (see 14.3).

eenuur / halfsewe 'at one o'clock/half past six' ('at' not translated)

sesuur presies / presies sesuur 'at exactly six o'clock'

sesuur stiptelik 'at exactly six o'clock'

(Dis) op die kop sesuur '(It is) on the dot of six.'

Dit is skuins na / oor agt 'It's just after eight.'

betyds 'on time'

Dis byna-byna halfagt 'It's almost half past seven.'

'At about...' can be expressed in several ways: *ongeveer sesuur, omstreeks sesuur, (so) teen sesuur, teen sesuur se kant* 'at about six o'clock'.

'Am' and 'pm':

The abbreviations 'am' and 'pm' are rendered by *vm.* (< *voormiddag*) and *nm.* (*namiddag*) but it is exceedingly formal to say, for example, *vieruur namiddag* 'at four pm'; more natural would be *twee-uur (in) die oggend* 'at two in the morning', *vieruur (in) die middag* 'at four in the afternoon', *agtuur (in) die aand* 'at eight in the evening', but it is most likely that one would simply say, for example

- (1942) *Hierdie program sal môreoggend tienuur herhaal word.*
'This programme will be repeated tomorrow at ten am' (= tomorrow morning at ten).

The above expressions with *in* more commonly omit the preposition; without *in* they can also precede the time, e.g.

- (1943) *Hy kom die oggend tienuur aan.*
'He's arriving at ten in the morning' (see 12.6.1).

It is formal to use the preposition *om* to render 'at' with time, e.g. *om tienuur* 'at ten o'clock'.

The words *soggens/smôrens* 'in the morning', *smiddags/smiddae* 'in the afternoon', *saans* 'in the evening', *snags* 'at night' are used when referring to repeated occurrences, e.g.

- (1944) *Ons drink tienuur soggens koffie.*
'We have coffee at ten in the morning' (i.e. every morning).

The above (*in*) *die oggend* etc. are also used in this sense.

14.6. Telephone numbers

Telephone numbers are read out cipher by cipher as in English, i.e. *drie sewe ses agt drie nege een* '376-8391'. *Dubbel* and *trippel* are used as in English, e.g. *nul dubbel een drie dubbel sewe trippel agt nege* '011-377 8889'. Seven digit phone numbers in South Africa are written with a space after the first three numbers, as in the previous example, and six digit numbers are written 56 8967. The 'area code' is called the *streekkode*.

14.7. Dates (see 7.3 for the names of the days and months)

(in) die jare sestig, (in) die sestigerjare, in die sestigs '(in) the sixties'
in die vroeë(also vroeg)/laat sestigs/sestigerjare 'in the early/late sixties'
in die vroeë agttienhonderds 'in the early eighteen hundreds'
begin/einde sestigerjare 'at the beginning/end of the sixties'
in die middel-sestigs/in die middel jare sestig/in die middel sestigerjare 'in the mid-sixties'

(op) die sestiende Desember/op sestien Desember 'on Dec. 16th'

(op) die sestiende '(on) the sixteenth'

Watter dag/die hoeveelste is dit vandag? 'What's the date today?'

Wat is die datum vandag/Wat is vandag se datum? 'What's the date today?'

Watter dag/die hoeveelste het jy gekom? 'What day did you come?'

Hy kom die soveelste Mei terug 'He's coming back on the what's it of May.'

One writes *13 Maart 1988* but says *die dertiende Maart negentien tagtig*. No abbreviation of the ordinal is used (compare *13th March 1988*) and it is usual, as it is in English, to omit the word *honderd*. Dates are abbreviated as in England, not as in America, i.e. '30/1/90'.

14.8. Age

Wanneer is jy gebore? Ek is op die 26ste Oktober negentien ses-en-sestig gebore
'When were you born? I was born on the 26th of October, 1966.'

Sy is twintig (jaar oud) 'She is twenty (years old).'

Ek is (maar) net tien 'I am only ten.'

Hy is in die twintig / in sy twintigerjare / in sy twintigs 'He is in his twenties.'
in sy vroeë / laat twintigs (less commonly also *vroeë*) 'in his early/late twenties'
Hy vat aan sy veertigs 'He's touching on forty.'
Hy is oor / onder die vyftig 'He is over/under 50.'
Sy staan dertig se kant toe 'She's approaching 30.'
Hy is diep in die twintig 'He's well into his twenties.'
'n ses jaar oud / oue seun 'a six-year-old boy'
'n sesjarige (seun) 'a six-year-old (boy)'
'n tienerjarige 'a teenager'
'n middeljarige vrou 'a middle-aged woman'
Op twaalf was sy beeldskoon 'At twelve years of age she was gorgeous.'
op die leeftyd / ouderdom van 14 'at the age of 14'
op 14-jarige leeftyd (not ouderdom) 'at 14 years of age'
Sy is in die ouderdom van 65 oorlede 'She died at the age of 65.'
 See expressions referring to age with *op* under 11.1.

14.9. Currency and measurement¹²

South Africa decimalised in the course of the 1960s. Although decimalisation has been a complete success, one stills hears references to the old imperial measures and of course they regularly occur in texts written prior to the 1960s or in recent novels etc. set in that time.

14.9.1. Money

Till the 1960s South Africa had pounds, shillings and pence – *pond* (never pluralised), *sjielings*, *pennies*; these were abbreviated as follows: £10 – *tien pond*, 3s – *drie sjielings*, 6d – *ses pennies*; as a complete sum one wrote £10-3-6 or £10/3/6, said *drie pond drie en ses*. 5/6 was said as *vyf sjielings en ses* or *vyf en ses*. 'n *Tiekie* was the name of the threepenny coin and is still heard in the English loanword *tiekieboks* 'telephone box' (more commonly *telefoonhokkie* these days). *Sikspens* was also used in Afrikaans. 'n *Riksdalder* was equivalent to one shilling and sixpence, 'n *halfkroon* to two shillings and sixpence and 'n *kroon* to five shillings.

These days the currency is called the *rand*, which is divided into 100 *sent*. The abbreviation for the rand is a capital R, e.g. *Dit kos R10*. With reference to currency, decimal points are used as in English, e.g. *R2.80 (twee rand tagtig)*; although the word *rand* can be omitted when saying such a price, it is more common to insert it.

¹² Common to many of the measures in this chapter is the fact that they are not pluralised when preceded by a numeral, but are in all other cases. This applies to all the following words: *sent, rand; liter; hektaar; meter, kilometer, myl; gram, kilogram, ton*. It also applies to the following units of time: *uur, jaar, keer, maal*, but not *maand, minuut, sekonde* and *week* which are always pluralised. The only exception to this rule is when a particular emphasis is applied to the quantity, length of time etc. in which case an adjective or adverb usually accompanies the unit of measure, e.g. *Ons het tien lange jare daar gebly* 'We lived there for ten long years'. In addition, when all the above nouns are preceded by an indefinite quantifier, they are pluralised, e.g. *duisende kilometers* 'thousands of kilometres', *etlike / baie / 'n paar jare gelede* (some/many/a few years ago).

'n *tienrandnoot* 'a ten rand note'

'n *twintigsentstuk* 'a twenty cent coin'

vyftien rand vyftig se vleis 'fifteen rand fifty's worth of meat' (see 4.4)

Rand and *sent* have in common with other measures the fact that they are not pluralised after numerals but are in other cases, e.g. *een miljoen rand* 'one million rand', but *miljoene rande* 'millions of rand';

(1945) *Hierdie waatlemoene kos net drie rand sestig (sent) elk / (per) stuk.*
'These watermelons cost only three rand sixty (cents) each.'

(1946) *Skyfies kos 50 sent 'n pakkie.*
'Chips cost 50 cents a pack.'

but

(1947) *Wat moet ek met al die sente doen?*
'What should I do with all these one and two cent coins?'

The same applies to other currencies,¹³ e.g. *tien dollar* 'ten dollars', *drie gulden* 'three guilders'.

14.9.2. Temperature

Temperature is measured in centigrade, e.g. 1°C – *een graad Celsius*, $14,5^{\circ}\text{C}$ – *veertien komma vyf grade Celcius*.¹⁴ *Onder vriespunt* 'below zero/freezing', *net bo vriespunt* 'just above freezing' (see weather report, text 5 in appendix 1).

14.9.3. Liquid measurement

Before decimalisation liquids were measured in pints and gallons (i.e. an imperial gallon of ± 4.5 litres), i.e. *pint* and *gelling*. These days they are measured in litres; the Afrikaans word *liter*, like *pint* and *gelling* previously, is not pluralised after a numeral but is in other cases,¹⁴ e.g. *drie liter melk* 'three litres of milk', *Hulle drink liters en liters bier* 'They drink litres and litres of beer'.

14.9.4. Distance and length

Distances and length were formerly measured in inches (*duim*), feet (*voet*), yards (*jaart, tree*)¹⁵ and miles (*myl*). These imperial terms are still heard from time to time, particularly *duim*, *voet* and *myl*, but *sentimeter*, *meter* and *kilometer*

¹³ Nevertheless, due to English influence one commonly hears such currencies in the plural, e.g. *50 Pfennigs* (Germany), *20 kwachas* (Zambia).

¹⁴ All percentages are expressed with a comma, not a point, e.g. *vyf-en-twintig komma drie percent* '25,3%' (see final paragraph of 14.3).

¹⁵ *Jaart* was used for material but *tree* for distance.

are the most usual terms. All these words have in common that they were/are not pluralised after numerals,³⁶ e.g.

- (1948) *Dis om en by vyftien honderd kilometer van Kaapstad na Johannesburg.*
'It is about fifteen hundred kilometres from Cape Town to Johannesburg.'

Note

- (1949) *Hoeveel uur se ry is dit na Pofadder?*
'How many hours' drive it is to Pofadder?'

14.9.5. Height

Height is measured in metres, e.g.

- (1950) *Ek is een meter tagtig lank.*
'I am one metre eighty tall.'
(1951) *Dié boom is dertig meter hoog.*
'That tree is thirty metres tall.'

Only with reference to people do *lank / lengte* 'long/length' translate 'tall'; otherwise *hoog / hoogte* 'high/height' are used. Whereas decimalisation of personal weight has been totally successful, personal height is still sometimes expressed in imperial *voet* 'feet' and *duim* 'inches', e.g.

- (1952) *Sy is vyf voet ses (lank).*
'She is five foot six.'

As in English, *duim* is omitted, just as *sentimeter* is, when fractions of a foot/metre are mentioned.

14.9.6. Speed

Speed is measured as in English, e.g.

- (1953) *Hy het 'n honderd-en-twintig kilometer per uur gedoen.*
'He was doing 1230 kilometres an hour.'

The use of the indefinite article in English in the previous example is not paralleled in Afrikaans in that case but is in the following instances:

- (1954) *Petrol kos 99 sent 'n liter.*
'Petrol costs 99 cents a liter.'
(1955) *Biltong het toe net R10 'n kilo.*
'Biltong then cost only R10 a kilo.'

³⁶ Nevertheless, under the influence of English one commonly hears a plural *s* on *meter*, *kilometer*, *liter* etc.

14.9.7. Petrol consumption

Petrol consumption is expressed as follows:

- (1956) *Hoe swaar is jou kar op petrol? Ek doen agt op 'n honderd.*
 'What's your car like on petrol? I get eight litres to a hundred kilometres'
 (formerly expressed as *35 myl per gelling*).

14.9.8. Square and cubic measurement

tien vierkante kilometer 'ten square kilometres'

vyf kubieke meter 'five cubic metres'

vier by drie (meter) 'four by three (metres)'

Land size, although officially measured in *hektaar*, is still very commonly referred to by the old measure of morgens, i.e. *morg* (100 square yards, or 1 hectare = 1.6 morgen), and less commonly by acres, i.e. *akker*. Unlike all other measures dealt with in this chapter, the plural form *morge* is possible after numerals, e.g.

- (1957) *My oom het 'n plaas van 50 morg /morge in die Kaap.*
 'My uncle has a farm of fifty morgen in the Cape.'

14.9.9. Weight

People formerly measured their weight in imperial pounds (454 grams), e.g.

- (1958) *Hy het minder as 'n honderd pond geweeg.*
 'He weighed less than 100 pounds'.¹⁷

'Stones', as used in other parts of the British Empire, were not used. Produce was measured in pounds and ounces (*ons*). These measures have been totally replaced by *gram* and *kilo(gram)*; *ton*, which previously designated an imperial ton, now stands for a tonne (1000 kilos). Officially none of these measures are used in the plural after numerals but *kilos* is commonly heard, although *s* is never added to *kilogram* after numerals, e.g.

- (1959) *Koop asseblief 10 kilo /kilos /kilogram aartappels vir my.*
 'Please buy me 10 kilos of potatoes.'
 (1960) *Hy het 'n vyf ton vragwa gekoop.*
 'He's bought a five-tonne truck.'

Note that although the adjective *half* normally inflects before the noun (see 6.1.2.2), *'n halfkilo* (one word, compare *'n halfuur*) occurs alongside *'n halwe kilo*.

¹⁷ Note: *gewig aansit/optel, gewig verloor* 'to put on weight/lose weight', whereas *afval* can only be used in combination with a measure, e.g. *Ek het 5 kilogram afgeval/verloor* 'I've lost 5 kilos'.

14.10. School marks

At school and university marks are given in percentage terms, e.g.

(1961) *Ek het sestig persent vir wiskunde gekry.*
'I got 60% for maths.'

Letter grades are also often awarded at university and matriculation level but behind such grades lie percentage marks.

14.11. School class levels

The first two years of primary school (*laerskool*) are called either *sub-A/graad 1* or *sub-B/graad 2* respectively, depending on the province. Thereafter one enters *standerd een*. *Standerds 1–5* are primary and *standerds 6–10* are secondary (*hoërskool*), standard 10 also being called *matriek*.

15. Word formation

This chapter consists of a description of the main processes behind word formation in Afrikaans. Word formation is difficult to formulate prescriptive rules for that the non-native can actively apply. Generally speaking it is only possible to make the non-native aware of the various processes that exist, and then it is up to him or her to observe them being put into practice by native speakers, and copy accordingly.

Although Dutch, and therefore Afrikaans, has been receptive over the ages to many foreign borrowings, particularly from French, as nothing comparable to the Norman invasion of Britain ever occurred in the Low Countries, the amount of non-Germanic vocabulary in Dutch/Afrikaans is far less than is the case in English. Afrikaans, more so than English, has applied compounding and derivation to expand its vocabulary. The potential to compound is infinite, whereas the possibilities to derive are numerous, but finite, e.g. *sag* 'soft', *sagte* 'soft' (inflected form), *sagkens/saggies* 'softly' (the two forms supplied by a different Dutch dialects), *sagtheid* 'softness', *versag* 'to soften', *versagting* 'softening', *versagtende omstandighede* 'mitigating circumstances'; *een* 'one', *enig* 'only', *verenig* 'to unite', *vereniging* 'union, association'.

15.1. Vestiges of historical structures in word formation

As the forms *sagte* and *sagtheid*, derived from *sag* (< Dutch *zacht*), in the previous paragraph illustrate, many an issue of derivation and compounding in Afrikaans requires a knowledge of the original situation as it is/was in Dutch to be completely understood. The average native-speaker does not have this knowledge, nor does the non-native-speaker require it, but it often offers the explanation for apparent discrepancies and/or exceptions in word formation. For example:

nuut 'new' (uninflected form), *nuwe* 'new' (inflected form), *vernuwing* 'renovation', *nuus* 'news', *Nieu-Seeland* 'New Zealand', *hernu/hernieu* 'to renew' – all derivatives of Dutch *nieuw*.

wen 'to win', *herwin* 'to regain', *oorwin* 'to victor', *wins* 'profit', *winsgewend(heid)* 'profitable/-ability', *opwen* 'to excite', *opwindend* 'exciting', *opwinding* 'excitement' – all derivatives of Dutch *winnen* 'to win'.

dink 'to think', *denke* 'thinking' (noun), *denkende* 'thinking' (present participle), *denker* 'thinker' – all derivatives of Dutch *denken* 'to think'.

skip 'ship', *skeepvaart* 'shipping', *skepie* 'little ship', *verskeep* 'to ship' – all derivatives of Dutch *schip*.

As Afrikaans is still to a degree in the process of being standardised, the AWS (p. 12) permits many dual forms of words (called *wisselvorme*), the origins of which are often to be found in the various Dutch dialects that contributed to the formation of Afrikaans, e.g. *negende/neënde* 'ninth', *vernieu/vernu/vernuwe* 'to renew'. Sometimes *wisselvorme* alternate in different words without being alternatives, e.g. *aarde* 'earth', *aardrykskunde* 'geography', *arbeid* 'strawberry', *aartappel/ertappel* 'potato', *erdewerk* 'earthenware', *erdvark* 'aardvark' (the Dutch form of the word).

15.1.1. Syncope of intervocalic *d*, *g* and *w*

Where *d*, *g* and *w* (written *v* in Dutch) occurred intervocalically after long vowels and diphthongs and prior to [ə] in Dutch, they were syncopated in Afrikaans, or *d* was vocalised to *i* (pronounced [j] intervocalically); often the word has become monosyllabic in Afrikaans as the [ə] has been apocopated, for example:

medial *d*: *dood* / *dooi* 'dead' (inflected/uninflected), *dodelik* 'deadly', *dodehuis* 'mortuary'; *goed* / *goeie* 'good' (inflected/uninflected), *goedheid* 'goodness', *goeters*¹ 'goods'; *raad* 'advice', *raai* 'to guess', *rate*¹ 'remedy'; *uittree* 'to resign', *uittredende* 'resigning'; *mee* 'with', *mededingend* 'competitive' (see 6.1.2.1).

medial *g*: *lê* 'to lie/lay', *voor die hand liggende* 'obvious', *vaslê* 'to fix', *vaslegging* 'fixing'; *sê* 'to say', *niksseggend* 'meaningless', *seggenskap* 'say' (noun); *bedrag* 'amount', *ten bedrae van* 'for the amount of', *betoog* 'argument', *betoë* 'arguments', *betoging* 'demonstration', *betoger* 'demonstrator' (see 6.1.2.3).

medial *w*: *bly* 'to remain', *'n blywende vriendskap* 'a lasting friendship'; *gee* 'to give', *vergewe* 'to forgive', *gegewe* 'detail', *gewende* 'giving'; *bo* 'above', *bo-op* 'on top of', *boonop* 'in addition', *te bowe kom* 'to get on top of (figurative)', *bowendien* 'what is more', *bowe(n)al* 'above all', *jou verstand te bowe gaan* 'to be beyond one's comprehension'.

Only in the case of *hê* 'to have' (< Dutch *hebben*) has intervocalic *b* been syncopated, e.g. *gesaghebbende* 'authoritative'.

As many of the above examples illustrate, non-syncopated forms and therefore the forms that are found in standard written Dutch too, tend to belong to higher registers.

15.1.2. Apocope of final *d* and *t*

Historically final *d* (pronounced [t]) and *t* were apocopated in Afrikaans but return in derivatives where they are no longer occur word finally, e.g. *bewus* 'conscious', *bewustheid* 'consciousness'; *verslaaf* 'addicted', *verslaafdheid* 'addiction'; *vervreem(d)* 'to estrange', *vervreemding* 'estrangement'; *beskaaf(d)* 'civilised', *beskaaf(d)heid* 'civilisation'; *aankla* 'to accuse' (< Dutch *aanklagen*), *aangekla* 'accused' (verb), *aangeklaagde(s)* 'accused' (inflected adjective/noun); *aanheg* 'to attach' (< Dutch *aanhechten*), *aangeheg* 'attached' (verb), *aangehegte(s)* 'accused' (inflected adjective/noun).

15.1.3. Apocope of final *n* in the combination *-en*

Because a final *n* following [ə] was/is dropped in speech in western Dutch, but not in writing, Afrikaans neither pronounces nor writes it, but in contexts where it did not occur word finally in Dutch, it is still present in Afrikaans, for example:

¹ This alternation of *d* and *t* intervocalically where Dutch had/has only *d*, is apparently also the result of a colloquial tendency in South Africa.

binne 'inside', *binnenshuis* 'indoors'; *buite* 'outside', *buiteland* 'abroad', *buiten*² 'except for', *buitendien* 'what is more', *buitengewoon* 'extraordinary'; *oë* 'eyes', *oënskynlik* 'apparently'; *eie* 'own', *eiendom* 'property'; *tevrede* 'satisfied', *tevredenheid* 'satisfaction'; *oop* 'open', *ope* 'open' (inflected), *openlik* 'openly', *openlikheid* 'openness'; *omstrede* 'contentious', *omstredenheid* 'contention'; *verlate* 'deserted', *verlatenheid* 'desolation'; *wete* 'knowledge', *wetenskaplik* 'scientific'; *aangehoudene(s)* 'detainee(s)' < *aangehou* 'detained', *oorledene(s)* 'deceased' (noun) < *oorlede* 'dead', both derived from historically strong past participles (see 6.4.2).

15.1.4. Remnants of case in word formation

Although Dutch, like Afrikaans, is a language in which the distinction between the nominative, accusative, genitive and dative cases has died out,³ many remnants of case inflection have been preserved in standard expressions, many of them belonging to higher style.

Historically in Dutch prepositions took the dative case and therefore many vestiges of this case are to be found in nominal and adjectival endings and the form of the definite article⁴ in standard expressions, for example:

op heter daad 'red-handed', *in lewende lywe* 'in the flesh', *van ganser harte* 'whole-heartedly', *byderhand* 'at hand', *in der waarheid* 'actually', *te goeder trou* 'in good faith', *ter afsluiting van hierdie bulletin* 'to end this bulletin', *ter sprake kom* 'to come up' (in conversation), *mettertyd* 'in the course of time', *ten slotte* 'at last', *hier te lande* 'in this country', *te velde trek* 'to fight against', *ten alle tye* 'at all times', *ten volle* 'fully', *ten seerste* 'very much'.

Remnants of the genitive case, i.e. *des* as an article and a final *s* on nouns and adjectives, are even less common than those of the dative, for example:

myns/syns/onses insiens 'in my/his/our opinion', *tot vervelens toe* 'ad nauseum', *desnoods* 'if need be', *destyds* 'at that time', *desnieteenstaande* 'notwithstanding', *smiddags/smiddae* 'in the afternoon', *blootsvoet(s)* 'bare-footed', *goedsmoeds* 'cheerfully'.

The medial *s* inserted in many Afrikaans compound nouns is a genitive in origin but is also no longer perceived as such, e.g. *werkswinkel* 'workshop' (see 15.2.1.1).

² In *buiten* the *n* is word final but as this word belongs to higher style, it has been preserved in its historical form; one might categorise such forms as learned hollandisms. In *buiteland* the *n* is not reinstated to preserve its relationship to *buiten*, *buiten* now being regarded as a separate lexical item from *buite*.

³ In Afrikaans a distinction is now only made between the subject and object forms of personal pronouns, and even then only in the singular (see 5.1).

⁴ I.e. *te + der > ter* (or occasionally *der*, dative feminine), *te + den > ten* (dative masculine/neuter).

15.2. Formation of nouns

15.2.1. Compound nouns

The rule for compounding nouns is much simpler in Afrikaans than English. Where in English we are forever plagued by whether compound nouns like 'fire hose' and 'footpath' are written as one word, two words or hyphenated, such words in Afrikaans should definitely be written as one word (see use of hyphens under 2.7). But this rule often seems to be more observed in the abuse than the observation if one is guided by what one sees in advertisements, on labels, public signs etc., e.g. *lemmetjie geur* 'lime flavouring', *water verwarming spesialis* 'water heating specialist'. It seems likely that the influence of English is playing a role here. Nevertheless, one is advised as a general rule, that however long the compound is, it should be written as one word, e.g. *kleuterskoolonderwyseres* 'kindergarten school teacher', *lugdiensbesprekingskantoor* 'airline booking office', *suurlemoenskuimtert* 'lemon delicious pudding'.

Afrikaans often compounds two nouns where English uses an adjective + noun, e.g. *omgewingsbewaring* 'environmental conservation'.

15.2.1.1. Medial sounds in nominal compounds

The most difficult aspect of compounding nouns in Afrikaans is knowing when a medial sound is required. In the examples given in the preceding paragraph, both *lugdiensbesprekingskantoor* and *omgewingsbewaring* require an *s* for the compound to sound right. This *s* has nothing to do with plurality; historically there is a connection between it and the genitive *s* (see 15.1.4), but this does not help explain where it is and isn't required in a given compound, nor is use of the *s* consistent in certain words, e.g. *oorlog(s)museum* 'war museum', *verjaar(s)dag* 'birthday' and several compounds in *werk(s)*, whereas *badskamer* 'bathroom' for example, is considered non-standard. There can sometimes be a difference in meaning, but this is rare, e.g. *waternood* 'shortage of water', *watersnood* 'flood'.

The only reasonably firm rule that can be given for the use of *s* is that it is always used when the first element of a compound ends in *-heid*, *-ing*, *-skap* or *-teit*,⁵ e.g. *besigheidsman* 'businessman', *afdelingswinkel* 'department store', *leierskapskwessie* 'leadership issue', *universiteitsbiblioteek* 'university library'.

Use of a medial *s* after these nominal endings also extends to adjectives and adverbs formed from these nouns, e.g. *bewaringsgesind* 'conservationist', *formaliteitshalwe* 'for formality's sake'.

In all other cases use of a medial *s* has to be learnt word by word, e.g. *ampsdraer* 'office-bearer', *arbeidsmark* 'employment market', *beroepsveiligheid* 'occupational safety', *broekspyp* 'trouser leg', *gebruiksreëls* 'instructions', *Groepsgebiedewet* 'Group Areas Act', *Heilsleër* 'Salvation Army', *knoopsgat* 'button hole', *liefdesbrief* 'love letter', *lykswa* 'hearse', *vredesplan* 'peace plan'.

⁵ The number of exceptions to this are so few in number (e.g. *belastingbetaler* 'tax payer', *kennisgewingbord* 'notice board', *tweerigtingverkeer* 'two-way traffic') that one can take this rule as being almost 100% water-tight.

As a general rule one can say that if a given noun is followed by *s* in one compound, it will require it in all nouns it is compounded with, e.g. *stadsluwe* 'city life', *stadsmuur* 'city wall', *stadsvaad* 'city council'; *verkeersongeluk* 'traffic accident', *verkeersligte* 'traffic lights', *verkeersknoop* 'traffic jam', *verkeersreëls* 'traffic rules'.⁶ If the second element of the compound begins with *s*, no medial *s* is required, e.g. *omgewingsake* 'environmental affairs', *stadssaal* 'town hall'.

Nouns that historically ended in *t* but whose *t* was apocopated and yet returns in the plural because it is no longer in final position, do not regain their *t* when compounded, e.g. *gevegsgebied* 'battle area' (< *geveg/gevegte*), *subjeksvorm* 'subject form' (< *subjek/subjekte*).⁷

Many compound nouns require a medial *e*. Although it is not by any means always obvious from the English equivalents, this *e* commonly conveys an idea of plurality, which is not the case with medial *s*, e.g. *dieretuin* 'zoo', *katteboerdery* 'cat farm', *menseregte* 'human rights', *ossewa* 'oxwagon', *resepteboek* 'recipe book', *sakelui* 'businessmen', *studentelewe* 'student life', *vroueklere*⁸ 'women's clothes', *vrugteslaai/-sap* 'fruit salad/juice', *wolkekrabber* 'skyscraper'. It is always possible to find examples where no idea of plurality is present, e.g. *boeresin* 'farming family', *pannekoek* 'pancake', *sonneblom* 'sunflower'.

As with medial *s*, it is likely that if a certain noun requires a medial *e* in one compound, it will require it in all, but once again it is impossible to be categorical, e.g. *tandeborsel* 'toothbrush', *tandepasta* 'toothpaste', *tandestoker* 'toothpick'; *miereter/mierevreter* 'anteater', *miereplaag* 'plague of ants', *mier(e)gif* 'ant poison', *mierdoder* 'ant killer', and even *mier(s)hoop* 'anthill'. Nor is it possible to assume that because one particular compound requires an *e*, a like meaning one will too, e.g. *vyeboom* 'fig tree' but *pruimboom* 'plum tree'; compare also *perdevleis* 'horse meat' but *skaapvleis* 'mutton' and *kalfsvleis* 'veal'.

Connected with the fact that some nouns take *-ers* or *-ns* in the plural (see 4.1.4–5), *-er* and *-ns* may be inserted when such nouns form the first element of a compound, e.g. *kinderbiblioteek* 'children's library' (< *kind*), *lammeroes* 'a season's lambs' (< *lam*), but *lamsvleis* 'lamb'; *etenstyd* 'meal time' (< *ete*), *lewensversekering* 'life insurance' (< *lewe*), *gewetensbesware* 'conscientious objections' (< *gewete*), *nooiensvan* 'maiden name' (< *nooi*), *vertrouensverhouding* 'relationship of trust' (< *vertroue*). This practice is not limited to nouns, e.g. *lewensgevaarlik* 'perilous'.

In just a few words *-en* is inserted, e.g. *waenhuis* 'coach-house', *koppenent* 'head-end', *voetenent* 'foot-end'.

⁶ But there are exceptions to this, e.g. *werksure* 'working hours', *werkswinkel* 'work shop', *werkswaek* 'working week', *werksomstandighede* 'working conditions', but *werkgever* 'employer'; *sonopkoms* 'sunrise', *sonsondergang* 'sunset', *sonbril* 'sunglasses', although one could maintain that the first two examples contain a genitive (i.e. of the sun), which is not the case with the last example.

⁷ But the *t* does return in derivatives, e.g. *verkramptheid* 'narrow-mindedness', *bevolkingsdigtheid* 'population density'.

⁸ But *vrouemens* 'female, woman', *mansmens* 'male, man'.

15.2.2. Derived nouns

Many abstract nouns are formed from the endings *-heid*, *-nis*, *-skap*, and *-te*. Etymologically these endings correspond to the English endings ‘-hood’, ‘-ness’, ‘-ship’ and ‘-th’, but not always in use, e.g. *geselligheid* ‘cosiness’, *apartheid* ‘separateness’, *gebeurtenis* ‘happening’, *vriendskap* ‘friendship’, *broederskap* ‘brotherhood’, *donkerte* ‘darkness’, *groente* ‘vegetable(s)’, *lengte* ‘length’, *stille* ‘stillness’. *-Heid* is a productive ending, unlike the others, and is only added to adjectives. The ending *-te*, too, although no longer really productive, is only added to adjectives; *jammerte* ‘a shame, pity’ and *hongerte* ‘hunger’, a less common variant of *honger*, illustrate, for example, as does *hongerder* (hungrier, see 6.13.b), that the nouns *jammer* and *honger* can act as adjectives.

15.2.2.1. Nouns derived from verbs

Nouns formed from verbs by the addition of *-ery* which are stressed on the final syllable are normal lexical items which can be found in a dictionary: *bakkery* ‘bakery’, *kwekery* ‘nursery’, *skildery* ‘painting’, *stoetery* ‘studfarm’. But there are many more such nouns which indicate the action of the verb and which, unlike the former, are not necessarily listed in a dictionary as this form of derivation is still productive. These are distinguished from the former by taking the stress on the verbal stem: *snorkery* ‘snoring’, *vloekery* ‘swearing’.⁹ What is more, the nominal form of these and many other verbs can be formed in two other ways too, i.e. *ge* + verb, or *ge* + verb + *ery*, e.g. *gesnork/gesnorkery*, *gevloek/gevloekery*. These forms commonly have a negative connotation, emphasising that the action is prolonged and an inconvenience, e.g.

- (1962) *Dis ’n gedurige geskoonmakery.*
‘It is one never-ending clean-up.’
- (1963) *Al hierdie rokery van jou moet end kry.*
‘All this smoking of yours has to stop.’

Because of the productivity involved here, such forms often sound quite colloquial. They are commonly compounded with nouns, in effect the object of the verb concerned, e.g. *borsslanery* ‘chest beating’, *gomsnuiwery* ‘glue sniffing’, *moddergooiery* ‘mud-slinging’, *vleisbraaiery* ‘barbecuing’. They can also be formed from adverbial complements of the verb, e.g. *tekereganery* ‘being in a flat spin’, *Hy het moeg geraak vir al die hof-toe-ganery* ‘He got fed up continually going to court’. Addition of the prefix to the forms compounded with a noun is less usual than without, but nevertheless possible, e.g. *gemoddergooiery*.

The infinitive can be used as a noun to denote the nominal form of an action where in English the gerund in ‘-ing’ is used, e.g. *kook* ‘cooking’, *skryf* ‘writing’ (see 8.16.2). But Afrikaans also has the productive ending *-ing* which

⁹ Note that the the phonology of the nouns *boerdery* ‘farming’ and *toordery* ‘magic’, for example, requires a medial *d* before the vowel of the suffix, but not *makelary* ‘broking’ (< *makelaar* ‘broker’). Compare *(on)partydig* ‘(im)partial’, (< *party*), *lekkerder* ‘nicer’ (< *lekker*, see 6.6.1.vi) (see also second paragraph of 15.2.2.2).

is used to nominalise verbs, e.g. *bemarking* 'marketing', *beplanning* 'planning'. Its use in Afrikaans does not by any means always correspond with the use of the gerund in English, e.g. *besoedeling* 'pollution', *oefening* 'exercise', *ontwikkeling* 'development'. Many such nouns are formed from verbs complete with their adjectival/adverbial complements, e.g. *bekendstelling* 'introduction', *inhegtenisneming* 'arrest', *totstandkoming* 'coming into being'.

A limited number of nouns derived from verbs preserve the historical infinitive in *-e* (< Dutch *-en*), e.g. *die optrede van die veiligheidsmagte* 'the action of the security forces', *die strewe na perfeksie* 'the striving/quest for perfection'.

15.2.2.2. Nomina agentis derived from verbs

The most common way of deriving the 'doer' of a verb is by adding *-er* to the verb, as in English, e.g. *draf/drawwer* 'to jog/jogger', *lees/leser* 'to read/reader', *skryf/skrywer* 'to write/author', *verpleeg/verpleër* 'to nurse/(male) nurse'. Many such forms have separate feminine forms, usually derived by adding *-ster* to the verb, but not always, e.g. *skryfster* and *verpleegster*, but *leseres* (see 4.3).

Verbs that end in *r* require the insertion of a *d* between the verb and the *-er* ending in such derivatives, e.g. *bevelvoerder* 'commander', *koördineerder* 'coordinator', *organiseerder* 'organiser', *verloorder* 'loser' (see footnote 9 for another similar case).

15.2.2.3. Nouns formed from verbal participles

Adjectives derived from past and present participles can be used nominally, e.g. 'n *verkrampte* 'a narrow-minded person', *die insittende* 'the passenger' (see 6.4 and 8.17 respectively for the formation of these parts of speech).

15.2.3. Nominalisation of adjectives (see 6.3)

15.2.4. Derivatives of the names of towns, regions and countries

It is difficult to generalise about how the name of the inhabitant of a given town, region or country is derived, e.g. *Durban* > *Durbaniet*, *Kaapstad* > *Kapenaar*, *Pretoria* > *Pretorianer*, *Upington* > *Upingtonner*; *Australië* > *Australiër*, *Italië* > *Italianer*, *Roemenië* > *Roemeen*.

Generally speaking geographical areas ending in 'ia' in English end in *-ië* in Afrikaans (inhabitant in *-iër*), with the corresponding adjective ending in *-ies*, e.g. *Indonesië(r)*/*Indonesies*, *Tasmanië(r)*/*Tasmanies*. But a few countries in 'ia' end in *-ye* and not all those ending in *-ië* end in 'ia' in English, e.g. *Bulgarye*, *Italië*.

The reader is referred to the lists of proper nouns under 4.5.2–3.

15.2.5. Diminutisation of nouns

The rules for the diminutisation of nouns are dealt with under 4.2.

15.3. Formation of adjectives

The following adjectival endings occur in Afrikaans. Some are of foreign origin and are only found suffixed to loanwords (see 2.9). Where these endings have close equivalents in English, the English forms are given in brackets. The distribution of the respective endings is however different in the two languages. With the exception of a couple of endings (indicated below), they are no longer productive.

<i>aal</i> ('-al')	<i>rojaal, spesiaal</i>
<i>aan</i>	<i>momentaan</i>
<i>agtig</i> ('-like')	<i>bergagtig</i> (prod., see 1.10.1.1.3)
<i>baar</i> ('-able/-ible')	<i>eetbaar, onafwendbaar, onuitvoerbaar</i> (prod.)
<i>eel</i> ('-al')	<i>kontroversieel, universeel</i>
<i>end</i> ('-ing')	<i>beskrywend</i> (see 8.17 and 15.3.2)
<i>ent</i>	<i>pertinent</i>
<i>êr</i>	<i>militêr, sekondêr</i>
<i>esk</i>	<i>grotesk</i>
<i>eus</i>	<i>kurieus, majestueus</i>
<i>iaans</i> ('-ian')	<i>Freudiaans, Victoriaans</i> (prod.) ¹⁰
<i>ief</i> ('-ive')	<i>aktief, effektief</i>
<i>iek</i> ('-ical')	<i>kritiek</i>
<i>ies</i> ('-ic[al]')	<i>entoesiasties, sinies</i>
<i>ig</i>	<i>stadig, tweemotorig, vinnig</i> (see note below)
<i>lik / elik</i> ('-ly')	<i>aanvanklik, afhanklik, oorspronklik</i> (see 15.4)
<i>loos /eloos</i> ('-less')	<i>ouerloos, vrugteloo, werkloos</i> (prod.)
<i>rig / erig</i>	<i>korrelrig</i> (prod., see note below)
<i>ryk</i>	<i>kleurryk, luisterryk, verbeeldingryk</i>
<i>s</i>	<i>boers, platvloers</i> (see note below)
<i>saam</i>	<i>lanksaam, voedsaam</i>
<i>vry</i> ('-free')	<i>roesvry, sukkelvry</i> (prod.)

The ending *-ig* is employed in many adjectival compounds derived from nouns, e.g. *-kleurig*, *-kundig*, *-matig*, *-waardig* etc. They are listed under 1.10.1.1.3 because they also have repercussions for the stress of words derived from them. In many cases further nouns can be derived from these adjectives, e.g. from the names of sciences which end in *-kunde* (lit. 'knowledge'): *sielkunde* 'psychology', *sielkundig* 'psychological', *sielkundige* 'psychologist', *sielkundiges* 'psychologists'; *padwaardigheid* 'roadworthiness'.

Some of these *-ig* derivatives are still somewhat productive, e.g. *-kleurig* 'coloured', *appelkooskleurig* 'apricot (coloured)'; *-vormig* 'shaped', *ovaalvormig* 'oval (shaped)', *-talig* 'speaking', *Afrikaanstalig* 'Afrikaans-speaking' (can be

¹⁰ But note *Elisabethaans*, without an *i*.

suffixed to any language), *Afrikaanstalige(s)* 'Afrikaans-speaking person(s)'. But generally speaking these endings are applied to a given set of words which have become lexicalised, and several of them are limited to one or two words, e.g. *langdradig* 'long-winded'. *Waardig* 'worthy', apart from being suffixed to nouns, e.g. *padwaardig* 'road-worthy', is also added in a few cases to verbs, which require the infix *-ens-*, e.g. *bejammerenswaardig* 'pitiable', *betreurenswaardig* 'regrettable'.

The ending *-(e)rig*, which is still productive in the colloquial language, usually has a negative connotation, e.g. *dromerig* 'dreamy', *geselserig* 'chatty', *krummelrig* 'crumb(ly)', *reënerig* 'rainy', *wankelrig* 'wonky', 'n *spandabelrige program van openbare werke* 'a wasteful programme of public works'. When added to existing adjectives it often renders the colloquial English ending '-ish', e.g. *dommerig* 'dumbish', *groenerig* 'greenish', *laterig een middag* 'latish one afternoon', 'n *groot ouerige swart Chrysler* 'a big oldish black Chrysler'.

The addition of *-s* to the name of a town renders the corresponding adjective, e.g. *Johannesburgs* as in *die Johannesburgse Stadsraad* 'the Johannesburg City Council' (see final paragraph of 4.5.3.2.3.1).

15.3.1. Adjectives derived from historically weak and strong past participles (see 6.4.1 and 6.4.2)

Adjectives formed from weak past participles as described under 6.4.1 can be compounded with nouns and adjectives/adverbs as they can be in English, but in Afrikaans they are always written as one word, e.g. *diepgewortel(de)* 'deep-rooted', *eers-/laasgenoem(de)* 'former/latter', *handgeborduur(de)* 'hand embroidered', *lugversorg(de)* 'airconditioned', *die nuutgestigte DP* 'the newly founded DP', *rekenaarbeheerde* 'computer controlled', *selferken(de)* 'self-confessed', 'n *traanbedekte gesig* 'a tear covered face', *tuisgemaak(te)* 'homemade', *witgekalkte huisie* 'white-washed house', *die KP-beheerde stadsraad van Boksburg* 'the CP controlled Boksburg city council'. The *-de* and *-te* in square brackets are the inflected and/or nominalised forms of these adjectives.

With many historically weak verbs with a past participle that historical ending in *d*, a distinction is now made between the past participle used as an adjective (which still ends in *d*, although this is often optional) and the past participle used as a verb (which never ends in *d*), e.g. *Die honde is verwilderd* 'The dogs are bewildered', *Ek het die honde verwilder* 'I chased the dogs away'; *verveeld wees* 'to be bored', *jou verveel* 'to get bored' (see footnote 24 under 6.4.1).

15.3.2. Adjectives derived from present participles (see 8.17)

As explained under 8.17, the present participle is formed by adding *-end(e)* to the verb, sometimes involving the return of apocopated sounds¹¹ (see 15.1),

¹¹ There is great inconsistency as to whether a verb ending in *g* after a long vowel or diphthong has its *g* syncopated (see 15.1.1) when it finds itself in intervocalic position after the suffixing of *-end*, e.g. *knaag/knaend* 'to gnaw/gnawing', *swyg/swygend* 'to be

e.g. *praat/pratend* 'to talk/talking', *wag/wagtend* 'to wait/waiting'. Such forms are used almost exclusively as adjectives in Afrikaans, seldom retaining verbal qualities (see 8.17 for exceptions). Not all such forms necessarily correspond to the present participle in English, e.g. *beskrywend* 'descriptive', *skeppende kunste* 'creative arts', *verslawend* 'addictive'.

As with the past participles described under 15.3.1, present participles can also be compounded with nouns and adverbs to form new adjectives (see 1.10.1.1.5), e.g. *angsaanjaend* 'frightening', *asemrowend* 'breath taking', *gesaghebbend* 'authoritative', *hardwerkend* 'hard working', *wetgewend* 'legislative', *nimmereindigend* 'never-ending', *in die hoërliggende Natalse binneland* 'in the higher lying hinterland of Natal', *'n Olienhoutboom met sy kenmerkende spreidende kroon is 'n pragtige plant* 'A wild olive tree with its characteristic spreading crown is a lovely plant'.

15.3.3. Compound adjectives

Afrikaans has a large number of compound adjectives where the first element acts as an intensifier of the second, compare 'brand new', 'snow white', e.g. *peperduur* 'very expensive', *piepklein* 'very small' (see 6.8 for a long list of such formations).

15.4. Formation of adverbs

As stated under 7.1, it is not usual for the adverbial form of an adjective to be derived from that adjective by the addition of an ending, as is the case in English, e.g. both 'quick' and 'quickly' = *vinnig*, and both 'good' and 'well' (an irregular adverbial form) = *goed*. Therefore many of the adjectival formations described under 15.3–15.3.2 can be used just as much adverbially as adjectivally. Nevertheless there are a few endings which have a specifically adverbial function when added to other parts of speech. They are *-(ge)wys(e)*, *-halwe*, *-lik*, *-lings*, *-weg*, and *-s*.

1) *-(ge)wys(e)* means 'in a certain way', e.g. *groepsgewys(e)* 'in groups', *bietjiesgewys* 'bit by bit', see 15.7.1.3), *stapsgewys* 'in stages', *stuksgewys* 'piece by piece, one by one' (see 15.7.1.3), *roetinegewys* 'as a routine', *Kosbaarhede moet itemsgewys op hierdie vorm aangegee word* 'Valuables must be declared item for item on this form'; *redelikerwys(e)* 'within reason'.

2) *-halwe*, meaning literally 'for the sake of, for -'s sake', is even more widely used than those expressions in English, e.g. *formaliteitshalwe* 'for the sake of formality', *gerieflikheidshalwe* 'for convenience's sake', *interessantheidshalwe* 'out of interest', *volledigheidshalwe* 'for the sake of completeness'.

3) *-lik*, unlike the other endings, is not primarily an adverbial ending, but an
 silent/not talking', *uitdaag/uitdagend* 'to challenge/challenging', *vra/vraende* 'to ask/asking', but *vraenderwys* or *vragenderwys* 'questioningly'.

adjectival one (see 15.3), but it is added to just a few adjectives to give a specifically adverbial form, e.g. *gewoon* 'ordinary, usual' > *gewoonlik* 'usually', *oop* 'open' > *openlik* 'openly', *(on)bewus* '(un)aware, (un)conscious' > *(on)bewustelik* '(un)consciously', *sekerlik* 'certainly', *verkeerd* 'wrong' > *verkeerdelik* 'wrongly, mistakenly', *wettig* 'legal' > *wettiglik* 'legally', e.g. *Die vakbonde is die enigste plek waar swart aspirasies wettiglik geduld is* 'The trade unions are the only place where black aspirations are legally tolerated'. There are many adjectives which end in *-lik*, whether used adverbially or not (compare 'friendly' and 'lovely' in English), e.g. *Dit is maklik* 'This is easy', *Hy het dit maklik gedoen* 'He did it easily'.

Note that roots ending in *d* take *-elik*, rather than *-lik*, but this ending occurs in other isolated cases too, e.g. *dodelik* 'fatal', *hopelik* 'hopefully', *vry(e)lik* 'freely'.

A few adverbs in *-lik* are not derived from adjectives, but from verbs, e.g. *onderskeidelik* 'respectively', *verkieklik* 'preferably'.

4) *-(e)lings* is not a common ending, e.g. *blindelings* 'blindly', *ylings* 'hastily'.

5) *-weg* is the most productive of these adverbial endings. It is not easy to prescribe where Afrikaans speakers feel the necessity to adverbialise an adjective by the addition of this ending rather than using the adjective itself, e.g. *gewoonweg* 'simply', *koelweg* 'coolly', *kortweg* 'in short', *normaalweg* 'normally', *vaagweg* 'vaguely', ..., *het hy droogweg opgemerk* '..., he remarked dryly', *My hand bewe ligweg (= liggies)* 'My hand is trembling slightly', *Die rook het luiweg (= luiurig) uit die skoorsteen getrek* 'The smoke rose lazily out of the chimney'; also *gaandeweg* 'little by little'.

6) *-s* is both an adjectival (see 15.3) and an adverbial ending, the two functions always being clear from the nature of the word it is added to, e.g. *onverhoeds* 'unawares', *onverwags* 'unexpectedly', *tevergeefs* 'in vain'.

In the case of a handful of adverbs, which are already adverbs without the addition of *-s*, the ending is optional and is more common in speech than formal writing, e.g. *liewers* 'rather', *meteens* 'immediately', *orals* 'everywhere', *veels te duur* 'much too expensive'.

There is a limited number of adverbs ending in *-liks*, e.g. *kortliks* 'briefly', *nouliks* 'scarcely', *woordeliks* 'verbatim'; *Dis grootliks die produk van die massamedia* 'It's largely the product of the mass media'. *Daagliks/daeliks* 'daily', *jaarliks* 'annually', *maandeliks* 'monthly' and *weekliks* 'weekly', like their English equivalents, are used in turn as adjectives.

There are quite a large number of adverbs formed from a diminutised form of the adjective plus *s*, e.g. *fyntjies* 'finely', *liefies glimlag* 'to smile sweetly', *liggies* 'lightly', *Dit reën saggies* 'It's raining softly', *skelmpies* 'on the sly', *stilletjies* 'quietly' (see 4.2.6.b). Semantically these forms do not differ greatly from the root adjective/adverb from which they are derived. *Netjies* 'nicely, neatly' can in turn be used as an attributive adjective, e.g. *'n netjiese hemp* 'a nice shirt'.

In colloquial Afrikaans the following adverbs in *-s* are often heard to take a further ending, *-te(r)*: *anderste(r)* 'otherwise', *iewerste(r)* 'somewhere', *liewerste(r)* 'rather', *oralste(r)* 'everywhere'. In the case of *liewers* even the *s* is somewhat colloquial.

15.4.1. Adverbs formed from a compound of a preposition and a noun

There are a number of adverbial expressions formed by compounding (but always hyphenated) a preposition with a noun, e.g. *uit-aseem* 'out of breath', *bek-af* 'fed-up', *end-uit* 'in the end', *oop-oë/toe-oë* 'with open/closed eyes'.

15.5. Formation of verbs

15.5.1. Compound verbs

Verbs are compounded by the addition of prepositional, adjectival-adverbial or nominal prefixes which can be separable (see 8.15.1) or inseparable (see 8.15.2). Although analogous to a degree to what one sees in English 'to come on, to come in, to become, overcome' etc., the practice is much more common in Afrikaans and has been a very important means of expanding the vocabulary of the language by utilising indigenous words, e.g. *kom* 'to come': *aankom* 'to arrive', *afkom* 'to come down', *agterkom* 'to find out', *binnekom* 'to come inside', *byeenkom* 'to gather', *bykom* 'to come to', *deurkom* 'to get through', *inkom* 'to come in', *nakom* 'to follow', *omkom* 'to die, come around', *ooreenkom* 'to come to an agreement', *oorkom* 'to happen, come over', *oorkom* 'to overcome', *opkom* 'to come up, rise', *regkom* 'to come right', *saamkom* 'to come along', *teen-/teëkom* 'to come across', *toekom* 'to fall to', *tuiskom* 'to come home', *tussenkom* 'to intervene', *uitkom* 'to come out', *voorkom* 'to occur', *voorkom* 'to prevent'. Such formations are dealt with in detail in the chapter on verbs (see the sections referred to above).

15.5.2. Derived verbs

New verbs are derived from existing verbs by the addition of a limited series of unstressed, inseparable prefixes, namely *be-*, *er-*, *ge-*, *her-*, *ont-*, *ver-*. Such formations are dealt with in detail in the chapter on verbs (see 8.15.2.3).

15.5.2.1. Verbs in *-eer*

There are many verbs in Afrikaans derived from French or classical roots. All such verbs end in *-eer* (< French verbal ending *-er*), which is stressed, e.g. *assosieer* 'to associate', *deponeer* 'to deposit', *organiseer* 'to organise'. Because of the resemblance between such loanwords, most of which have been passed down to Afrikaans from Dutch, and their cognates in English, there is a strong, but usually erroneous, belief among speakers of Afrikaans that these words are Anglicisms and should therefore be avoided. In such cases they are replaced by indigenous synonyms. But the ending has become so much a part of the language that it has even been used to derive verbs from indigenous roots, although this is a very limited practice, e.g. *halveer* 'to halve', *waardeer* 'to appreciate'.

15.6. Derivatives of numerals (see 14.1.1 and 14.2.1)

15.7. Reduplication

Adjectives, adverbs, nouns, numerals and verbs can be reduplicated. Many such reduplications have become lexicalised and can thus be found in dictionaries, but some applications of the construction are productive and thus one will meet reduplications from time to time which are not to be found in reference works. Although they can be formed from all the above parts of speech, the reduplicated forms themselves function only as adverbs and verbs, most usually as the former. Although verbs can be reduplicated to produce adverbs, only reduplicated verbs can function as verbs. Reduplicated nouns can also give rise to new nouns, but this only occurs in the names of certain children's games.

15.7.1. Adverbs formed from reduplicated forms

15.7.1.1. Adverbs formed from reduplicated adjectives-adverbs

As mentioned under 15.4 adjectives can function as adverbs in Afrikaans without any distinction in form being made. When an adjective-adverb is reduplicated, it can only function as an adverb, never as an adjective. Where such forms have been lexicalised, they have a connotation that the simplex does not have, e.g.

- (1964) *Hulle het vroeg-vroeg aangekom.*
'They arrived very early' (= very).

But often the reduplicated form of such an adverb has not been lexicalised, but is used productively; in such cases it does not render a new meaning, but is used for narrative effect, e.g.

- (1965) *Sy goedige oë het my blou-blou deur sy bril aangekyk.*
'His kind eyes looked at me bluely through his glasses.'
- (1966) *Sy ma is een nag stil-stil in haar slaap aan haar hart dood.*
'One night his mother quietly passed away from a heart attack in her sleep.'
- (1967) *Mank-mank sukkel ek verder.*
'I battle on limpingly.'
- (1968) *Daar is 'n waaier wat skeef-skeef aan sy stram stingel swaai.*
'There is a fan rotating unevenly on its rigid mount.'

The only comparable structure in English is the solitary expression 'softly softly'.

As these reduplicated forms are a means of adverbialising adjectives, they are synonymous, and occasionally interchangeable, with adverbial diminutive formations in *-ies* (see 15.4, note 6), e.g.

- (1969) *Sy het my skelm-skelm briefies gestuur (= skelmpies).*
 'She sent me notes on the sly.'

But these adverbial forms can themselves be reduplicated, e.g.

- (1970) *Sy swaar growwe hande het so liggies-liggies oor haar vel beweeg.*
 'His heavy, course hands moved lightly over her skin.'

15.7.1.2. Adverbs formed from reduplicated true adverbs

Some true adverbs, as opposed to the above adjectives used adverbially, have been reduplicated to produce new adverbs with different connotations from their simplexes; generally speaking such forms have been lexicalised, the process no longer being particularly productive, e.g.

- (1971) *As die sous net-net wil skif, haal dit van die stoof af.*
 'If the sauce is just about to curdle, remove it from the stove' (= almost but not quite).
- (1972) *En so amper-amper het die stadsraad die groen lig gegee.*
 'And the city council almost gave the green light' (= but not quite).
- (1973) *Dis byna-byna sesuur.*
 'It's almost six o'clock.'
- (1974) *Jy moet dit gou-gou doen.*
 'You must do it very soon' (= very).
- (1975) *Sny die knoffelhuisies in repies en kap die repies saam-saam fyn.*
 'Cut the cloves of garlic into strips and finely chop a few strips at a time' (= together but in separate batches at a time).

See *liggies-liggies* in the final paragraph of 15.7.1.1 for another form of a reduplicated true adverb.

15.7.1.3. Adverbs formed from reduplicated nouns

Some nouns have been reduplicated to form adverbs. Although not uncommon, they are limited in number and have on the whole been lexicalised. These expressions often imply 'not in any particular order', 'without system or symmetry', e.g.

- (1976) *Ent-ent was die pad baie sleg.*
 'The road was bad in stretches.'
- (1977) *Die mielielande kom kol-kol langs die rivier voor.*
 'The cornfields lie dotted along the river' (= in patches).
- (1978) *Ryp sal plek-plek voorkom.*
 'There will be frost here and there.'
- (1979) *Die lobolageld is stuk-stuk betaal (= stuksgewys, see 15.4, note 1)*
 'The (native) dowry was paid bit by bit.'
- (1980) *Mandela word so bietjie-bietjie vrygelaat.*
 'Mandela is being released bit by bit.'

- (1981) *Hy het die water bietjies-bietjies laat uitloop.*
 'He let the water run out a little bit at a time' (= *bietjiesgewys*, see 15.4, note 1).

15.7.1.4. Adverbs formed from reduplicated numerals

The lower cardinal numerals can be reduplicated to render the adverbial expressions 'in ones, twos, threes' etc., e.g.

- (1982) *Die kinders het een-een in die swembad gespring.*
 'The kids jumped into the pool one at a time.'
 (1983) *Hulle slaap twee-twee in 'n bed.*
 'They sleep two in a bed.'

15.7.1.5. Adverbs formed from reduplicated verbs

When verbs are reduplicated to describe how the action of the finite verb is being performed, the resulting adverb is more or less synonymous and interchangeable with the *al* + verb + *-ende* construction (see 8.17.1), but the latter construction is higher style, e.g.

- (1984) *Die hasie het hop-hop nader gekom.*
 'The rabbit hopped closer.'
 (1985) *Sy kom toe lag-lag in.*
 'She came in laughing.'
 (1986) *Los jou aambeiprobleme sit-sit op.*
 'Solve your hemorrhoids while sitting down.'
 (1987) *Doen self jou skoenherstelwerk. Maak speel-speel heel met Bostik.*
 'Do your own shoe repairs. It's child's play repairing with Bostik.'
 (1988) *Lot se vrou is al vlugtende en omkyk-omkyk in 'n soutpilaar verander.*
 'While fleeing and continually looking back Lot's wife was changed into a pillar of salt.'

The reduplicated form of *speel* renders 'pretending/make believe', and in this sense cannot be replaced with *al spelende*, e.g.

- (1989) *Ag toe man, ons doen dit net speel-speel.*
 'Oh come on man, we're just pretending.'
 (1990) *Dit was net speel-speel.*
 'It wasn't for real' (see 15.7.3).

15.7.2. Verbs formed from reduplicated verbs

When verbs are reduplicated and still function as verbs (see 15.7.1.5), as opposed to being used adverbially, a connotation of repetitiveness is often given to that verb, e.g.

- (1991) *Ons mik-mik soontoe maar ons het nog nie so ver gekom nie.*
'We've been aiming to, but have never managed to.'
- (1992) *Die dokters het hom bly voel-voel.*
'The doctors kept feeling him.'¹²

Reduplicated verbs can also be used in the past tense, only the first part of the compound taking the *ge-* prefix, e.g.

- (1993) *Hy het die ogies so geknip-knip.*
'He kept blinking his eyes.'
- (1994) *Sy't op die planke van die jettie getrap-trap om haar bene warm te kry.*
'She trod up and down on the boards of the jetty to warm her legs.'

The modal verb *wil* is commonly reduplicated, thereby gaining the connotation 'about to, on the verge of', e.g.

- (1995) *Trane wil-wil kom, maar sy veg terug.*
'She was on the verge of tears but she kept fighting back.'
- (1996) *Dit is 'n ander stuk retoriek wat wil-wil lyk na 'n moontlikheid.*
'This is another bit of rhetoric which is beginning to look like a possibility.'

15.7.3. Nouns formed from reduplicated nouns

The names of some children's games are rendered by reduplication of the noun, e.g. *huis(ie)-huis(ie)* 'mummies and daddies', *dokter-dokter* 'hospitals'. This form of reduplication has the connotation 'pretending, not real', as illustrated in the following examples:

- (1997) *Wanneer hy skool-skool saam met sy swart maatjies gespeel het was hy altyd die onderwyser.*
'Whenever he played schools with his little black friends, he was always the teacher.'
- (1998) *Hulle is stadsjapies wat in die vakansie wil kom plaas-plaas speel.*
'They are city slickers who want to come and play farms in the holidays' (i.e. pretend they are farmers) (compare use of *speel-speel* under 15.7.1.5).

Suggested reading

Kempen (1969). This is by far the most detailed work on this topic.

¹² Compare the following adverbial use of the same verb: *Die polisie gaan voel-voel oor hul lywe met hul hande* 'The police run their hands back and forth over their bodies'.

Appendix 1: Texts

Text 1

The following passage illustrates how the past and present tenses alternate when relating events that took place in the past: the active verbs in the first two paragraphs are in the past, thereby setting the time frame, but in the third paragraph the writer switches to the present tense for a while, later alternating between the two.

Die Hugenate

The Huguenots

(adapted from *Panorama*, August 1988)

1. *In die sewentiende eeu was kerk en staat in*
In the seventeenth century were church and state in
Church and state were one in France in the seventeenth century
2. *Frankryk een en is enige geloof wat van die staat*
France one and is any faith that from the state
and any faith that differed from the state's
3. *s'n verskil het as kettery en verraad bestempel. As*
's differed has as heresy and treason branded. As
was branded as heresy and treason. As
4. *gevolg van die hervormingsbeweging wat soos 'n*
result of the reformation movement which like a
a result of the reformation movement which
5. *veldbrand deur Europa versprei het, het 'n groep mense*
bushfire through Europe spread has, has a group people
spread through Europe like a bushfire, a group of people
6. *in Frankryk die Katolieke leerstellings verwerp en die*
in France the Catholic teachings rejected and the
in France rejected Catholic dogma and
7. *Protestantse geloof aangehang. Hulle is Hugenate*
Protestant faith followed. They are Huguenots
adhered to the Protestant faith. They are called Huguenots.
8. *genoem. Die hervormingsbeweging het tot bloedige*
called. The reformation movement has to bloody
The reformation movement led to bloody
9. *godsdiensoorloë in Frankryk gelei wat 'n hoogtepunt bereik*
religion wars in France led which a peak reached
wars of religion in France, which reached their peak

10. *het met die herroeping van die Edik van Nantes in 1685*
 have with the revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685
 with the revocation in 1685 of the Edict of Nantes by which the
11. *waardeer die Protestante hul godsdiensvoorregte ontneem*
 whereby the Protestants their religious privileges withdrawn
 religious privileges of the Protestants were withdrawn.
12. *is. Eerder as om hul geloof prys te gee, het ongeveer*
 are. Rather than for their faith up to give, have about
 Rather then give up their faith, about
13. *250 000 Hugenote Frankryk verlaat en hulle in*
 250 000 Huguenots France left and themselves in
 250,000 Huguenots left France and went and settled in
14. *lande soos Duitsland, Engeland, Switserland en*
 countries like Germany, England, Switzerland and
 countries like Germany, England, Switzerland and
15. *Denemarke gaan vestig. As gevolg van die nabyheid*
 Denmark gone to settle. As result of the proximity
 Denmark. As a result of the proximity
16. *van Calvinistiese Nederland het meer as 50 000 daarheen*
 of Calvinist Holland have more than 50 000 thereto
 of Calvinist Holland, more than 50,000
17. *gevlug waar hulle met erbarming ontvang is.*
 fled where they with compassion received are.
 fled there where they were received with compassion.
18. *Juis op daardie tydstip ontstaan daar 'n behoefte aan*
 Just at that time point arises there a need on
 Just at that point in time there was a need for
19. *meer koloniste aan die Kaap en moedig die Here*
 more colonists at the Cape and encourage the Gentlemen
 more colonists at the Cape and the Gentlemen
20. *XVII, direkteure van die VOC, die Hugenote*
 XVII, directors of the VOC, the Huguenots
 XVII, the directors of the Dutch East India Company, encouraged the
21. *aan om hulle aan die Kaap te gaan vestig.*
 (verbal prefix) for themselves at the Cape to go to settle.
 Huguenots to settle at the Cape.

22. *Sowat 200 Hugenote, onder wie mans, vroue en*
About 200 Huguenots, among whom men, women and
Approximately 200 Huguenots, including men, women and
23. *kinders, verlaat Nederland op sewe van die VOC se*
children, leave Holland on seven of the VOC's
children, left Holland on seven of the East India Company's
24. *skepe om na die Kaap te gaan.*
ships for to the Cape to go.
ships in order to sail to the Cape.
25. *Die Voorschoten, met 21 Hugenote aan boord, land op*
The Voorschoten, with 21 Huguenots on board, lands on
The Voorschoten, with 21 Huguenots on board, landed
26. *18 April 1688 in 'n gehawende toestand in Saldanhabaai.*
18 April 1688 in a safe condition in Saldana Bay.
on the 18th of April 1688.
27. *Simon van der Stel, toe kommandeur van die Kaap, stuur*
Simon van der Stel, then commander of the Cape, sends
Simon van der Stel, at that time commander of the Cape, sent
28. *die sloep Jupiter om hulle te gaan haal. Hy gee aan hulle*
the sloop *Jupiter* for them to go fetch. He gives to them
the sloop *Jupiter* to fetch them. He gave them
29. *plasies van ongeveer 60 hektaar elk aan die oewer*
farmlets of about 60 hectares each on the bank
small farms of about 60 hectares each on the banks of
30. *van die Bergrivier in Drakensteinvallei. Om hulle so*
of the Bergriver in Drakenstein Valley. In order them as
the Berg River in the Drakenstein Valley. In order to get them
31. *vinnig as moontlik met die bestaande bevolking te laat*
quickly as possible with the existing population to let
to assimilate with the existing population as quickly as possible,
32. *verenig, was die plase tussen dié van die Hollandse*
unite, were the farms between those of the Dutch
the farms were interspersed with those of the Dutch
33. *vryburgers wat reeds daar gevestig was.*
free burghers who already there settled were.
free burghers who were already settled there.

34. *As vlugtelingen het die Hugenote feitlik niks besit*
 As refugees have the Huguenots in fact nothing possessed
 As refugees the Huguenots possessed more or less nothing
35. *nie en was hulle veral aan die begin*
 (neg. particle) and were they above all at the beginning
 and, particularly in the beginning,
36. *van gunste en gawes afhanklik. Simon van der Stel het*
 from favours and gifts dependent. Simon van der Stel has
 they were dependent on favours and gifts. Simon van der Stel
37. *ook uit Nederland opdrag ontvang dat hy hulle van*
 also out of Holland order received that he them of
 also received instruction from Holland that he should supply them with
38. *die nodige bestaansmiddele moet voorsien tot hulle*
 the necessary surviving means must supply till they
 the necessities of life until they
39. *gevestig en selfversorgend is. Hulle grootste behoeftes*
 settled and self supplying are. Their greatest needs
 were settled in and self-sufficient. Their greatest needs
40. *was aan voedsel en behalwe brode is skeeps*
 were on food and except for bread are ship's
 were food and in addition to bread, they were given ship's
41. *beskuit, erte en soutvleis aan hulle gegee.*
 biscuit, peas and salt meat to them given.
 biscuits, peas and salted meat.
42. *Die Hugenote wat na die Kaap gekom het, het in*
 The Huguenots who to the Cape come have, have in
 The Huguenots that came to the Cape had
43. *Frankryk ambagte uitgeoefen soos dié van bakker,*
 France trades practised like those of baker,
 practised in France trades such as baker,
44. *timmerman, wamaker, chirurg en landbouer. Die*
 carpenter, wagon maker, surgeon and agriculturalist. The
 carpenter, wagon maker, surgeon and agriculturist. The
45. *uitdruklike doel van die VOC was egter dat hulle*
 express object of the VOC was however that they
 express object of the VOC was, however, that they

46. *hul hier as boere moes kom vestig. Hoewel hulle*
 themselves here as farmers had to come to settle. Although they
 should come and settle as farmers here. Although they
47. *braak grond moes verbou en aan die*
 fallow ground had to cultivate and at the
 had to cultivate fallow land and
48. *beginjare dikwels misoeste gehad het, was hulle*
 beginning years often bad crops had had, were they
 harvests were initially bad, they were
49. *hardwerkende mense wat in 'n groot mate van hul*
 hard-working people who in a large extent from their
 hard-working people who made a success of their
50. *boerdery 'n sukses gemaak het. Die Hugenate het dan*
 farming a success made have. The Huguenots have then
 farming to a large extent. The Huguenots thus
51. *ook 'n groot bydrae tot die land se graan- en*
 also a great contribution to the country's grain and
 also made a great contribution to the country's grain and
52. *wynboubedryf gelewer.*
 wine industry delivered.
 wine industries.

Text 2

The following passage also illustrates the alternation of the past and present tenses in the narration of past events.

Van vergetelheid gered

Saved from oblivion

(from *Panorama*, August 1987)

1. *Die Groot Kerk is op Sondag, 12 Oktober 1986, na 18 maande*
 The Groot Kerk is on Sunday, 12 October 1986, after 18 months
 The Groot Kerk was consecrated in fitting manner with a service on
2. *se restourasiewerk, op gepaste wyse met 'n erediens weer*
 's restoration work, on fitting manner with a service again
 Sunday the 12th of October 1986 after 18 months' restoration work.
3. *in gebruik geneem. Van heinde en ver het die*
 in use taken. From near and far have the
 People came from far and wide

4. *mense gekom – die meeste van hulle op een of ander*
people come – the most of them on one or other
– most of them connected in one way or another
5. *manier verbind aan die geskiedenis van Botshabelo.*
way connected to the history of Botshabelo.
with the history of Botshabelo.
6. *Afrikaans, Duits en Sotho het deurmekaar gevloei*
Afrikaans, German and Sotho have through each other flowed
Afrikaans, German and Sotho were used indiscriminately
7. *terwyl ou kennisse mekaar groet.*
while old friends each other greet.
as old friends greeted each other.
8. *Die erediens is op die gebruikelike Duitse manier*
The service is on the usual German way
The service was conducted in typical German manner
9. *waargeneem deur pastore Eberhardt en Kramer – die*
conducted by pastors Eberhardt and Kramer – the
by Pastors Eberhardt and Kramer – the
10. *enigste twee oorlewende sendelinge van Botshabelo. Hulle*
only two surviving missionaries of Botshabelo. They
only two surviving missionaries at Botshabelo. They
11. *is bygestaan deur pastoor R. Shako.*
are assisted by pastor R. Shako.
were assisted by Pastor R. Shako.
12. *Na die erediens was daar geleentheid vir 'n*
After the service was there opportunity for an
After the service there was the opportunity for an
13. *besigtigingstoer van die hele kompleks en het*
inspection tour of the whole complex and has
inspection tour of the whole complex and
14. *Botshabelo se geskiedenis met elke tree ontvou.*
Botshabelo 's history with every step unfolded.
Botshabelo's history unfolded with every step.
15. *As gevolg van die vervolging deur Sekoekoenie,*
As result of the persecution by Sekukunie,
As a result of the persecution by Sekukunie,

16. *kaptein van die Bepedi, vlug Alexander Merensky, 'n*
 chief of the Bapedi, flees Alexander Merensky, a
 chief of the Bapedi, Alexander Merensky, a missionary
17. *sendeling verbonde aan die Berlynse Sendinggenootskap,*
 missionary connected to the Berlin Mission Society,
 connected to the Berlin Mission,
18. *met 65 volgelinge uit Sekoekoenieland. Op 21 Januarie 1865*
 with 65 followers from Sekukunieland. On 21 January 1865
 fled from Sekukunieland with 65 followers. On the 21st of January 1865
19. *koop hy die plaas Boschhoek vir £75 en vestig hy die*
 buys he the farm Boschhoek for £75 and founds he the
 he bought the farm Boschhoek for £75 and founded the
20. *sendingstasie daar.*
 mission station there.
 mission station there.
21. *Binne 'n jaar word 'n klipkerkie gebou, maar met die*
 Within a year becomes a stone church built, but with the
 Within a year a stone church was built, but even at the time of its
22. *inwyding daarvan was dit reeds duidelik dat die*
 consecration thereof was it already clear that the
 consecration it was already obvious that the
23. *kerk te klein was.*
 church too small was.
 church was too small.
24. *Om die inwoners teen aanvalle van Sekoekoenie te*
 In order the inhabitants against attacks from Sekukunie to
 To protect the inhabitants against attacks from Sekukunie
25. *beskerm word besluit om 'n fort op een van die*
 protect becomes decided for a fort on one of the
 it was decided to build a fort on one of the
26. *koppies te bou. Die klippe vir die fort word uit die*
 hilltops to build. The stones for the fort become out of the
 hilltops. The stone for the fort was procured in the
27. *omgewing verkry en was die bouwerk binne 'n*
 area obtained and was the building work within a
 area and the edifice was completed within a

28. *jaar voltooi. Eers word dit Fort Wilhelm genoem maar*
 year completed. First becomes it Fort William called but
 year. It was first called Fort William but was
29. *later herdoop tot Fort Merensky.*
 later renamed to Fort Merensky.
 later renamed Fort Merensky.
30. *In 1868 word die tweede kerk naby die eerste een*
 In 1868 becomes the second church near the first one
 In 1868 the second church was built near the first one.
31. *gebou. Dit kon 600 mense huisves. Hierdie kerk vorm*
 built. It could 600 people house. This church forms
 It could accommodate 600 people. This church formed
32. *die dwarsskip van die bestaande kerk. Twee jaar later*
 the transept of the existing church. Two years later
 the transept of the existing church. Two years later
33. *was hierdie kerk ook te klein en word die Groot*
 was this church also too small and becomes the Groot
 this church was too small and the Groot
34. *Kerk gebou deur 'n hoofskip oor die dwarsskip te bou.*
 Kerk built by a main nave over the transept to build.
 Kerk was built by constructing the main nave over the transept.
35. *Sodoende word die kruisvorming verkry soos dit*
 So doing becomes the cross formation obtained as it
 In so doing the form of the cross as it appears today was obtained.
36. *vandaag daar uitsien. Almal op die sendingstasie het*
 today there appears. All on the mission station have
 Everyone at the mission station
37. *gehelp om die kerk te bou. Die 200 000 stene*
 helped for the church to build. The 200 000 bricks
 helped to build the church. The 200,000 bricks
38. *wat vir die bouwerk nodig was, is in oonde*
 which for the building work necessary were, are in kilns
 that were needed for the construction, were baked in kilns
39. *op die terrein gebak en deur die vrouens en kinders*
 on the grounds baked and by the women and children
 on the grounds and fetched by the women and children.

40. *aangedra. Die apsis en Gotiese boog is deur die*
 fetched. The apse and Gothic arch are by the
 The apse and Gothic arch were built by the
41. *sendelinge self gebou. Die geelhout dakbalke is*
 missionaries self built. The yellow wood roof beams are
 missionaries themselves. The yellowwood roof beams were
42. *verkry van die Pongolawoude naby Paulpietersburg in*
 obtained from the Pongola Forests near Paulpietersburg in
 obtained from the Pongola Forests near Paulpietersburg in
43. *Natal. Dit is per ossewa aangery – 'n tog van agt*
 Natal. It is by ox wagon brought – a trip of eight
 Natal. They were delivered by oxwagon – an eight
44. *dae. Gekleurde glas vir die vensters en die kerkklok*
 days. Coloured glass for the windows and the church bell
 day journey. Coloured glass for the windows and the church bell
45. *is uit Duitsland ingevoer. Die vensters is effens*
 are out of Germany imported. The windows are slightly
 were imported from Germany. The windows were on a slightly
46. *skuins na buite gebou om 'n illusie van ruimte*
 diagonal to outside built in order an illusion of space
 outwards leaning angle to create the illusion of space.
47. *te skep. Die vloer is met 'n mengsel van sand en*
 to create. The floor is with a mixture of sand and
 The floor was smeared with a mixture of sand and
48. *beemis gesmeer. Aanvanklik het elkeen sy eie*
 cow dung smeared. Initially has everyone his own
 cow dung. Initially everyone brought their own
49. *sitplek gebring maar banke is later voorsien. Die*
 seat brought but pews are later provided. The
 seating but pews were later provided. The
50. *bou van die Groot Kerk het nege maande geduur en*
 building of the Groot Kerk has nine months lasted and
 construction of the Groot Kerk took nine months and
51. *is dit op 23 Oktober 1872 ingwy. Die inbruikneming*
 is it on 23 October 1872 consecrated. The inauguration
 it was consecrated on the 23rd of October 1872. The inauguration

52. *was egter nie sonder smart vir Alexander Merensky*
 was however not without pain for Alexander Merensky
 was not without sorrow for Alexander Merensky, however.

53. *nie. Twee weke na die inwydingsdiens is een*
 neg. particle. Two weeks after the consecration service is one
 Two weeks after the consecration service one

54. *van sy dogtertjies oorlede en word die eerste*
 of his daughters dead and becomes the first
 of his daughters died and the first

55. *begrafnisdien in die Groot Kerk gehou.*
 funeral service in the Groot Kerk held.
 funeral service was held in the Groot Church.

Text 3

The following is an extract from André Brink's novel *Gerugte van reën* (p.230) which illustrates the use of the diminutive. What follows is a description of the house of a Portuguese farmer in Angola who has fled and left all behind; the diminutives suggest the modesty of the way of life.

1. *Klein plasie, dié ene. Netjiese bloueverfde huisie... In die*
 Small farm, that one. Neat blue-painted house. In the
 Small farm, that one. Neat little house, painted blue... In the
2. *eetkamer was daar 'n ingeboude nissie, met 'n*
 dining-room was there an in-built niche, with a
 dining-room there was a built-in niche with a
3. *gipsbeeldjie van Maria daarin, sommer so 'n goedkoop*
 plaster statue of Mary therein, just such a cheap
 plaster statue of Mary in it, just a cheap,
4. *geverfde dingetjie met 'n soet gesiggie. En op die*
 painted thing with a sweet face. And on the
 painted little thing with a sweet little face. And on the
5. *rakkie daarvoor was 'n rytjie foto's. 'n Troufoto'tjie van*
 shelf therebefore was a row of photos. A wedding photo of
 shelf in front of it was a row of photos. A wedding photo of
6. *'n jong kêrel met 'n gladde snor en platgekamde*
 a young chap with a smooth moustache and flat-combed
 a young chap with a smooth moustache and his hair combed flat and a

7. *hare en 'n ordinêre vroujie in 'n vreeslik deftig*
 hairs and a common woman in a terribly ornately
 common looking little woman in a terribly ornately
8. *geborduurde trourok.*
 embroidered wedding dress.
 embroidered wedding dress.

Text 4

The following is an extract from André Brink's novel *'n Droë wit seisoen* (p.115) which illustrates the use of third person address in Afrikaans. It consists of a conversation between a young dominee of the Dutch Reformed Church and a much older acquaintance of his, Ben du Toit. The dominee in deference to the age of his interlocutor addresses him as *Oom* or *oom Ben*, while Du Toit addresses the dominee as *Dominee* but alternates this with *jy* and *jou* as he is also a personal friend; without the background of this friendship, he would have been more likely to use *Dominee* consistently as the dominee uses *Oom* consistently. The pronouns and nouns replacing second person pronouns are in bold type.

1. "*Oom Ben? My liewe wêreld, en wat bring **Oom** so*
 Uncle Ben? My dear world, and what brings Uncle so
 "Uncle Ben? My goodness, and what brings you here so
2. *laat hiernatoe?" ...*
 late hither?
 late?" ...
3. "*Dominee, ek kom vannag soos Nikodemus hier na **jou** toe.*
 Reverend, I come tonight as Nikodemus here to you.
 "Reverend, I come to you tonight like Nichodemus.
4. *Ek moet met **jou** praat." ...*
 I must with you talk.
 I have to talk to you." ...
5. "*Natuurlik. Kom stap maar deur." ...*
 Naturally. Comestep but through.
 "Of course. Come through." ...
6. "*Kan ek vir **oom Ben** bietjie koffie aanbied?"*
 Can I to uncleBen little coffee offer?
 "Can I offer you some coffee?"
7. "*Nee dankie, dis nie nodig nie." ... **Dominee** gee*
 No thanks, it is not necessary (neg. particle). Reverend gives
 "No thanks, that's not necessary. ... You don't mind

8. *nie om as ek rook nie?*
not (sep. prefix) if I smoke (neg. particle).
if I smoke?"
9. *"Met plesier." ... Ek neem aan dis oor die ding*
With pleasure. I assume (sep. prefix) it is about the thing
"By all means. ... I assume it has to do with the business
10. *in vanoggend se koerant?*
in this morning 's paper?
in this morning's paper?"
11. *"Ja. Dominee was mos daar by my huis die aand*
Yes. Reverend was after all there at my house the evening
"Yes. After all, you were at my place that evening
12. *toe Emily kom hulp vra het.*
when Emily come help to ask has.
when Emily came and asked for help."
13. *"Ek onthou, ja."*
I remember, yes.
"I remember, yes."
14. *"Dan sal Dominee weet dis iets wat nou al*
Then will Reverend know it is something which now already
"Then you will know it is something which has been brewing
15. *lank aan die gang is.*
long on the go is.
for a long time."
16. *"Wat is dit wat Oom so pla?"*
What is it what Uncle so worries?
"What is it that's worrying you so much?"

Text 5

The following is a weather report as broadcast several times daily by Radio South Africa (25/3/89). It gives an indication of the main geographic, and therefore climatic, zones (in bold) of Southern Africa.

1. *Hier volg die volledige weervoorspelling vir vannag*
Here follows the complete weather forecast for tonight
Here is the detailed weather forecast for tonight

2. *en môre. Bloedig warm, droë toestande oor die*
and tomorrow. Extremely hot, dry conditions over the
and tomorrow. Extremely hot, dry conditions over the
3. *Kaapse Skiereiland en die Boland veroorsaak toestande*
Cape Peninsula and the Boland cause conditions
Cape Peninsula and the Boland are causing conditions
4. *wat gevaarlik is vir veldbrande. En nou die res*
which dangerous are for veld fires. And now the rest
which can lead to veld fires. And now the rest of the
5. *van die weervoorspelling. Pretoria, die Witwatersrand*
of the weather forecast. Pretoria, the Witwatersrand
forecast. Pretoria, the Witwatersrand and
6. *en die oostelike Hoëveld: gedeeltelik bewolk en warm,*
and the eastern High Veld: partly clouded and hot,
the eastern High Veld: partly overcast and hot,
7. *maar koel op die Hoëveld. Enkele donderbuie word*
but cool on the High Veld. Some thunder storms become
but cool on the High Veld. A few thunder storms are
8. *vanmiddag en vanaand verwag. Dit sal oornag*
this afternoon and this evening expected. It will overnight
expected this afternoon and this evening. It will be overcast during the
9. *bewolk word met miskolle oor die Hoëveld en dit*
clouded become with fog patches over the High Veld and it
night with patches of fog over the High Veld and
10. *sal môremiddag gedeeltelik opklaar in die weste met*
will tomorrow afternoon partly clear up in the west with
tomorrow afternoon it will partly clear up in the west with
11. *'n moontlikheid van verder enkele donderbuie. Wes-*
a possibility of further some thunder storms. Western
a possibility of a few more thunder storms. Western
12. *en Suidwes- Transvaal: gedeeltelik bewolk en warm*
and south-western Transvaal: partly clouded and hot
and south-western Transvaal: partly overcast and hot
13. *met enkele donderbuie vanmiddag en vanaand*
with some thunder storms this afternoon and this evening
with a few thunder storms this afternoon and this evening

14. *in die verre noorde en weer môremiddag en*
 in the far north and again tomorrow afternoon and
 in the far north and again tomorrow afternoon and
15. *môreaand. Sentraal-, Noordwes- en Noord-*
 tomorrow evening. Central, north-western and northern
 tomorrow evening. Central, north-western and northern
16. **Transvaal:** *gedeeltelik bewolk en warm, maar baie warm*
 Transvaal: partly clouded and hot, but very hot
 Transvaal: partly overcast and hot, but very hot
17. *noordvan die Soutpansberge. Enkele donderbuie word*
 north of the Soutpansberg. Some thunder storms become
 north of the Soutpansberg. A few thunder storms are
18. *verwag. Dit sal oornag bewolk en koeler word in*
 expected. It will overnight clouded and cooler become in
 expected. It will become overcast and cooler in the east during
19. *die ooste met miskolle langs die Soutpansberge. Die*
 the east with fog patches along the Soutpansberg. The
 the night with patches of fog along the Soutpansberg. The
20. **oostelike Laeveld, die Platorand en Venda:**
 eastern Low Veld, the Escarpment and Venda:
 eastern Low Veld, the Escarpment and Venda:
21. *gedeeltelik bewolk en warm met enkele donderbuie*
 partly overcast and hot with some thunder storms
 partly overcast and hot with a few thunder storms
22. *en dit sal bewolk en koeler word uit die suide*
 and it will clouded and cooler become out of the south
 and it will become overcast and cooler from the south
23. *met motreën en miskolle langs die Platorand. Die*
 with drizzle and fog patches along the Escarpment. The
 with drizzle and patches of fog along the Escarpment. The
24. **Vrystaat:** *gedeeltelik bewolk en warm met enkele*
 Free State: partly clouded and hot with some
 Free State: partly overcast and hot with a few
25. *donderbuie in die ooste en noordooste waar dit*
 thunder storms in the east and north-east where it
 thunder storms in the east and north-east where it

26. *oornag bewolk en koeler sal wees met miskolle.*
 overnight clouded and cooler will be with fog patches.
 will be overcast and cooler during the night with patches of fog.
27. ***Kaapland noord van die Oranjerivier: sonnig en***
 Cape Province north of the Orange River: sunny and
 Cape Province north of the Orange River: sunny
28. *warm maar baie warm oor Gordonia. Die Kaapse*
 hot but very hot over Gordonia. The Cape
 and hot but very hot over Gordonia. The Cape
29. ***Skiereiland, Boland en die Overberg: mooi weer en***
 Peninsula, Boland and the Overberg: fine weather and
 Peninsula, Boland and the Overberg: fine and
30. *baie warm. Die wind taamlik sterk oos tot noordoos*
 very hot. The wind rather strong east to north-east
 very hot. The wind quite strong east to north-east
31. *en dit bereik vandag stormsterkte oor die suidelike*
 and it reaches today storm strength over the southern
 and it will reach gale force over the southern
32. *Skiereiland en word môre matig noordwes. Die*
 Peninsula and becomes tomorrow moderate north-west. The
 Peninsula today and will become moderate north-west tomorrow. The
33. ***Wes-Kaapse kusgebied: mooi weer en warm, afgesien***
 Western Cape coast area: fine weather and hot, except
 Western Cape coastal area: fine and hot, except
34. *van miskolle oornag. Die wind matig suidoos tot*
 of fog patches overnight. The wind moderate south-east to
 for patches of fog during the night. The wind moderate south-east to
35. *noordoos en dit sal môre noordwes waai. Die*
 north-east and it will tomorrow north-west blow. The
 north-east and it will blow from the north-west tomorrow. The
36. ***kusgebied Kaap Infanta tot by Plettenbergbaai: mooi weer***
 coast area Cape Infanta to near Plettenberg Bay: fine weather
 coastal area from Cape Infanta to Plettenberg Bay: fine
37. *en baie warm. Die wind matig noordoos en dit*
 and very hot. The wind moderate north-east and it
 and very hot. The wind moderate north-east and it

38. *sal môre noordwes waai. Die kusgebied Plettenberg*
will tomorrow north-west blow. The coast area Plettenberg
will blow from the north-west tomorrow. The coastal area from
39. *baai tot by Port Alfred: gedeeltelik bewolk en warm*
Bay to near Port Alfred: partly clouded and hot
Plettenberg Bay to Port Alfred: partly overcast and hot
40. *en dit sal môre baie warm word. Die wind*
and it will tomorrow very hot become. The wind
and it will become very hot tomorrow. The wind
41. *taamlik sterk noordoos. Die kusgebied Port Alfred tot by*
rather strong north-east. The coast area Port Alfred to near
quite strongly north-east. The coastal area from Port Alfred to
42. *Port Edward: gedeeltelik bewolk en koel en dit sal*
Port Edward: partly clouded and cool and it will
Port Edward: partly overcast and cool and it will
43. *môre warmer word en die wind taamlik sterk*
tomorrow hotter become and the wind rather strong
become hotter tomorrow and the wind quite strongly
44. *noordoos. Die Natalse kusgebied Port Edward tot by die*
north-east. The Natal coast area Port Edward to near the
north-east. The Natal coastal region from Port Edward to the
45. *Tugela: bewolk en warm met reën af en toe en*
Tugela: clouded and hot with rain now and again and
Tugela: overcast and hot with sporadic rain and
46. *dit sal môre gedeeltelik opklaar in die suide. Die*
it will tomorrow partly clear up in the south. The
it will partly clear up in the south tomorrow. The
47. *wind matig suidoos en dit sal môre noordoos*
wind moderate south-east and it will tomorrow north-east
wind moderate south-east and it will blow from the north-east
48. *waai in die suide. Die kusgebied van die Tugela tot*
blow in the south. The coast area from the Tugela to
in the south tomorrow. The coastal area from the Tugela to
49. *by Kosibaai: bewolk en bedompig met reën af en*
near Kosi Bay: clouded and humid with rain now and
Kosi Bay: overcast and humid with sporadic rain.

50. *toe. Die wind lig tot matig suidoos. Die Natalse*
again. The wind light to moderate south-east. The Natal
The wind light to moderate south-east. The Natal
51. *binneland: bewolk en koel met enkele donderbuie langs*
interior: clouded and cool with some thunder storms along
interior: overcast and cool with a few thunder storms along
52. *die Drakensberge. Motreën en miskolle word oornag*
the Drakensberg. Drizzle and fog patches become overnight
the Drakensberg. Light rain and patches of fog are
53. *en môreoggend langs die Platorande verwag. Dit*
and tomorrow morning along the Escarpments expected. It
expected overnight and tomorrow morning along the Escarpment. It
54. *sal môre gedeeltelik opklaar in die suide. Namakwaland*
will tomorrow partly clear up in the south. Namaqualand
will partly clear up in the south tomorrow. Namaqualand,
55. *en die suidwes Kaapse binneland en Boesmanland en*
and the south-west Cape interior and Bushmanland and
and the south-western Cape interior and Bushmanland and
56. *die Karoo: sonnig en baie warm. Die Kaapse middeland,*
the Karoo: sunny and very hot. The Cape centreland,
the Karoo: sunny and very hot. The central Cape,
57. *Noordoos-Kaapland, die Grens, Ciskei en Transkeise*
north-east Cape, the Border, Ciskei and Transkei
north-eastern Cape, Border, Ciskei and Transkei
58. *binneland: gedeeltelik bewolk en warm met enkele*
interior: partly clouded and hot with some
interior: partly overcast and hot with a few
59. *donderbuie in die verre noordooste. Miskolle word*
thunder storms in the far north-east. Fog patches become
thunder storms in the far north-east. Patches of fog are
60. *oor nag en môreoggend langs die platorande*
overnight and tomorrow morning along the escarpments
expected overnight and tomorrow morning along the escarpment
61. *van Transkei en die Grens verwag. Suidwes-*
of Transkei and the Border expected. South-west
of Transkei and Border. Southwest

62. *Afrika/Namibië:*¹ *sonnig en baie warm met enkele*
Africa/Namibia: sunny and very hot with some
Africa/Namibia: sunny and very hot with a few
63. *donderbuie in die noorde en dit sal môre*
thunder storms in the north and it will tomorrow
thunder storms in the north and this will
64. *uitbrei na die sentrale dele. Die kus: koel met miskolle*
extend to the central parts. The coast: cool with fog patches
spread to the central parts tomorrow. The coast: cool with patches of fog
65. *oornag en die wind matig suidwes tot noordwes.*
overnight and the wind moderate south-west to north-west.
during the night and the wind moderate south-west to north-west.
66. *Botswana: gedeeltelik bewolk en warm met enkele*
Botswana: partly clouded and hot with some
Botswana: partly overcast and hot with a few
67. *donderbuie, behalwe in die suidweste. Lesotho: gedeeltelik*
thunder storms, except in the south-west. Lesotho: partly
thunder storms, except in the south-west. Lesotho: partly
68. *bewolk en warm met enkele donderbuie vanmiddag*
clouded and hot with some thunder storms this afternoon
overcast and hot with a few thunder storms this afternoon
69. *en vanaand. Miskolle word verwag in die ooste*
and this evening. Fog patches become expected in the east
and this evening. Patches of fog are expected in the east
70. *waar dit koeler sal wees. Ons sluit die*
where it cooler will be. We conclude the
where it will be cooler. We conclude the
71. *weervoorspelling af met Swaziland: bewolk en koel*
weather forecast (sep. prefix) with Swaziland: clouded and cool
weather forecast with Swaziland: overcast and cool
72. *met motreën en miskolle op die Platorand en*
with drizzle and fog patches on the Escarpment and
with light rain and patches of fog on the Escarpment and
73. *enkele donderbuie op die Hoëveld. Dit is die volledige*

¹ The dual name has not been used since independence was granted in early 1990 – now only *Namibië* is used.

some thunder storms on the High Veld. This is the complete
a few thunder storms on the High Veld. This is the full

74. *weervoorspelling vir vandag die 25ste Maart en nou*
weather forecast for today the 25th March and now
weather forecast for today the 25th of March and now
75. *vandag se minimum- en maximumtemperature. Minimum*
today 's minimum and maximum temperatures. Minimum
today's minimum and maximum temperatures. Minimum
76. *temperature soos reeds aangeteken deur die*
temperatures as already recorded by the
temperatures as already recorded by the
77. *weerburo en die verwagte maximums hier in die*
weather bureau and the expected maximums here in the
weather bureau and the expected maximums here at
78. *middel van die dag: Pietersburg 17/29, Pretoria 15/28,*
middle of the day: Pietersburg 17/29, Pretoria 15/28,
midday: Pietersburg 17/29, Pretoria 15/28,
78. *Johannesburg 12/27 ens.*
Johannesburg 12/27 etc.
Johannesburg 12/27 etc.

Appendix 2: Letter writing

1.0. The envelope

1.1. The title

The envelope is addressed to *Mnr.* 'Mr', *Mev.* 'Mrs' or *Mej.* 'Miss'. These abbreviations, as well as *Prof., Dr., Ds.* (= 'Reverend') etc., commonly occur without fullstops after them, but the AWS gives preference to the use of the fullstop. *Mnre* renders 'Messers'. As a result of the feminist movement, *Me* 'Ms' has recently made its way into the language.

Afrikaans surnames containing prepositions and articles, e.g. *van* and *de*, do not capitalise these words when the initial or christian name precedes, as is the case on an envelope, e.g. *Mnr. H. van Rooyen, Mev. P. de Villiers* (see 4.5.1.2).

1.2. The address

An envelope is addressed as follows with the street number following the name of the street. The postal code, which always consists of four digits, precedes the name of the suburb or town, e.g.

Mev. H.T. Malherbe
Voortrekkerstraat 110
2116 WITBANK

The street name and the words *laan* 'avenue', *rylaan* 'drive', *straat* 'street', *weg* 'road' etc. are written as one word (but see 2.7.2), e.g. *De la Rey laan* 'De la Rey Avenue'. But note *Vierde Laan* or *Vierdelaan* 'Fourth Avenue' when the street name is an ordinal numeral.

The introduction of postal codes has made it unnecessary to put the name of the city after that of the suburb, in the case of larger places, but many people still do. It is also not uncommon to see the postal code being put after the name of the town or on the next line. 'P.O. Box' is rendered by *Posbus*, which is not abbreviated, and 'Private Bag' by *Privaatsak*.

1.3. The back of the envelope

It is usual to write *Afsender* 'sender', followed by the address, on the back of the envelope.

2.0. The Letter

2.1. The beginning the letter

The sender's address is placed in the top right-hand corner and, in official letters, the address of the addressee in the top left-hand corner.

The date is given as follows, *24 Mei 1990*, with no abbreviation corresponding to 'st', 'nd', 'rd' and 'th' after the numeral.

The titles given under 1.1 on the previous page are written with a small letter if they are followed by a name, or a capital letter if used as an independent title, e.g. *Geagte mnr. / meneer Gouws* 'Dear Mr. Gouws', but *Geagte Meneer / Heer* 'Dear Sir'. The full forms *meneer*, *mevrouw*, *mevrouw* and *menere* may be used instead of their abbreviations.

'Dear' in official letters or in letters addressed to strangers is rendered by *Geagte* (literally 'respected'), whereas in letters to friends it is translated by either *Beste* or *Liewe*, the latter being more intimate, e.g. *Beste mnr. / mev. Van der Merwe / Koos / Dalena*, *Liewe Koos / Dalena*. Two males, other than close family, would not however address each other with *Liewe*. A Dutch Reformed minister of religion, who is addressed on the envelope as *Ds*, is addressed as *Dominee* in a letter or in direct speech; several other protestant denominations use *Eerwaarde* 'Reverend', which is abbreviated as *Eerw.*

2.2. Ending the letter

Formal letters end with either *Hoogagtend* (literally 'respectfully') or *Die uwe* (literally 'yours') or even a combination of the two, each being written on a separate line in that case, e.g.

Hoogagtend,
Die uwe,

The commas after *Hoogagtend* and *Die uwe* are optional.

Letters that begin with *Beste* or *Liewe* end with any of the following, all of which are variants of the greeting 'Regards':

Groete, Vriendelike / Hartlike groete, Groetnis.

The equivalent of PS is NS (< *naskrif*).

Appendix 3:

Greetings, apologies, requesting, thanking, exclamations, interjections, swearing

Aspects of the following registers have been greatly influenced by English etiquette.

1. Greetings

(goeie) môre / middag 'good morning/afternoon'

goeie dag 'good day'

(goeie)naand 'good evening'

2. Meeting

Hoe gaan dit (met jou / u)? 'How are you?'

Dit gaan goed (met my) 'I'm fine.' It is not uncommon for this reply to be preceded by *nee* which acts, contrary to its literal meaning, as a form of affirmation that things are fine, e.g. *Nee, dit gaan goed, man / Nee man, dit gaan goed* 'I'm fine'. The tag *man*, which is just as common in SA English, is ubiquitous in forms of direct address among peers; it is used by and to men and woman alike. Less commonly *jong* is used in the same way. Both words add a ring of solidarity or mateship to the utterance.

Laat / kan / mag ek jou aan... voorstel 'Let me/can/may I introduce you to ...?'

Ontmoet Jan van Rooyen 'Meet Jan van Rooyen.'

Aangename kennis / bly te kenne 'How do you do, Nice to meet you' (former more usual).

3. Goodbye

tot siens 'goodbye'

wederom 'goodbye' (less common)

*tot weersiens*¹ 'till we meet again' (*wederom* can also have this meaning)

ta ta 'ta ta' (said to and by children)

sien jou (later) 'see you' (later)

lekker / mooi bly 'goodbye' (said by departing visitors to those staying)²

julle moet lekker / mooi bly (said by departing visitors to those staying)

mooi loop 'goodbye' (said to departing visitors by those staying)

¹ *Tot siens* also means literally 'till we meet again' but is used even where there is no possibility of another meeting occurring; in *tot weersiens* that possibility is emphasised.

² *Lekker* can be combined with numerous verbs in this way, e.g. *lekker werk* 'enjoy your work', *lekker kyk* 'happy viewing' (TV announcer to viewers), *lekker vakansie hou* 'have nice holiday'.

laat dit goed gaan 'all the best'
alles van die beste 'all the best'
(laat dit) goed gaan 'all the best'
bly om u te ontmoet het 'nice to have met you'
(goeie) nag 'good night' (said on departure, as in English)
lekker slaap 'good night' (said to someone going to bed) (see footnote 2)
wel te ruste 'good night' (said to someone going to bed; more formal than the above)
sê groete vir ... 'give my regards to ...'
geniet dit 'enjoy yourself, have a nice time'
geniet die dag/aand 'have a nice day/evening'

4. Apologies

verskoon (my/tog) 'excuse me' (when leaving the table/company, burping)
jammer 'sorry' (see 6 below)
(Ek is) jammer om te pla, maar waar is ...? 'Excuse me, where is...?'
dit spyt my (dat...) 'I'm sorry (that...)'
ekskuus (tog) / skuus 'I beg you pardon' (as an apology, when pushing through a crowd and when something said has not been heard or understood). If one were to step on someone's foot, one might say *jammer* to a friend, but *ekskuus (tog)* to a stranger.

5. Salutations

baie / veels geluk (met jou troue / uitslae) 'congratulations' (on your marriage/exam results etc.). This expression is said to birthday boys and thus also renders 'happy birthday/many happy returns'.
Geseënde Kersfees 'Merry Christmas'
sterkte / voorspoed 'good luck'
alles van die beste 'all the best'
smaaklike ete 'bon appetit' (In English usually nothing is said when sitting down to a meal. It is not necessary to say anything in Afrikaans either.)
gesondheid 'cheers' (of drinks), 'bless you' (of sneezes)

6. Requests and thanks

asseblief 'please'
asseblief tog 'please' (when pleading)³
ja dankie 'yes, please/thanks'
(baie) dankie 'thanks (very much), thank you'
nee dankie 'no thanks'

³ This is also uttered as an exclamation of irritation, compare 'good grief, God preserve us'.

hartlike dank 'thank you very much' (formal)

(dis 'n) plesier 'It's a pleasure, don't mention it, you're welcome'

nie te danke 'don't mention it, you're welcome'

If one is offered something, one accepts by saying *(ja) asseblief* or *ja dankie*; one declines by saying *nee dankie*. This is in line with the usual practice in English. One thanks someone by saying *(baie) dankie*, to which the giver has the option of adding *plesier*.

It is not usual to place *asseblief* at the beginning of a request, as is commonly done in English, but rather in the middle or at the end, e.g. *Bly asseblief van die gras af* 'Please keep off the grass'.

When asking someone to do something which is to his benefit, rather than to the benefit of the speaker, *gerus* can render 'please', e.g.

Sit gerus/asseblief 'Please take a seat.'

Hou dit gerus 'Please keep it' (*asseblief* not possible here).

Doen dit gerus 'Please go ahead and do it.'

7. Exclamations and interjections

All these expressions are reasonably innocuous although some are corruptions of *Jesus*; they are comparable to 'gee, golly, gosh, blimey, my goodness, heavens' etc.

mensdom

my tyd

vaderland

(my) maggies

genade

(goeie) genugtig

(my) hene (pron. [jeənə])

*jissus*⁴

jissum

jirre

my wêreld

allawêreld

wragtig (pronounced [vraxtɪx]); with a rising intonation this also means 'really, no kidding?'

Jesus (pronounced [jeəsəs]) is used as a (strong) exclamation whereas when referring to the man himself the pronunciation [jisəs] is used.

eina 'ouch' (of pain)

foei/sies 'yuck' (of a bad smell, sloppy mess, dirt etc.)

sies tog/foei tog 'what a pity; how cute; shame' (SA English)⁵

(ag) shame/shamepies – this is the SA English for the above but is also commonly heard in Afrikaans, with or without a diminutive ending and with or without *ag*.

dis 'n jammerte 'what a pity/shame, it's a pity/shame'⁶

O! (pronounced [oə] with rising intonation) 'Oh, I see'

Hierso is Pa se coke, hoor 'Here's your coke dad, alright?' (pronounced [uər] or [ɦoər]). *Hoor* is also common in combination with imperatives as a confirma-

⁴ South Africans' strict Calvinistic beliefs prevent them from using *God* as an exclamation or swearword. Ditto with *Jesus*.

⁵ For example: *Koos het sy been gebreek. Foei tog* 'Koos has broken his leg. Poor soul/what a shame'. *Het jy my hondjie gesien. Foei tog* 'Have you seen my puppie? What a cutie/how lovely'.

⁶ But *Dis jammer dat...* 'It's a pity/shame that...'

tion that the order has been understood and will be carried out, e.g. *Jy moet dit vir my wys, hoor?* 'You must show me it, you understand?' It is uttered with an interrogative intonation and is the Afrikaans equivalent of the 'eh?' so commonly heard in SA English.

hoor hier... (usually pronounced *horie*) 'listen (here)...'

baie dankie, hoor 'thanks very much' (added for emphasis)

ja (man) 'yes'

nee (man) 'no'

ja-nee 'yes, I suppose' (agreement); 'sigh, what should one do?'

ag nee (man) 'no' (No man, SA English) (fervent disagreement)

nee wat – a softer *ag nee*, e.g. A: *Dis baie werk.* B: *Nee wat, dis nie so baie nie;*

A: *Is jy al honger?* B: *Nee wat.*

nou maar goed 'okay'

orraait 'alright, okay'

toe 'come on' (as encouragement to someone that is hesitating to do something, e.g. *Toe, eet* 'Come on, eat up')

toe nou 'get a move on'

toe maar / nou 'there, there' (solace or encouragement)

hokaai 'stop, slow down'

sjuut 'shh, hush' (be quite)

wel 'well' (used as in English)

*nonsies / nonsens / twak / snert / kak / stront*⁷ 'nonsense', e.g. *Jy praat -*

*voertsek / voert*⁸ 'scram, get lost' (said to animals, insects etc.; if used to people it is very harsh, i.e. = bugger off)

weg is jy 'scram'

jy weet / weet jy 'you know' (used as a filler in exactly the same way it is in English)

soort van – used exactly as in English, e.g. *Hy het soort van ingemeng* 'He sort of got involved', *Is jy moeg? Soort van*

kan jy (dit) glo 'can you believe it!' (SA English) – exclamation of incredulity

ek sê vir jou 'I'm telling you' (SA English) – reinforcement of something stated

dis hy, daas (< *daar is*) *hy* 'that's it, that's correct; good show' (in sport)

nou maar goed 'alright then'

sien? 'you see?'

8. Swearing

Afrikaans speakers are capable of swearing like troopers, just like their English-speaking compatriots.

The following, when used directly towards another person, are commonly preceded by *jou*, e.g. *jou blikslaer* 'you bugger'.

doos 'cunt' (used of a man)

teef 'bitch' (both a female dog and a woman)

⁷ *Stront* means 'shit', as does *kak*, but these words are not used as exclamations, unlike their English counterpart.

⁸ The *r* in *voertsek*, but not in *voert*, is often not pronounced.

bliksem, blikslaer, donder 'bugger, bastard' (not very strong at all)

bogger, bokker 'bugger'⁹

hol 'arsehole'

poephol 'arsehole' (not nearly as crude as the English; can even be said to a child as a term of endearment)

jou gat / hol 'go to buggery, up yours' (*jou* here is possessive)

(jou) wetter 'you bastard' (very strong)

boggerol, bokkerol 'bugger all'⁹ (see 2.5.2.2)

fok ol 'fuck all'

fok 'fuck'

fok jou / die regering etc. 'fuck you/the government' etc.

donder op 'bugger off'

gaan / loop bars, gaan / loop skyt 'get lost'

gaan vrek 'drop dead'

se moer, man 'bullshit' (I don't agree with what you've said [strong])

verbrands, vervlaks, verdomp 'damn it' (*verbrands* is the mildest)

Hoe / wat / waar / wie de fok / hel (is jy etc.) 'how/what/where/who the fuck/hell (are you etc.)'

Hoe / wat / waar / wie de duiwel (is jy etc.) 'how/what/where/who the devil (are you etc.)'

This form of the definite article also occurs in the expression *Ek was de hel in vir hom* 'I was angry/fed up with him' (occurs with *die* too).

Die Here / Vader / donner alleen weet wat / waar / hoe etc. 'Lord knows what/where/how etc.'

The following words are all used exclusively attributively, i.e. before the noun,¹⁰ and are thus given in their inflected form in *-e*, e.g. *'n helse lawaai* 'a hell of a din', *Dit was 'n moerse fees gewees* 'It was a fantastic party'. They are all pretty well interchangeable and although all can be considered quite colloquial, none are particularly crude, with the exception of *donderse* and *moerse* in some people's opinion.

blessitse

hengse

helse

verdekselse

vervlakste

vervloek(s)te

donderse

moerse

Moerse can also act as an adverb qualifying positive adjectives, e.g. *Dit was moers(e) lekker* 'That was bloody delicious', *Hy het 'n moers(e) vinnige motor*¹¹ 'He's got a bloody fast car'; also *Dit was moerse* 'It was fantastic'. *Donners* (the *d* is always assimilated in the register in which it is used) is used in the same

⁹ These words are more innocuous than they are in English, but then they are more easily used in British colonial English anyway than in British or American English.

¹⁰ But the next group of words can also all qualify predicative adjectives and adverbs.

¹¹ The *e* ending is usually applied in all cases with this word.

way to qualify negative adjectives, e.g. *Hulle het donders goed geweet waar hy was* 'They knew bloody well where he was', *Hy het 'n donders stadige motor* 'He has a bloody slow car'.

The words in this group are semantically and emotively identical to the English words from which they are derived, e.g. *jou bleddie vark* 'you bloody pig', *daai fokken boom* 'that fucking tree'. *Bleddie* in particular can also be infixated in the way it is in very colloquial English, e.g. *abso-bleddie-luut* 'abso-bloody-lutely'.

bleddie 'bloody'

blerrie 'blerry' (euphemistic form of 'bloody')

bloomen 'blooming' (ditto)

fokken 'fucking'

flippen 'flipping' (very euphemistic form of 'fucking')

vrek 'damned' (very mild), e.g. *Ek het vandag vrek baie gedoen* 'I did a hell of a lot today'.

Glossary

This glossary consists mostly of those function words which occur regularly in the sample sentences in this grammar. In the case of verbs, the past participle is given in brackets after the infinitive.

<i>aan</i>	at, on
<i>agter</i>	behind
<i>al</i>	already; all
<i>alle, almal</i>	all
<i>als, alles</i>	everything
<i>albei</i>	both
<i>alreeds</i>	already
<i>altyd</i>	always
<i>ander</i>	other
<i>anders</i>	otherwise; else
<i>as</i>	as; than; when
<i>asseblief</i>	please
<i>baie</i>	much, many; very
<i>begin</i>	to begin, start
<i>beide</i>	both
<i>besig</i>	busy
<i>bly</i>	to stay, remain
<i>buite</i>	outside
<i>by</i>	by, at the house of
<i>by die huis</i>	at home
<i>daar</i>	there
<i>daaraan etc.</i>	on etc. it, on etc. them
<i>daardie</i>	that, those
<i>daarom</i>	therefore
<i>dalk</i>	perhaps
<i>dan</i>	then
<i>dat</i>	that (conjunction)
<i>deur</i>	through, by (passive)
<i>die</i>	the
<i>dié</i>	that, this
<i>(die) meeste</i>	most (of)
<i>dink (gedink)</i>	to think
<i>dis</i>	it is
<i>dit</i>	it; this, that
<i>doen (gedoen)</i>	to do
<i>durf (gedurf)</i>	to dare
<i>dus</i>	thus, so, therefore
<i>een</i>	one
<i>eens</i>	once (upon a time)

<i>egter</i>	however
<i>eie</i>	own
<i>ek</i>	I
<i>elke</i>	each, every
<i>en</i>	and
<i>ene</i>	one (adjective)
<i>enetjie</i>	one (pronoun)
<i>enige</i>	any
<i>êrens</i>	somewhere
<i>erg</i>	very
<i>g'n</i>	no, none, not a
<i>gaan (gegaan)</i>	to go
<i>gebeur</i>	to happen
<i>gee (gegee)</i>	to give
<i>geen</i>	no, none, not a
<i>gehad</i>	had (see <i>hê</i>)
<i>gewees</i>	been (see <i>wees</i>)
<i>gister</i>	yesterday
<i>glo (geglo)</i>	to believe
<i>goed</i>	good, well
<i>graag</i>	like (with verb)
<i>haar, hare</i>	her, hers
<i>hê (gehad)</i>	to have
<i>heel</i>	whole, all; very
<i>help</i>	to help
<i>het</i>	to have (finite form)
<i>hier</i>	here
<i>hierdie</i>	this, these
<i>hoe</i>	how
<i>hoef</i>	to need
<i>hoekom</i>	why, how come
<i>hoeveel</i>	how much/many
<i>hom</i>	him
<i>hoop (gehoop)</i>	to hope
<i>hoor (gehoor)</i>	to hear
<i>hou van</i>	to like
<i>hulle</i>	they, them, their
<i>hulle s'n</i>	theirs
<i>hy</i>	he
<i>iedere</i>	each, every
<i>iemand</i>	somebody, someone
<i>iets</i>	something, anything
<i>in</i>	in
<i>is</i>	to be (finite form)
<i>jou</i>	you (object), your
<i>joune</i>	yours
<i>julle</i>	you (plural), your
<i>julle s'n</i>	yours

<i> jy </i>	you (subject)	<i> nou die dag </i>	the other day
<i> kan </i>	to be able, can	<i> nou net </i>	a moment ago
<i> (een) keer </i>	time (once)	<i> of </i>	or; whether, if
<i> klaar </i>	finished	<i> om (te) </i>	in order to
<i> kom (gekom) </i>	to come	<i> omdat </i>	because
<i> kon </i>	could	<i> onder </i>	under, beneath
<i> kry (gekry) </i>	to get	<i> ons </i>	we, us, our
<i> kyk (gekyk) </i>	to look	<i> ons s'n </i>	ours
<i> laas </i>	last	<i> ooit </i>	ever
<i> laat </i>	late	<i> ook </i>	also, too
<i> laat </i>	to let, to have s.t. done	<i> oor </i>	about; over, above
<i> langs </i>	along	<i> op </i>	on, at
<i> lank, (al)lank </i>	(for) a long time	<i> ophou </i>	to stop
<i> lê (gelê) </i>	to lie, to lay	<i> pas </i>	just
<i> leer (geleer) </i>	to learn, to teach	<i> probeer </i>	to try
<i> loop (geloop) </i>	to walk	<i> reeds </i>	already
<i> lyk (gelyk) </i>	to look, to seem	<i> ry (gery) </i>	to drive, to ride
<i> maak </i>	to make	<i> s'n </i>	's (possessive part.)
<i> maar </i>	but; modal particle	<i> sal </i>	will
<i> mag </i>	to be allowed to, may	<i> se </i>	's (possessive part.)
<i> meer </i>	more	<i> sê </i>	to say
<i> mees </i>	most	<i> sedert </i>	since
<i> mekaar </i>	each other	<i> seker </i>	certain(ly), sure(ly)
<i> (n) mens </i>	one	<i> sien </i>	to see
<i> met, mee </i>	with	<i> sit </i>	to sit
<i> min </i>	less, fewer	<i> slaan </i>	to hit
<i> miskien </i>	perhaps	<i> sleg </i>	bad
<i> moes </i>	had to	<i> so </i>	so, like this/that, such
<i> moet </i>	to have to, must	<i> soms </i>	sometimes
<i> moontlik </i>	possible (-ly)	<i> sonder </i>	without
<i> môre </i>	tomorrow, morning	<i> soos </i>	like
<i> my </i>	me, my	<i> sou </i>	would
<i> myne </i>	mine	<i> sowat </i>	about
<i> 'n </i>	a	<i> staan (gestaan) </i>	to stand
<i> (n) bietjie </i>	a bit	<i> stadig </i>	slow(ly)
<i> na </i>	to	<i> sy </i>	she; his
<i> ná </i>	after	<i> syne </i>	his; its
<i> naby </i>	near	<i> te </i>	to; too
<i> neem (geneem) </i>	to take	<i> teen </i>	against, towards
<i> nêrens </i>	nowhere	<i> ten </i>	at the
<i> nie </i>	not	<i> ter </i>	at the
<i> niemand </i>	nobody, no one	<i> terug </i>	back
<i> niks </i>	nothing	<i> toe </i>	when; then; to (place)
<i> nog </i>	still	<i> tog </i>	anyway, nevertheless
<i> nooit </i>	never	<i> tot(dat) </i>	till (conjunction)
<i> nou </i>	now		

<i>tot, toe</i>	till (preposition)
<i>tussen</i>	between
<i>u</i>	you, your (polite)
<i>u s'n</i>	yours (polite)
<i>uit</i>	out (of), from
<i>van</i>	from, of, off
<i>vandag</i>	today
<i>vat (gevat)</i>	to take
<i>veel</i>	much, many
<i>vertel</i>	to tell
<i>vinnig</i>	quick(ly)
<i>vir, -voor</i>	for
<i>voel</i>	to feel
<i>voor</i>	for; before, in front of
<i>waar</i>	where
<i>waaraan etc.</i>	on etc. what
<i>waarheen</i>	where (to)
<i>waarnatoe</i>	where (to)
<i>waarom</i>	why
<i>waarskynlik</i>	probably
<i>waarvandaan</i>	where from
<i>wanneer</i>	when
<i>want</i>	because
<i>was</i>	was
<i>wat</i>	what, who/ which (rel. pronoun)
<i>wat se</i>	which, what sort of
<i>wat van</i>	what about
<i>watter</i>	which
<i>weer</i>	again
<i>wees (gewees)</i>	to be
<i>weet (geweet)</i>	to know
<i>wel</i>	modal particle
<i>wens</i>	to wish
<i>wie</i>	who
<i>wie se/s'n</i>	whose
<i>wil</i>	to want to
<i>word</i>	to become, to get; passive auxiliary
<i>wou</i>	wanted

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Colette van Kerckvoorde

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This textbook presents the grammar of Middle Dutch from the twelfth to the fifteenth century in a step by step progression.

Each chapter consists of two parts: Reading and Textual Analysis, and Grammar. The Middle Dutch passages in the Reading and Textual Analysis sections have been selected to illustrate particular grammatical topics. Since the aim of this work is to introduce the reader to Middle Dutch literature, excerpts from classical Middle Dutch texts, both in prose and verse, have been selected, and background information for each excerpt is provided.

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