Grammatical innovations of German in multilingual Namibia: The expanded use of linking elements and *gehen* ('go') as a future auxiliary

Sheena Shah
Universität Hamburg

Christian Zimmer
Freie Universität Berlin

This paper provides an overview of the history and sociolinguistic setting of Germans and German in Namibia, which serves as a backdrop for our discussion on selected structural features of Namibian German. German has been actively spoken and used in Namibia since the 1880s, having been brought to the country through colonisation, and it remains till today to be linguistically vital. In this paper, we investigate two grammatical innovations in Namibian German via a questionnaire study, namely the expanded use of a) linking elements and b) *gehen* as a future auxiliary, and explore various factors which could have contributed to their emergence to better understand the dynamics of German in multilingual Namibia.

Keywords: German, Namibia, linking elements, future tense, language contact

1. INTRODUCTION

Namibia – previously German South-West Africa / *Deutsch-Südwestafrika* – is one of four former German colonies on the African continent. Unlike the other three – German East Africa, Togoland and German Cameroon – it is the only former German colony in Africa in which relatively large numbers of Germans settled and in which the German language continues till today to hold a special status within the country.

From a linguistic standpoint, the German spoken in Namibia (Namibian German, henceforth NG) presents an interesting case. It has been successfully maintained and used across generations for over a century in both formal and informal settings, and continues till today to be linguistically vital and strongly supported by the local German-speaking minority.[1] This makes it different from many of the extraterritorial German varieties spoken by the descendants of immigrants from Central Europe which are moribund today (e.g. Texas German), including other colonial varieties (e.g. Unserdeutsch), and more similar to extraterritorial varieties that are still acquired natively by children, including those of sectarian communities, such as Mennonite Low German in multiple Latin American countries, especially Paraguay, Bolivia, and Mexico, as well as in Russia (Siemens 2018), and Pennsylvania German, Hutterite German, Amish Alsatian German, and Amish Swiss German in the US and Canada (Louden 2020). However, unlike most varieties of German, its use is actively supported in various public domains as a result of its status as one of 13 national languages of Namibia (Shah & Zappen-

---

[1] The local German-speaking community mentioned here refers to the largest group of German speakers in Namibia, i.e. (for the most part white) people who acquired German as their L1 in Namibia. This group has its roots mainly in colonisation. See Section 3 for further details on other groups of German speakers in Namibia.

Thomson 2017). Speakers are typically trilingual and habitually speak at least Afrikaans and English, besides German (Wiese et al. 2017).

In general, German visitors to Namibia, during initial interactions with local German-speaking Namibians, often do not notice anything too unusual in their speech; at most lexical peculiarities may stand out. Indeed, (Standard) NG, especially when compared to extraterritorial varieties in other parts of the world, can be described as being relatively close to Standard German (henceforth SG). For a long time, also linguists described NG predominantly in terms of its lexicon, and specifically the ways in which it differed when compared to SG (see, e.g., Nöckler 1963 and Böhm 2003).[2] Its pronunciation and grammar were (erroneously) considered to approximate that of SG (see, e.g., Böhm 2003: 565), which led to the perception that it was less interesting from a variationist perspective than many other German varieties. However, in more recent years, more attention has been paid to other – mainly morphological and syntactic – standard-divergent features.[3] Much of the more recent work is based on a systematically compiled corpus (*Deutsch in Namibia, DNam*, 'German in Namibia'; Zimmer et al. 2020) which constitutes a valuable resource for the research community and provides a means to better understand many of the intricacies of German within the multilingual context of Namibia.

Our aims in this paper are two-fold: First, we present an overview of the history of German and Germans in Namibia (Section 2), followed by a discussion of the current sociolinguistic setting in which both the language and its speakers find themselves (Section 3). Second, we zoom in on two grammatical innovations in NG, namely the expanded use of linking elements (Section 4) and of *gehen* as a future auxiliary (Section 5), and investigate their use in present-day NG via a questionnaire study. Through an in-depth exploration of various factors which potentially could have contributed to the emergence of these two features, we aim to provide deeper insights into the dynamics of German in multilingual Namibia.

2. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The first Germans to arrive to the territory of today's Namibia[4] were missionaries. In 1806, Christian and Abraham Albrecht, two German brothers working for the London Missionary Society (LMS), established the first Christian mission in southern Namibia. They were followed by LMS missionary Johann Heinrich Schmelen, who founded a mission station in

---

[2] Needless to say, there are different varieties of SG, since German is a pluricentric language. For the German-speaking minority in Namibia, the SG of Germany is decisive in terms of normative orientation. Therefore, we will use *SG* here to refer to this standard variety. If we refer to the entirety of varieties as spoken in Germany (including SG), we will use the term *German German* (henceforth GG).

[3] See, e.g., Shah (2007); Riehl (2014); Wiese et al. (2014, 2017); Kellermeier-Rehbein (2015); Zimmer (2020, 2021a, c, forthcoming); Stuhl & Zimmer (2021); Wiese & Bracke (2021); Wiese, Sauermann & Bracke (forthcoming).

[4] The term *Namibia* came into use only in the late 1960s. The territory was named *German South-West Africa* during the German colonial period (1884–1915) and *South-West Africa* when the territory was under the South African mandate (1915–1990). Namibia gained independence on 21 March 1990 and officially became the Republic of Namibia. For reasons of simplicity, in this article, the territory – irrespective of time period – is consistently referred to as *Namibia*.

Bethanien (Kube & Kotze 2002: 258–259). In 1842, the Rhenish Missionary Society (RMS), one of the largest German missionary societies and the main missionary society in Namibia until the early 1900s (Ryland 2013), established its first mission in the country. Over the years, more missions were established by the RMS, totalling 18 by 1900 (Weigend 1985: 160). Although missionaries did not permanently settle in Namibia, they played an important role in attracting other, more permanent German settlers (Weigend 1985: 160) and in spreading the German language among the local black population. The latter was mainly achieved through the instruction of German as a foreign language in the Rhenish missionary schools and through the introduction of German as the medium of instruction at the Catholic mission stations (Zappen-Thomson 2000: 68–69).

A significant growth in the German-speaking population in Namibia took place during the colonial period of the German Empire (*Deutsches Kaiserreich*). Between 1884 and 1915, Namibia – or German South-West Africa, as the territory was then officially known – was under German colonial rule. Unlike most other former German colonies, which were viewed simply as "exploitation colonies", Namibia was perceived as a preferred "settler colony" due to, among others, its climate, size of the country, low population density and its relative proximity to Central Europe (as opposed to, for example, former German colonies in Melanesia) (Ammon 2015: 359). Between 1891 and 1913, both the German-speaking population and the proportion of Germans within the white population steadily increased (see Table 1). This was a result of a "deliberate settlement policy" (Deumert 2009: 356) of the German Empire to reinforce German colonial interests (Walther 2002: 10).

Year	Total population	Total: Whites	Total: Germans	% of Germans within the white population
1891		622	310	50%
1894		969	614	63%
1895		1,774	846	48%
1896		2,025	932	46%
1899		2,872	1,879	65%
1901		3,643	2,223	61%
1903		4,682	2,998	64%
1906		6,372	--	--
1907		7,110	4,929	69%
1908	67,426	8,213	6,215	76%
1909	74,908	11,791	9,283	79%
1913	98,034	14,830	12,292	83%

Table 1: German population statistics in Namibia, 1891–1913
Source: Figures for 1891–1899 from Deumert 2009: 357; figures for 1900–1913 from Oelhafen von Schöllenbach (1926: 110–111)

The composition of the Namibian population changed significantly during the colonial period, and specifically during the tragic Herero and Nama War (1904–1908), today recognised

as a genocide[5], in which "the German colonial army deliberately killed thousands of Herero and Nama men, women and children; let even more die of thirst in the Omaheke desert; and murdered thousands more by deliberate neglect in concentration camps" (Zimmerer 2008: 323). This colonial genocide led to the deaths of an estimated 80% of the Herero population and a third of the Nama population.

Unlike some of the other groups of early German settlers outside Namibia, whose origins for the most part can generally be pinpointed to specific dialect areas (e.g. southwestern regions of the German-speaking area for Pennsylvania Dutch speakers, see Louden 2016, and northern Germany for Springbok German[6] speakers, see Franke 2008), the original colonists who migrated to Namibia came from all over German-speaking Europe and therefore did not bring along a common dialect into the new settlement area (Shah 2007: 23; Zimmer 2021c). The mixture of different dialects triggered several developments that have been extensively described in the literature on dialect contact and new-dialect formation (e.g. Trudgill 1986, 2004; Kerswill & Trudgill 2005), such as levelling, interdialect formation, reallocation, and focussing (Zimmer 2021c). In these processes, variants from the most northern parts of the German-speaking area in Europe played an important role as large numbers of colonists came from these (Low German dialect) areas (Nöckler 1963: 18; Böhm 2003: 564; Zimmer 2021b, c).

The colonists settled mainly in the southern and central regions of Namibia; in the northern region, the German colonial administration exerted indirect control (Deumert 2009: 356). From the onset, the German colonists established various German-speaking institutions, among them German print media, schools, churches and various cultural, social and sports clubs; some of these early institutions are still operating today (Shah & Zappen-Thomson 2017). These institutions served not only to promote the German language, but also to create a sense of belonging by fostering *Deutschtum* ('Germanness') (Walther 2002).

During the colonial period, German was the sole official language of the territory. Despite this special status, it was not spoken by the majority of the population, instead Cape-Hollandic/Cape Dutch (later, Afrikaans) was the lingua franca (Gretschel 1995: 300).

In 1915, with the occupation of Namibia by the South African Union troops, the German colonial rule ended. From 1919 onwards, following the signing of the Peace Treaty of Versailles (Article 119), Namibia was administered by South Africa under a C-class mandate granted by the League of Nations. Large numbers of Germans were forced to leave Namibia during this period. In the year 1919 alone, 6,374 Germans were deported to Central Europe, leaving only about 6,700 Germans in the country (Kube and Kotze 2002: 283). In 1920, German ceased to be the official language of the territory and was replaced by Dutch (later Afrikaans) and English. Nonetheless, through successful lobbying by the German-speaking

---

[5] In 2015, the war was officially referred to as a *Völkermord* ('genocide') by the German foreign ministry (Bundespressekonferenz, 10 July 2015: https://www.bundesregierung.de/Content/DE/Mitschrift/Pressekonferenzen/2015/07/2015-07-10-regpk.html, last accessed 14 June 2018).

[6] *Springbok German* refers to the variety of German spoken in rural parts of the KwaZulu-Natal province of South Africa (Franke 2008: 31).

community, German remained in a privileged position[7] and continued to be used as the language of instruction in German medium schools in Namibia and as a working language of the government.

The deportation of almost half of the German population in 1919 and a drastic decline in the number of Germans migrating to Namibia during this period resulted in a decrease in the percentage of Germans within the increasing white, mainly Afrikaner[8], population from 83% of the total white population in 1913 to 40% in 1921 and 31% in 1936 (Table 2).

Year	Total: Whites	Total: Germans	% of Germans within the white population
1921	19,714	7,855	40%
1926	24,051	8,875	37%
1936	31,200	9,779	31%
1946	38,504	9,177	24%
1951	49,930	11,931	24%
1960	73,464	16,533	23%
1970	89,389	15,858	18%
1981	76,430	12,741	17%

Table 2: German population statistics in Namibia, 1921–1981
Source: Bähr (1989: 100)

With the outbreak of World War 2 and following South Africa's decision to enter the war and support Britain's war efforts, many German males were arrested and initially detained in the *Klein Danzig* internment camp in Windhoek, but later transferred to internment camps in South Africa. Further detainments took place in 1940. Andalusia near Kimberly had the largest number of internees (1,220 Germans by the end of 1940; Lunderstedt 2016); other internment camps included Baviaanspoort (near Pretoria) and Koffiefontein (near Kimberly). The interned Germans were only released in 1946 and were allowed to return home the following year. In the late 1940s, the German community in Namibia began to grow again, although their proportion among the white population continued to steadily decline during this period (Table 2).

From 1948, following the election victory of the National Party in South Africa, South African apartheid laws were extended to the territory of Namibia. This system of institutionalised racial segregation implemented by a white minority apartheid regime existed until the early 1990s. During this time, Afrikaans continued to be systematically promoted by the administration and was not only the dominant language used in various domains (e.g.

---

[7] German remained protected through the London Agreement of 1923, the Education Proclamation 16 of 1926, and the Swakopmund Agreement of 1929 between the administration and the *Deutscher Schulverein* of Swakopmund (Gretschel 1993: 52).

[8] The term *Afrikaner* traditionally refers to people who identify with the white Afrikaans-speaking group living in southern Africa and who are of European descent. Afrikaners are descendants of Dutch, German, and French Huguenot immigrants, and to a lesser extent, of other Europeans and indigenous African peoples (see Bergerson 2011: 24–27 for more details).

government, education, etc.), but also served as a lingua franca for inter-ethnic communication (Harlech-Jones 1995). For many decades, the German-speaking community unsuccessfully sought to improve the status of German in Namibia. Only in 1984, German was elevated to an official language, serving as the third official language within the Administration for Whites (Gretschel 1995: 303), the other two being English and Afrikaans, which were official languages on the national level. In 1990, when Namibia gained independence, English became the sole official language of the country and German was recognised as one of 13 national languages.

Since Namibia gained independence in 1990, the German-speaking population in Namibia has been hovering around 1% of the total Namibian population (Table 3).[9] Today, about 20,000 Namibians have German as their L1.

Year	Total: Population	Total: German speakers / households	% of German-speaking population
1991	1,409,920	12,827 speakers	1%
2001	1,830,330	3,654 households	1.1%
2011	2,113,077	4,359 households	0.9%

Table 3: German population statistics in Namibia, 1991–2011

3. SOCIOLINGUISTIC CONTEXT

German is linguistically vital in Namibia. It is spoken by diverse groups of people, the largest among them being descendants of Germans who settled in Namibia during and after the colonial times. They are an economically strong group, who are mostly concentrated in urban areas of central Namibia (Figure 1) such as Windhoek (Khomas region), Swakopmund (Erongo region) and Otjiwarongo (Otjozondjupa region). A significantly smaller number of the German speakers are spread across the country in rural areas, predominately on farms (slightly more than 700 German-speaking households live in rural areas of Namibia, according to the 2011 Census; Namibia Statistics Agency 2011: 171).

---

[9] The following sources were used to create Table 3: 1991 Population and Housing Census, Figure 8.1 (Central Statistics Office 1994); Distribution of households by main language spoken, Namibia, 2001 Census, Table 7.4 (Central Bureau of Statistics 2001); Namibia 2011: Population and Housing Census Main Report (Namibia Statistics Agency 2011).
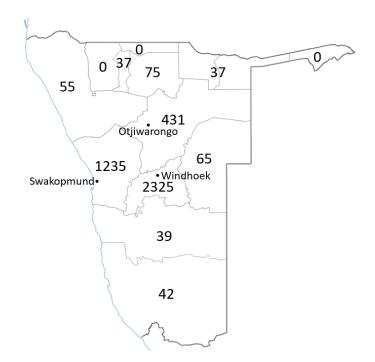
Figure 1: Regional distribution of German-speaking households[10]
Source: Namibia Statistics Agency (2011: 171)

Other groups of German speakers in Namibia include German citizens (referred to as *Deutschländer* or more mockingly as *Jerries* by German-speaking Namibians) who migrated more recently to Namibia and a much smaller group of approximately 430 so-called *DDR-Kinder* ('German Democratic Republic children')[11] (see, e.g., Kenna 2004 and Witte et al. 2014). In addition, there are numerous individuals who acquire German as an additional language. These include the ever-increasing number of learners of German as a foreign language (*Deutsch als Fremdsprache, DaF*) who are taught German at various educational institutions in the country (Shah and Zappen-Thomson 2017: 139), as well as individuals who acquire German in more informal contexts (e.g. children of farm workers who may pick up German through play and interaction with the children of German farmers). Finally, a "dying contact variety" (Deumert 2009: 349) known as "Namibian Kiche Duits" (lit. 'kitchen German') is a German-based variety which developed during German colonialism. Crucially, Kiche Duits never became an in-group language, but was mainly employed for inter-ethnic communication between the German colonists and their workers (Deumert 2009, 2017, 2018).

In this paper, we focus on the German spoken by the descendants of German colonists who settled in Namibia during and after the colonial times. According to Schlettwein (2018: 329),

---

[10] Source of map: https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Namibia_Regions_Blank.PNG (last accessed 12 May 2021). Changes made to the original map by the authors: Numbers indicating regional distribution of German-speaking households. The Kavango Region (bordering Caprivi to the east, Otjozondjupa to the south, Oshikoto to the west and Ohangwena to the northwest) was split into Kavango East and Kavango West in 2013. Since the Census was carried out in 2011, the number of German-speaking households is available for "Kavango" only.

[11] The term *DDR-Kinder* refers to black Namibian children who were raised in East Germany from 1979–1990.

"the 'indigenous' native German speakers in Namibia have created their own brand of German, which manifests itself at structural, pronunciation and metaphorical levels, as well as the borrowing of vocabulary, from Afrikaans, English, Oshiwambo, Khoekhoegowab and Otjiherero".

A number of terms are used to refer to this "own brand of German" (for a detailed discussion on terminology, see Zimmer 2019: 1185–1186). The term *Südwesterdeutsch* ('South-Westerners' German'), which relates to the former colonial name of Namibia, i.e. *Südwestafrika* ('South-West Africa'), was in wide circulation prior to and immediately after Namibia gained independence in 1990 (see, e.g., Gretschel 1984, 1995; Pütz 1991; Böhm 2003: 563). Although the term is nowadays considered politically incorrect, it continues to be used in Namibia, albeit less frequently. The term *Nam-Släng*, promoted by the Namibian German Kwaito artist and rapper "EES" through his YouTube channel[12] (see also Sell 2011, 2014), refers to a youth variety (Zappen-Thomson 2013; Kellermeier-Rehbein 2015) which is primarily realised in speech and exemplified seldom in writing, and usually only in an informal manner for the purposes of demonstrating authenticity and local flavour, e.g. in the squibs (*Glossen*) of the *Allgemeine Zeitung* (AZ)[13] (see Radke 2017). A more neutral all-encompassing term used by speakers is *Namdeutsch* ('Nam-German'). Other terms found in the literature include *Namibisches Deutsch*, *Namibia-Deutsch* (Kellermeier-Rehbein 2016: 223) and *Namlish*[14].

NG is not a homogenous variety and is best described along a continuum, one end resembling a standard-based variety of NG (i.e. a variety close to SG, as spoken in Germany) and the other end approximating a non-standard variety of NG (i.e. *Südwesterdeutsch/Nam-Släng/Namdeutsch/Namlish*). NG features are used cross-generationally (Wiese et al. 2017: 234; Zimmer forthcoming) and the frequency in the use of typical NG features depends on a number of variables; these may relate to the speaker (e.g. age, gender, L1 of parents, school attended) and/or to the situation at hand (e.g. topic of conversation, degree of formality, presence of in-group vs. out-group speakers) (Zimmer 2020; Wiese & Bracke 2021; Wiese, Sauermann & Bracke forthcoming). The use – conscious or unconscious – of highly marked NG features, and in particular the extensive borrowing of lexical items from Afrikaans and English, is more typical of informal spoken speech (Wiese & Bracke 2021; Bracke 2021) and is particularly frequent in discussion of topics for which German-speaking Namibians do not have the necessary German vocabulary at their disposal (e.g. when talking about their profession, for which they were educated/trained in either English or Afrikaans).

NG is used in both oral and written communication, i.e. NG is not restricted to the spoken domain; rather, lexical items specific to NG sometimes appear in the written domain (e.g. in the AZ, see, e.g., Kellermeier-Rehbein 2018; Kroll-Tjingaete 2018), NG morphosyntactic

---

[12] https://www.youtube.com/user/eesyees (last accessed 12 May 2021)

[13] The *Allgemeine Zeitung* is a daily German newspaper in Namibia, which is read by almost all German-speaking households in Namibia (Shah and Zappen-Thomson 2017: 137).

[14] *Namlish*, a blend of *Namibia* and *English*, originally described the variety of English spoken in Namibia. Nowadays, it seems to be used in a broader sense to refer to the mixing of various Namibian languages (Buschfeld & Schröder 2019: 352) to create a specific Namibian identity.

patterns less so (Shah 2007). Various dictionaries of NG words have been published over the years (Nöckler 1963; Pütz 2001; Sell 2011).[15] A number of common NG lexical items are considered core vocabulary items by the community and their use is not stigmatised. Some of the most common NG lexical items have also found their way into the second edition of the *Variantenwörterbuch des Deutschen* (Ammon, Bickel & Lenz 2016) and are considered to be standard.[16] These include *Braai* ('barbecue'), *Panga* ('bush knife'), and *Rivier* ('dry river') (Ammon, Bickel and Lenz 2016: 128, 521, 600). SG nevertheless functions as the prestige variety (as far as overt prestige is concerned), promoted by educational institutions.

The community is generally proud of their ability to speak German and of the variety of German they speak (see Wiese, Sauermann & Bracke forthcoming on the tension between standard language ideology and pride in local NG characteristics). For this close-knit speech community, language is considered an in-group marker and seems to constitute a significant component of their unique Namibian-German identity, allowing them to demarcate themselves from the 'other Germans', i.e. Germans from Germany, as well as from other Namibian ethnic groups (see also Schmidt-Lauber 1998: 308–309; Wecker 2017; Wiese et al. 2017: 7; Wiese & Bracke 2021; Bracke 2021; Wiese, Sauermann & Bracke forthcoming).

German is acquired as a first language by the younger generations through intergenerational language transmission. It is used in private domains, i.e. the home environment, as well as in numerous public domains, including cultural, religious, educational, medical and professional domains (see Shah and Zappen-Thomson 2017: 135–141). These include kindergartens, primary and secondary schools, boarding schools, churches, media, some areas of business (esp. tourism), etc. (Ammon 2015; Wiese et al. 2017; Zimmer 2019). It is visible in the public space through signs, street names, and place names. With numerous business enterprises being run by German-speaking Namibians, it is widely considered to be a business language of Namibia. This makes it an attractive language for Namibians to learn due to the professional opportunities it offers, and job advertisements in the local newspapers often demand or strongly desire competency in German (see Figure 2).[17]

---

[15] Nöckler (1963) is the first comprehensive compilation of NG terms together with their translations. His compilation includes loanwords, German neologisms, and German words and phrases with different or expanded meanings in NG. Given that it was published more than half a century ago, a number of the terms listed by him are no longer in use in present-day Namibia. The dictionaries by Pütz (2001) and Sell (2011), which are of an extremely casual nature, target the layperson. Both authors list *Südwesterdeutsch*/*Nam-Släng* terms together with their translations and illustrate the use of these terms in sentences which they themselves have fabricated.

[16] The second edition of the *Variantenwörterbuch des Deutschen* contains 37 NG terms (Ammon et al. 2016: xiii); for a list of these terms, see Häusler (2018: 206). The dictionary is used in German schools and is introduced to teachers. For example, during the annual introduction session for the new teachers at the *Deutsche Höhere Privatschule* (DHPS), teachers are made aware of the dictionary, requesting them not to merely regard the NG lexemes as mistakes but instead to use this opportunity to create language awareness amongst learners. The dictionary is particularly useful for teachers from Germany, since they are often not aware of the intricacies of NG.

[17] The job advertisement on the left lists desired competences of applicants. These include "Deutschkenntnisse" ('German language skills').
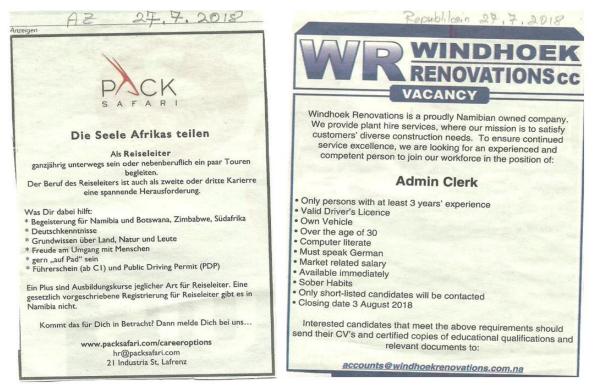
Figure 2: Job advertisements in the German-language newspaper, *Allgemeine Zeitung* (left), and the Afrikaans-language newspaper, *Republikein* (right), July 2018

The status of a national language confers certain privileges, allowing German, for example, to be used in education, legislation, administration, and jurisdiction. The state support, which German receives, is complemented by the support it receives through local private means as well as from sources in Germany (either from the German Government or from private donors). For example, in the realm of education, the subjects *Deutsch als Muttersprache* (*DaM*) and *Deutsch als Fremdsprache* (*DaF*) receive state and private support, both from Namibia and Germany (Table 4). These various levels of support – together with the strong language loyalty among German-speaking Namibians and the many efforts which the community makes to preserve their language – have contributed to its continued use and its success to resist the otherwise prevalent English hegemony in Namibia (Shah and Zappen-Thomson 2017).

	State support (Namibian Government)	Local private support (Namibia)	International support (German Government)	Private support (Germany)
DaM	14 schools (2016) 1 university NBC Funkhaus Namibia	Allgemeine Zeitung (AZ) Arbeits- und Fördergemeinschaft Deutscher Schulen in Namibia (AGDS) Hörerinitiative Deutscher Kulturrat Namibia (DKR) Hitradio Namibia	Deutsche Höhere Privatschule German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD)	Interns
DaF	52 schools 3 universities -	Association of German School Societies in Namibia (AGDS)	Deutsche Höhere Privatschule "Schools: Partners for the Future" initiative (PASCH) Goethe Institute German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD)	Deutsch-Namibische Gesellschaft (DNG) Interns

Table 4: Support for the German language in Namibia (*DaF: Deutsch als Fremdsprache, DaM: Deutsch als Muttersprache*)
Source: Shah and Zappen-Thomson (2017)

Namibians – like most Africans – are multilingual, and the German-speaking community in Namibia is no exception. Code-switching is done frequently and with ease. In addition to the registers of German which they can effortlessly switch between (NG, SG, etc.), they routinely use other languages, typically Afrikaans and English, which they generally master to a high standard or even fluently. The older generation is more familiar with Afrikaans. The younger generation, by contrast, uses English more often; for them, English symbolises "a marker of a new and more inter-ethnically/-racially open generation of German Namibians" (Wiese et al. 2017: 234). German-speaking Namibians may also have competence – to varying degrees – in one or more of the ten other national languages of Namibia. This is especially the case for German children who grow up on farms; through, e.g. play and interaction with the children of farm workers (who may speak languages such as Oshiwambo, Otjiherero and Khoekhoegowab), they may acquire one or more of these languages (Wiese et al. 2017: 8).[18]

All aspects mentioned so far have shaped (in one way or another) the structural characteristics of NG. They are therefore crucial for a holistic understanding of such properties. This holds for historical aspects, the vitality of NG, language attitudes within the community, schooling, media, multilingualism, etc. In the following, we zoom in on two morphosyntactic

---

[18] 16 % of all speakers whose language use is documented in the *DNam* corpus reported at least some knowledge of one of these languages (Khoekhoegowab: 9 speakers, Otjiherero: 6, and Oshiwambo: 3).

features of NG in order to illustrate some of its grammatical characteristics. This complements our historical and sociolinguistic descriptions and shows how these aspects interact with each other.

The two morphosyntactic features which we investigate are the linking element *+s+* (Section 4) and the *gehen* + infinitive construction (Section 5). These case studies were specifically chosen, as different explanations could at first glance explain their development in NG. While the *gehen* + infinitive construction in NG bears striking resemblance to a parallel structure in Afrikaans and English, this does not seem to be the case with the linking elements in NG.[19] Accordingly, language contact seems to be of different importance regarding the two phenomena, which opens up an interesting and comparative perspective on grammatical innovations in NG. A deeper exploration of these features can provide insights into different kinds of dynamics of German in the multilingual context of Namibia.

Both phenomena are analysed via a questionnaire study. This method was particularly suitable for our purposes, as it allowed for a systematic elicitation of target language forms. Through its quick administration, a larger sample size was also possible. Where possible, the *DNam* corpus is also used for our analysis.[20]

4. LINKING ELEMENTS

In German, compounds occur in two variants: either the compound consists only of the stems (e.g. *Hand+tasche* 'handbag'), or a linking element is inserted between the stems (e.g. *Heizung+s+keller* 'boiler room').[21] This holds true for both GG and NG. However, in Namibia, linking elements are more frequently used and can be found in compounds in which GG would usually not use this element.[22] Examples include *Lehn+s+wort* ('loan word'), *Kreuzwort+s+räsel* ('crossword puzzle'), and *Miet+s+wagen* ('rental car'). The latter appears, for example, in the AZ, Namibia's German newspaper (see (1) and (2)).

---

[19] Since detailed studies of Namibian English are very rare, we draw on literature on better described varieties when a closer examination of English is needed. This seems appropriate to us, since the topics discussed here are not among those phenomena for which peculiarities of Namibian English have been reported so far (Buschfeld & Kautzsch 2014; Kautzsch 2019; Steigertahl 2019).

[20] The *DNam* corpus is openly accessible via the *Database for Spoken German:* <https://dgd.ids-mannheim.de/> (last accessed 12 May 2021). It contains three types of data (conversation groups, "language situations", semi-structured interviews) and approximately 18 hours of transcribed, normalised, and annotated audio recordings of more than 100 speakers of NG (age range: 14−75). See Zimmer et al. (2020) for more information.

[21] In some cases, the first constituent exhibits *umlaut* in addition to a linking element (e.g. *Buch – Bücherregal* 'book – bookshelf'). However, these cases are not relevant for our argumentation.

[22] There is abundant literature on the use of linking elements in GG, which cannot be summarised exhaustively here. The relevant aspects will be discussed in some detail in the remainder of this section. For more information, see, e.g., Augst (1975); Ortner et al. (1991); Fuhrhop (1996, 1998); Krott et al. (2007); Nübling & Szczepaniak (2008); Donalies & Bubenhofer (2011); Fuhrhop & Kürschner (2015); Kopf (2018a); and the literature cited therein.

(1) Das Trio sei in einem AVIS-**Mietswagen**, einem weißen Doppelkabiner vom Typ Toyota Hilux, unterwegs gewesen. (*Allgemeine Zeitung*, 31 December 2015)

'The trio had been traveling in an AVIS rental car, a white Toyota Hilux double cab.'

(2) Bei einem Frontalzusammenstoß zwischen seinem Wagen und einem **Mietswagen** mit deutschen Touristen […]. (*Allgemeine Zeitung*, 24 January 2017)

'In a head-on collision between his car and a rental car with German tourists […]'

This particular variant is very unusual in GG. In the German Reference Corpus (*Deutsches Referenzkorpus*, *DeReKo*)[23], there are only four instances of *Miet+s+wagen*. The competing variant (i.e. *Mietwagen*) appears 60,191 times, i.e. in more than 99.99% of cases.

This standard-divergent feature of NG seems to be particularly interesting as the main contact languages do not seem to play a major role here. For example, the linking element in *Miet+s+wagen* can neither be explained by direct transfer from Afrikaans (the equivalent would be *huur+motor*) nor by transfer from English (*rental car*; details to be discussed below). Hence, different approaches have to be considered in order to understand the phenomenon. Convergence, which has been the standard explanation provided for most standard-divergent features of NG, does not seem to apply here. Instead, we will argue that the history of German provides important insights. In the following, we will discuss the results of a questionnaire study. Subsequently, we will provide a brief overview of the emergence and spread of the linking element *+s+* in German in general and examine how this might be used to explain our observations made in Namibia.[24]

4.1. Questionnaire data

Starting from the observation that linking elements can be observed in NG that are unusual in GG, we conducted a questionnaire study to learn more about this phenomenon.[25] We asked German-speaking Namibians to translate a list of selected words and phrases from English to German (see Table 5, leftmost column).[26] An advantage of this method is that linking elements are extremely rare in English, so there should be no bias towards linking elements.[27] The translation task also contained 12 fillers.

The English words were selected to elicit one of the 26 German compounds listed in Table 5 (third column). As was to be expected, not all participants used one of these German translations. For example, *suit trousers* was repeatedly translated as *Hose* ('trousers'), which by definition cannot contain a linking element because it is a simplex. Such answers were excluded from the analyses.

---

[23] Leibniz-Institut für Deutsche Sprache (2020), release DeReKo-2020-I; <www.ids-mannheim.de/DeReKo> (last accessed 5 March 2021).

[24] Other linking elements exist in German (such as *+en+*; see, e.g., Nübling & Szczepaniak 2008), but our focus is on *+s+* because this component is most relevant with regard to NG.

[25] Corpus linguistic methods could not be used for this case study because (potentially) relevant constructions are too rare in the *DNam* corpus.

[26] All participants were fluent in English.

[27] There is only one English item in the task that arguably contains a linking element, namely *sports club*. The translations of this word do not conspicuously tend toward a higher frequency in the use of linking elements.

The list of words was compiled in such a way that German translations had to be chosen which differ from each other with respect to linking elements in SG. Since the distribution of +s+ in SG to a large extent does not follow simple rules, we relied on corpus data for the selection of items – there are only some morphological/phonological properties of the first constituent that (almost) obligatorily entail the use of the linking element (e.g. the suffixes *-heit/keit, -ion,* (*i*)*tät, -ling, -sal, -schaft, -tum,* and *-ung*) or prevent it (e.g. masculine gender + weak inflection class membership; constituent-final sibilant; constituent-final vowels).[28] Other cases are subject to lexeme-specific preferences (see Kopf 2018a: 28–32, 43 for an overview).[29] Table 5 lists the selected items and contains information on the frequency of the linking element in the German Reference Corpus (rightmost column).[30] The range extends from mandatory linking elements (e.g. *Arbeit+s+platz* 'working place') to cases where a linking element would be considered ungrammatical in SG (**Taxi+s+fahrer* 'taxi driver'). For some words, both variants occur frequently (e.g. *Schaden+s+ersatz* vs. *Schaden+ersatz* 'compensation for damages'). Furthermore, the final sound of the first constituent of the compound was varied as it has been shown that this aspect has a crucial impact on the distribution of +s+ in GG (see, e.g., Kopf 2018a: 30–32): first constituents ending in a plosive or a vowel were integrated (in addition to *Schaden*(*s*)*ersatz*, where the first constituent ends in a nasal sound).

---

[28] Note that there are some German dialects for which the latter restriction does not apply, e.g. East Franconian (Nickel 2016: 232, 238), especially when the first constituent is a diminutive (see also Kopf 2018a: 42). The only exceptions in SG seem to be compounds with proper names as a first constituent (Kopf 2018a: 32).

[29] There are, however, some statistical tendencies. For example, +s+ is more likely if the first constituent ends in a plosive compared to first constituents ending in a fricative or a nasal (Kopf 2018a: 28). Furthermore, the linking element occurs more often if the first constituent is prefixed.

[30] Only texts from Germany were considered because there are slight differences in the use of linking elements between Germany and other German-speaking European countries (e.g. Austria, Switzerland) and regions (e.g. South Tyrol) (see, e.g., Donalies & Bubenhofer 2011: 86–92 and the corresponding entries in Variantengrammatik des Standarddeutschen 2018 ['Variational Grammar of Standard German']) and Namibian speakers of German are generally orientated towards language use in Germany. The following archive was used: *W-ohneWikipedia-öffentlich - alle öffentlichen Korpora des Archivs W (mit Neuakquisitionen, ohne Wikipedia)*.

English	Afrikaans	German	+*s*+ in *DeReKo*
car tyre	motorband	Auto(s)reifen	≤ 1%
climate change	klimaat(s)verandering	Klima(s)wandel	≤ 1%
		Klima(s)veränderung	≤ 1%
crossword puzzle	kruiswoordraaisel/ blokkiesraaisel/ blokraaisel	Kreuzwort(s)rätsel	≤ 1%
gift wrapping paper	geskenkpapier	Geschenk(s)papier	≤ 1%
lunch	middagete	Mittag(s)essen	≤ 1%
office chair	kantoorstoel	Büro(s)stuhl	≤ 1%
rental car	huurmotor	Miet(s)wagen/	≤ 1%
		Miet(s)auto	≤ 1%
risk factor	risikofaktor	Risiko(s)faktor	≤ 1%
sports club	sportvereneging	Sport(s)verein /	≤ 1%
		Sport(s)klub	≤ 1%
taxi driver	taxibestuurder/ taxidrywer	Taxi(s)fahrer	≤ 1%
rental apartment	huurwoonstel	Miet(s)wohnung	3%
suit trousers	pakbroek	Anzug(s)hose	11%
member state	lidstaat	Mitglied(s)staat	37%
compensation for damages	skadevergoeding	Schaden(s)ersatz	39%
advent calendar	adventskalender	Advent(s)kalender	≥ 99%
birthday party	verjaardag(s)partyverjaardag(s)partytjie	Geburt(s)tag(s)feier/	≥ 99%
		Geburt(s)tag(s)party	≥ 99%
businessman	handelaar/ sakeman/ besigheidsman	Geschäft(s)mann	≥ 99%
folk music	volksmusiek	Volk(s)musik	≥ 99%
proposal	huweliksaanbod/ huweliksaansoek/ huweliksvoorstel	Heirat(s)antrag	≥ 99%
working place	werk(s)plek	Arbeit(s)platz	≥ 99%

Table 5: Critical items in the translation task

116 speakers of NG took part in our study (100 secondary school students and 16 adults, age range: 14 to 66 years). The data was collected in 2018 in three Namibian cities: Windhoek, Swakopmund, and Otjiwarongo. 54 females and 58 males participated in the study (no other categories were suggested by the participants), and four participants did not report their gender. The participants produced 1,251 compounds that could be used for our analyses. Since *Geburt+s+tag+s+party* and *Geburt+s+tag+s+feier* contain two slots that could be filled with

a linking element, these words are counted twice, resulting in a total number of 1,358 tokens to be analysed.

In 524 cases, an +*s*+ was used (i.e. in 39% of cases). Among the variables that (potentially) influence the distribution of this linking element, the final sound of the first constituent stands out. A final vowel of the first constituent never co-occurs with +*s*+ in our data set – *Bürostuhl*, *Klimawandel*, *Klimaveränderung*, *Risikofaktor*, and *Taxifahrer* are never used with a linking element. Accordingly, this seems to be an inviolable constraint. Given the large amount of standard-divergent variants in NG (both in general when compared to GG and in our particular case with regard to linking elements; see below), this is a remarkable observation. Of the other potential factors, none categorically co-occurs with either +*s*+ or with +Ø+. This, however, does not mean that none of them has an impact on the variation. Rather, there is no categorical difference here, but (at best) a tendency.

In order to test the impact of the other variables, a binomial generalised linear mixed model (GLMM) was applied (see, e.g., Baayen 2008: 278–284).[31] Because of the high number of potentially influential factors, such a multifactorial analysis seems appropriate. A particular advantage of mixed models (such as GLMM) is that random effects can be integrated (see below). All tokens with a first constituent ending in a vowel were excluded for this analysis and the final sound of the first constituent was not integrated as a predictor because one level of this variable could perfectly predict the outcome, i.e. we are dealing with complete separation (see, e.g., Levshina 2015: 273). Instead, six other variables were included. These are either sociolinguistic in nature (i.e. AGE, GENDER, and RESIDENCE of the participant) or they refer to features of the respective compound.[32] The latter includes a variable that contains information on how often a linking element occurs in the word in question in GG (LE_GERMANY). This variable has three levels: 'yes' if +*s*+ is used in ≥ 99% of all cases in the German Reference Corpus, 'no' if it is used in ≤ 1%, and 'facultative' for all cases in between (see Table 5). LE_AFRIKAANS, i.e. the second of these variables, incorporates information on Afrikaans and has two levels: 'yes' was assigned if there is an equivalent in Afrikaans that contains a linking element (e.g. *huwelik+s+voorstel* 'wedding proposal') and 'no' if that is not the case (e.g. *geskenk+Ø+papier* 'gift wrapping paper'; see Table 5, second column).[33] The possible impact of the absence/presence of a linking element in SG and Afrikaans was considered because of the normative orientation towards SG and the intense contact with Afrikaans. And finally, the variable COGNATES_1CONSTITUENT was integrated, which contains information on whether the first constituent of the English word which was given in the study

---

[31] The software R (R Core Team 2020) and RStudio (RStudio Team 2020) were used for this and all subsequent analyses in this paper. For GLMMs, the package lme4 was used (Bates et al. 2015).

[32] Our hypotheses behind the sociolinguistic variables were that younger and male speakers and those from more rural areas might deviate more strongly from SG. These hypotheses are based on insights in sociolinguistic variation in NG in other domains and/or stereotypes described by members of the community (Bracke 2021).

[33] The classification was based on entries in dictionaries and on corpus studies we conducted in the corpus which is part of the *Leipzig Corpora Collection*: Afrikaans mixed corpus based on material from 2014. Leipzig Corpora Collection. Dataset. <https://corpora.uni-leipzig.de?corpusId=afr_mixed_2014> (last accessed 5 March 2021).

and the first constituent of the German translation are cognates (e.g. *birthday party* and *Geburt+s+tag+s+feier*) or not (e.g. *suit trousers* and *Anzug+s+hose*). This variable allows us to assess whether close resemblance of the English items and the German target words had an influence on how participants responded (see below for more details).

In addition to these (potentially) explanatory variables, two random effects were integrated, namely PARTICIPANT and TYPE. This is to ensure that neither any idiosyncratic behaviour of individual speakers skews the results nor outliers caused only by one specific compound type.[34] The presence or absence of +*s*+ is the binary dependent variable (LE) that is to be predicted by the explanatory variables.[35]

To test which variable has a significant impact on the dependent variable, a maximum model was fitted as a first step. The model specification is given in (3).

(3) le ~ age + gender_speaker + residence + le_germany + cognates_1constituent + le_Afrikaans + (1|participant) + (1|type)

Subsequently, all variables that do not significantly improve the quality of the model were identified. Only LE_GERMANY and COGNATES_1CONSTITUENT significantly contribute to the correct prediction of the outcome. This indicates that the presence or absence of a linking element in Afrikaans equivalent terms does not influence the likelihood of +*s*+ in our data. The same holds for the sociolinguistic variables. All these variables were removed from the model in a second step. Hence, the final model contains two explanatory variables and the random effects (see Table 6).

	Estimate	Std. Error	z value	Pr (> |z|)
(Intercept)	0.3515	0.7934	0.443	> 0.05
LE_GERMANY (reference level: facultative)				
no	-1.7348	1.0173	-1.705	> 0.05
yes	4.8705	1.2648	3.851	< 0.001***
COGNATES_1CONSTITUENT (reference level: no)				
yes	-3.3689	0.9950	-3.386	< 0.001***

Table 6: Results of a GLMM

This model explains a substantial proportion of the variance (marginal $r^2 = 0.595$; conditional $r^2 = 0.753$) and discriminates very well (C = 0.959). 88.9% of all observations are correctly predicted by the model (this rate is significantly higher than the *No Information Rate*;

---

[34] Our data set contains many graphematic variants, including standard-divergent spellings (e.g. <Arbeits Platz>, <Arbeitz platz>, <arbeits plaz> etc.; *Arbeitsplatz*, 'working place'). These variants were lumped together to one type. Only in one case a specific spelling led to the exclusion of the corresponding tokens: answers containing <folk> or <Folk> as the first constituent in the compound *Volksmusik* had to be excluded as it cannot be ruled out that the participants had English *folk* (which is an established loan word in German, denoting a specific style of music) in mind instead of German *Volk* ('folk'/'people'), which would have an impact on the presence/absence of a linking element.

[35] Variants other than +*s*+ or +Ø+ (e.g. +*e*+ in <Geschenke papier>, 'gift wrapping paper') occurred only nine times in the entire data set (i.e. less than 1%). These marginal cases were excluded from the analysis.

p > 0.001***). Multicollinearity is no problem as all *Variation Inflation Factors* (*VIF*s) are below 3.

The variable LE_GERMANY indicates that more participants used a linking element if +*s*+ is obligatory in the respective compound in SG. Thus, there are parallels between SG and the participants' response behaviour. This is not very surprising given the general orientation towards SG in the context of German as a subject in schools and in Namibia's German-language media, etc. But interestingly, the level 'no' does not reach the significance level. The absence of linking elements in the corresponding compounds in SG does not decrease the probability of +*s*+ (compared to the reference level 'facultative') − +*s*+ is distributed far more broadly in our data set than in SG texts. In contrast to the final sound of the first constituent (see above), the influence of LE_GERMANY is far from categorical: Whilst most tokens in the analysed data set are in line with SG, a non-marginal number of tokens is not: 109 tokens can be classified as standard-divergent (i.e. 11.7% of all tokens where the use +*s*+ is not facultative in SG; for more details, see below). Furthermore, a closer look at the compounds with an optional linking element in SG reveals another difference: The proportion of tokens with +*s*+ per type is consistently higher in our data than in the German Reference Corpus. This difference is significant in three cases (see Table 7).[36]

	Our data set	*DeReKo*	p	odds ratio
Anzug(*s*)*hose* 'suit trousers'	39% n = 41	11% n = 732	< 0.001***	5.347025
Miet(*s*)*wohnung* 'rental appartment'	29% n = 31	3% n = 7,663	< 0.001***	14.64197
Mitglied(*s*)*staat* 'member state'	100% n = 14	37% n = 5,700	< 0.001***	–
Schaden(*s*)*ersatz* 'compensation for damages'	62% n = 13	39 % n = 68,048	> 0.05	–

Table 7: Proportion of tokens with +*s*+ per type

One should keep in mind that different types of data were compared and the sample size for Namibia is small.[37] However, the results could be read as an indication of a tendency towards a) the use of +*s*+ in cases where the linking element is optional in SG and b) standard-divergent compounds.[38]

The latter includes both standard-divergent presence and absence of a linking element. However, omitted linking elements should not be overrated. As stated above, the translation task has been chosen because no bias towards +*s*+ is to be expected due to the absence of

---

[36] Fisher's Exact Test was used (see, e.g., Gries 2014). Odds ratios are not given for *Mitglied*(*s*)*staat* as there are only instances which include a linking element in our data set. The data from the German Reference Corpus are those already used for Table 5 above.

[37] In addition, especially the difference regarding the use of *Schaden*(+*s*+)*ersatz* might also reflect genre differences.

[38] Unfortunately, it is not readily possible to repeat the study in Germany, as a high level of English competence would be required among the participants.

linking elements in (most of) the English words. However, there might naturally be a bias towards +Ø+. In fact, also the results of the GLMM support this idea. The estimate of the second significant variable, COGNATES_1CONSTITUENT, indicates that +Ø+ is more likely to occur if the first constituents of the source word and the translation are cognates. This means that standard-divergent omission of the linking element is more likely in words like *Advent+s+kalender* ('advent calendar') than in *Arbeit+s+platz* ('working place'). Presumably, close resemblance of the English and the German words fosters a 1:1 transfer from one language into the other during the translation task. There might be an effect that goes beyond this potential artefact of the method, i.e. an impact on natural language use. It is conceivable that similarity promotes convergence here. But this cannot be determined with our method. It is well known that translations which resemble their source have to be taken with caution. Therefore, many scholars focus on deviations from the translated source (see, e.g., Fleischer, Hinterhölzl & Solf 2008 for methodological considerations on this issue). This is also how we will proceed in the following. The standard-divergent occurrences of +s+ are more interesting in any case, as they can neither be explained as an artefact of the method, nor as transfer from English. In addition, as indicated by the variable LE_AFRIKAANS, which had no significant impact, there is no evidence for an influence of the Afrikaans equivalents.

Another possible explanation for the repeated occurrences of standard-divergent +s+ in NG (and the possible increase in frequency in contexts where +s+ is also possible in SG) would be the influence of Afrikaans on a more abstract level. If Afrikaans made much more use of +s+ than German, an expansion of +s+ could be explained as a contact induced change from a minor to a major use pattern (Heine & Kuteva 2005: 40–62). However, this premise does not seem to be fulfilled. Combrink (1990: 272), for example, states: "In Sweeds en Duits is -s- bv. uiters volop, in Nederlands en Afrikaans minder, in Fries nog minder en in Engels die minste." ('In Swedish and German, -s- is e.g. extremely abundant, in Dutch and Afrikaans less, in Frisian even less and in English the least.').[39] The +s+ linking element is typically used in similar contexts in Afrikaans and SG. For example, first constituents ending in *-heid/-heit*, *-ing/-ung*, or *-skap/-schaft* almost categorically co-occur with +s+ in both languages (see, e.g., Kempen 1969: 99–102 on Afrikaans and Ortner et al. 1991: 73–75 on German).[40] Apart from such specific contexts, there are many cases where the use of +s+ cannot be described by simple rules. This holds both for German and for Afrikaans (see, e.g., Donaldson 1993: 438–439 and Krott et al. 2007). In fact, the distribution has been called "arbitrary" (Fuhrhop & Kürschner 2015: 576) or "idiosyncratic" (Krott et al. 2007: 45). Crucially, there is no rule along the lines of "first constituents ending in a plosive entail +s+" in Afrikaans, which would make an explanation of standard-divergent +s+ in NG as a result of contact-induced change very plausible. As in SG, there is variation in this phonological context: some compounds are used with +s+ (*gebruik+s+reëls*, 'instructions'), some without

---

[39] Note, however, that the concrete classification of these languages is not based on a data-based comparison and might be debatable. Combrink's (1990) impression seems interesting to us nonetheless. See also Kürschner (2010), whose contrastive study on Danish, Dutch, German, and Swedish reveals many parallels.

[40] This feature is also shared by many other Germanic languages, namely Dutch, Frisian, Luxembourgish, Danish, Swedish, and Norwegian (Fuhrhop & Kürschner 2015: 576).

(*werk+Ø+gewer*, 'employer') and others interchangeably (*week+s+dag* vs. *week+Ø+dag* 'weekday').[41]

Against this backdrop, it seems unlikely that standard-divergent +*s*+ in NG can be categorised as a contact-induced change from a minor to a major use pattern. So, transfer from one of the main contact languages Afrikaans and English does not seem to be a decisive factor here. Instead, we argue that it is worth considering the recent history of German here, which will be the focus of the next section.

4.2. A brief history of the linking element +*s*+ in German

The linking element +*s*+ emerged from an inflectional suffix, namely the genitive -*s*. This was the result of a reanalysis that took place in Early New High German (1350−1650): Prenominal genitive attributes (which were then far more common than nowadays) were reanalysed as the first constituent of a compound. (4) illustrates an unambiguous genitive construction, (5) contains the bridging context and (6) shows the new construction. All examples are taken from Kopf (2018b: 94).[42]

(4) genitive construction:

in   [ein-es   König-s]   Schloss
in   [a-M.GEN.SG   king-M.GEN.SG]   castle.N.NOM.SG
'in a king's castle'

(5) bridging construction:

ein-es   König-s   Schloss-es   gewahr   werden
a.M/N-GEN.SG   KING.M-GEN.SG/LE   castle.N-GEN.SG   aware   become
'become aware of the castle of a king / of a royal castle'

(6) compound:

d-as   [König-s   Schloss]
the-N.NOM.SG   [king-LE   castle.N.NOM.SG]
'the royal castle'

The last example still contains an *s*. This cannot, however, be classified as an inflectional suffix anymore as *Königs Schloss* is to be analysed as a compound. This is indicated by the determiner *das*, which is neuter and therefore agrees with *Schloss* (or rather, with the compound *Königs Schloss* whose gender is determined by its head *Schloss*).[43] If this construction were not a compound, the determiner would have to agree with *König* which is masculine (Kopf 2018b: 94).

---

[41] Accordingly, it is not easy to identify an obvious motivation for the use of +*s*+. There is an ongoing debate on this issue (see, e.g., Gallmann 1999; Aronoff & Fuhrhop 2002; Wegener 2003, 2005; Nübling & Szczepaniak 2008; Fuhrhop & Kürschner 2015; Neef 2015; Kopf 2018a: 355–392; and Schäfer & Pankratz 2018). In any case, analogy plays an important role (see, e.g., Krott et al. 2007 and Fuhrhop & Kürschner 2015).

[42] The emergence of linking elements in German was already described as early as the first half of the 19th century (see Grimm 1826; see also Demske 2001 and Fuhrhop 1998).

[43] Note that disjoint spelling is not a reliable source of information regarding the morphological status of a construction in this period.

In cases like (6), we are clearly dealing with a linking element. Primarily, these were limited to compounds with a masculine or neuter first constituent (such as *König* 'king'). Such linking elements are usually called "paradigmatic" as the first constituent (including the linking element) formally matches the genitive (Fuhrhop 1996). Subsequently, however, more and more compounds with feminine first constituents were used with the linking element *+s+* (see (7)). In such cases, the first component + the linking element differ from genitive constructions (and all other cells in the paradigms of feminine nouns). This unparadigmatic type of linking element gains ground in the 17th century (Kopf 2018a: 217, 273).

(7) Geburt+s+tag
     birth.F+s+day.M
     'birthday'

Hence, the restrictions for the use of *+s+* are reduced. This development is accompanied by further changes that support the spread of *+s+*. For example, a new word formation pattern with *-ung* derivatives as first component of a compound emerges (e.g. *Nahrung+s+mittel* 'foodstuff'). In this new pattern, the *+s+* is almost always used (Kopf 2018a: 259–263). In Contemporary German, *+s+* is close to obligatory in such constructions. Similar observations can be made regarding another new pattern, i.e. compounds with nominalised verbs as first constituent (Kopf 2018a: 263–266).

All in all, *+s+* clearly gains importance in (Early) New High German. This holds true for paradigmatic and for unparadigmatic cases, and is reflected in an increase of productivity (Kopf 2018a: 250–252). This can be summarised as a clear tendency towards a spread of *+s+* since the Early New High German period. However, this development seems to have slowed down (see, e.g., Kopf 2018a: 286), which goes along with a reduction of variation. This was already noted by Pavlov (1983) who analysed the proportion of types that exhibit variation (presence vs. absence of a linking element) in texts from Early New High German and the first century of the New High German period. Kopf (2018a: 254) assumes that generally less variation induced by linking elements can be observed in New High German than in Early New High German. This can be explained by the growing importance of linguistic norms (Pavlov 1983: 10–11).

Against this backdrop, the standard-divergent use of certain linking elements in NG seems to be explicable as follows:
a. There is/was a tendency towards a spread of *+s+* in German.
b. This development slowed down, presumably due to the increased importance of linguistics norms, resulting in less variation (in GG).
c. Speech communities in multilingual contexts are generally more receptive to variation; compared to mainly monolingual groups, norms typically play a minor role here. Therefore, the spread of *+s+* might be more advanced in NG than in intra-territorial varieties. The standard-divergent forms in NG seem to continue a development which has partly been restrained by language-external influence in other varieties.

Two scenarios are possible: The first is that immigrants from Europe imported the variants with the linking element to Namibia in the 19th century. This is conceivable as, for example, *Mietswagen* can be found in texts from this period (see (8)):[44]

(8) Ein Miethswagen stand vor dem Gitterthor. [Gutzkow 1877]
'A rental waggon stood in front of the barred gate.'

This variant competed with *Mietwagen*, which prevailed in the following years. The last occurrence of *Mietswagen* in the German Reference Corpus dates from the 1950s and already in this decade, the variant without the linking element predominated by far (92%). Apparently, *Mietswagen* fell victim to the increasing norm awareness which typically goes hand in hand with the ideal of a homogeneous language use within a speech community. The latter is particularly influential in Germany (see, e.g., Maitz & Elspaß 2013). At the same time, both variants are presently used in Namibia. It is possible that they have been coexisting since the 19th century.

The other possibility is that *Mietswagen* and the like are grammatical innovations in NG drawing on a language-internal tendency which has been restrained in other contexts. Given that the occasions to talk about rental waggons were presumably few in Namibia (and its precursors), this might be the more plausible scenario. Such a development would be consistent with what Trudgill (2004: 129–147) has labelled "theory of drift": Innovations in an extra-territorial variety are often not (only) due to dialect or language contact but can either be explained as "continuations of a long ongoing process" (Trudgill 2004: 136) or as the result of "propensities to linguistic changes resulting from structural properties which varieties inherit" (Trudgill 2004: 163).

In any case, standard-divergent linking elements resemble other phenomena where transfer from the contact languages do not seem to be central to the explanation of these features but rather the reduced importance of linguistic norms in multilingual settings and the corresponding propensity for variation (see, e.g., Wiese et al. 2014, 2017).

The idea that the standard-divergent linking elements in NG can be seen as a continuation of a tendency that is/was also characteristic of other varieties is also supported by the distribution of linking elements in our questionnaire data. In fact, linking elements are not distributed randomly in our data set but in accordance with constraints that are relevant in SG: a final vowel excludes +*s*+ in both varieties (see, e.g., Wegener 2003, 2005; Fehringer 2009; and Kopf 2018a: 28–32 on German varieties including SG). Thus, these linking elements occur in our data set only in contexts where a +*s*+ would theoretically also be possible in SG. This can nicely be illustrated with the first constituent *Miet+*. In SG, there is a strong tendency towards *Miet+s+haus* (vs. *Miet+Ø+haus*, 'tenement'; 96% of cases in the German Reference Corpus contain the +*s*+ linking element) and *Miet+s+kaserne* (vs. *Miet+Ø+kaserne*, 'block of flats'; 98%). In contrast, *Miet(s)wohnung* is typically used without the linking element and for *Mietwagen* and *Mietauto* +*s*+ is almost categorically absent in SG (see Table 5). At the same

---

[44] The spelling with <th> is an old graphematic variant. The example was found with the help of *Deutsches Textarchiv* ('*German text archive*'; <deutschestextarchiv.de>, last accessed 5 March 2021). It is taken from Gutzkow, Karl (1877): Die neuen Serapionsbrüder. Bd. 2. Breslau.

time, it has repeatedly been shown that the first constituent is decisive as regards the use of a linking element in German (see, e.g., Krott et al. 2007). Against this backdrop, the outlined differences are curious. There are no obvious intra-linguistic reasons why *Mietwagen* and *Mietauto* should not also be used with +*s*+ and it seems to be the case that there is a tendency to abandon such idiosyncrasies in NG.[45]

5. GO-FUTURE CONSTRUCTION

SG has two forms for expressing the future: the auxiliary verb *werden* + infinitive (9) and the futurate present tense (10).

(9) Ich **werde** morgen mein Zimmer **aufräumen**.
   'I will clean my room tomorrow.'

(10) Ich **räume** morgen mein Zimmer **auf**.
   'I will clean my room tomorrow.'

The second form, the futurate present tense (10), is used more frequently than the *werden* + infinitive construction (9) (Brons-Albert 1982; Di Meola 2013), and is quite common in contexts where a future tense would be used in English, cf. (11) and (12).

(11) Ich komme heute Nachmittag zurück.
   'I**'ll** be back this afternoon.'

(12) Isst du den Nachtisch?
   'Are you **going to** eat the dessert?'

These two forms for expressing the future are also used in NG. In addition, a third future construction can be observed: *gehen* + infinitive (13).[46]

(13) NG: ey wir **gehn** nich unsre beine brechn wir **gehn** sterbn.   (NAM062W1)
   English: 'Hey, we're not **going to** break our legs, we're **going to** die.'
   Afrikaans: 'Hey, ons **gaan** nie ons bene breek nie, ons **gaan** sterf.'

Forming the equivalent sentence in SG using *gehen* is not possible and would be considered ungrammatical.[47]

The use of *gehen* + infinitive in NG to mark futurity, henceforth referred to as the 'go-future construction', mirrors a construction found in Afrikaans and English, i.e. '*gaan* + infinitive'[48]

---

[45] Interestingly, these differences between SG and NG resemble those differences between Dutch and Afrikaans: Also in Afrikaans (which is more influenced by language contact than Dutch), a spread of +*s*+ can be observed, which has been interpreted as a continuation of an already existing trend (Kempen 1969: 103–109).

[46] Examples from the *DNam* corpus are accompanied by an alias. For example, the alias *NAM062W1* indicates that the example is from the corpus *DNam* corpus (*NAM*) and provides the following information about the speaker in question: a unique number assigned to the person (e.g. 062), the person's gender (*W* stands for *weiblich* 'female' and *M* for *männlich* 'male'), and information on the birth year of the person (1: after 1996; 2: between 1996 and 1977; 3: between 1957 and 1976; 4: before 1957).

[47] There are specific contexts where *gehen* + infinitive is used in SG; see below.

[48] The auxiliary *gaan* is frequently used to mark futurity in present-day Afrikaans, alongside the auxiliary *sal* 'will/shall' and the futurate present tense. Kirsten (2018, 2019) shows that the use of *gaan* as a future auxiliary

and '*going* + infinitive'[49], which may suggest that its use in NG is a contact effect. Previous research on German in Southern Africa has reached similar conclusions in this regard (see, e.g., Shah 2007 for NG and Franke 2008 for South African German). While there is no denying that language contact clearly plays a significant role, through a closer examination of the grammaticalisation of go-future constructions in general, we will, however, argue that there is more to be said about this innovation.

In this section, we will take a closer look at the use of the go-future construction in present-day NG and we will discuss the results of a questionnaire study. We will also provide a brief comparative overview of the grammaticalisation of go-future constructions in other Germanic languages and draw some conclusions for its emergence in NG.

5.1 Corpus data

From the corpus data, we found that the go-future construction is frequent in spoken NG, and especially in informal free speech (see Table 8).[50]

language situations	*gehen* + infinitive	*werden* + infinitive
free speech	48	102
informal language situation	3	20
formal language situation	0	26
interview	4	50
TOTAL	55	198

Table 8: Frequency of future constructions with *gehen* vs. *werden* in the corpus

German-speaking Namibians therefore have more options at their disposal to mark the future and crucially two auxiliaries to choose from, *werden* and *gehen*. If one compares the frequency of these auxiliaries in future constructions, *werden* is the more frequent of the two; *gehen* as a future auxiliary, however, is used in over one-fifth of cases in the corpus, making it one of the more frequently used standard-divergent features in NG (Zimmer 2021b). The 55 occurrences of *gehen* in go-future constructions occur with a wide range of main verbs (see below for more details).

---

has increased in the course of the 20th century while its use as a lexical (movement) verb has decreased. This is unlike the situation in Dutch, where lexical *gaan* dominates in frequency, with auxiliary *gaan* as a future reference functioning as a secondary meaning of *gaan* (in 38% of cases, according to a random sample by Van Olmen & Mortelmans 2009: 363).

[49] The auxiliary *going to* and its phonetically reduced variant *gonna* are frequently used in English, alongside an array of other forms for the expression of the future, including the auxiliaries *will* and *shall*. While *going to* was already fully grammaticalised by the end of the 17th century, it was not until the end of the 19th century that a noticeable rise in its use manifested itself which continues till today (Mair 2004, 2006).

[50] Register differentiations can clearly be observed here. For register differentiations among German-speaking Namibians in general, see Wiese & Bracke (2021) and Wiese, Sauermann & Bracke (forthcoming).

5.2 Questionnaire data

In order to examine the choice of auxiliaries for the expression of the future, a questionnaire study in the form of a cloze test was conducted. Participants were presented auditorily with the first part of a sentence and instructed to use predefined lexemes in order to complete the given sentence. These predefined lexemes could be modified (e.g. inflected) by participants and/or complemented with words of their own choice.

The data collection started with a test phase with each group to allow participants to familiarise themselves with the design of the study and to ensure that the instructions provided were clear. The stimuli, i.e. the first part of the sentence, had been pre-recorded by a member of the German-speaking community in Namibia. The participants were presented with a questionnaire and recorded their responses by hand. This questionnaire contained only the lexeme(s) to be used in addition to the sentence number (cf. the example in (14)).

   (14) Satz-Nr. 3 | | teilnehmen
         ['sentence no. 3 | | participate']

The task of filling in the gaps had to be carried out within a period of 10 seconds (a signal was played after 8 seconds), which was deliberately kept short to assure spontaneous answers and to not provide too much time for reflection on the metalinguistics of the sentences. A total of 34 sentences had to be completed.

Of the 34 items, 16 had been designed to elicit the future (Table 9). The other 18 items were fillers or items that were used for the investigation of other phenomena. The stimuli were inspired by corpus data and were created to specifically determine the influence of several factors on the expression of the future (see below). The items were presented to the different groups in two different and randomised sequences.

Stimuli	**lexeme(s) to be used**
Namibia hat sich noch nie für ne Fußball-WM qualifiziert. Aber ich denk', in 10 oder 15 Jahren … ['Namibia has never qualified for a World Cup. But I think in 10 or 15 years …']	teilnehmen ['to participate']
Ich will mich bei der Schulleiterin beschweren. Morgen früh … ['I want to complain to the headmistress. Tomorrow morning …']	zu ihr; gehen ['to her; to go']
Wir haben kein Biltong mehr. Wenn unser Besuch weg ist … ['We're out of biltong. When our visitors are gone …']	zum Einkaufs-zentrum; fahren ['to the mall; to drive']
Meine Freunde haben einen neuen Fußball gekauft. Morgen … ['My friends have bought a new football. Tomorrow ...']	spielen ['to play']
Ich wollte schon immer wissen, wo sie die Tasche gekauft hat. Wenn ich sie das nächste Mal sehe … ['I've always wanted to know where she bought the bag. Next time I see her … ']	fragen ['to ask']

Ich weiß nicht, was der Plan für heute Abend ist. Vielleicht … ['I don't know what the plan is for tonight. Maybe...']	zu Freunden; fahren ['to friends; to drive']
Heute hat's sehr wenig geregnet. Morgen … ['It has rained very little today. Tomorrow...']	vielleicht; mehr regnen ['maybe; more to rain']
Ich hab Hunger und hier gibt's gute Pizza. Nachdem ich telefoniert hab' … ['I'm hungry and there's good pizza here. After I made a phone call...']	chauen [NG: 'to eat']
Ich weiß noch nicht, was ich antworten soll. Aber ich verspreche dir, morgen … [I don't know what to reply yet. But I promise you, tomorrow ...']	darüber; nachdenken ['about that; to think']
Meine Ma ist immer pünktlich. In ein paar Minuten … [My mom's always on time. In a few minutes...']	hier; sein ['here; to be']
Hast du Lust, zum Essen hier zu bleiben? Heute Abend … ['Would you like to stay for dinner? Tonight...']	braaien [NG: 'to barbecue']
Ich bin grad ziemlich arm. Aber ich bin mir fast sicher, in zehn Jahren … ['I'm pretty poor right now. But I'm almost sure in ten years...']	reich sein ['to be rich']
Die Wolken sind ziemlich dunkel. Bald … ['The clouds are pretty dark. Soon...']	regnen ['to rain']
Wenn wir weiter über Reiten reden, … ['If we keep talking about riding...']	einschlafen ['to fall asleep']
Bis jetzt weiß sie noch nichts davon. Aber wenn ich nächste Woche bei ihr bin … ['She doesn't know anything about it yet. But when I'm with her next week...']	es; sagen ['it; to tell']
Das Restaurant ist echt gut. Schon bald … ['This restaurant is really good. Soon...']	viele Gäste; haben ['many guests; to have']

Table 9: Stimuli used to elicit the future tense

184 participants took part in the questionnaire study, i.e. almost 1% of the German-speaking community in the country (72 female and 108 male participants as well as four persons who did not provide any information on their gender; no further categories were suggested by these participants). The age of the participants ranged from 14 to 67 years. Data were collected in Windhoek, Swakopmund, and Otjiwarongo. The majority of the questionnaires were completed by students (149 participants). However, also a significant number of adults took part in each location (35 participants). Some participants took part in both this study and the study on linking elements.

In their responses, participants used either the present tense or the future tense. As mentioned above, the use of the present tense for a future event (see (15a)) is common in Germany and is not specific to NG. For our study, we decided to focus on the auxiliary choice where NG has a standard-divergent option (i.e. *gehen* 'to go') in addition to *werden* (literally 'to become'), see (15b) vs. (15c).

(15) Heute hat's sehr wenig geregnet. Morgen …   [sentence beginning]
    'It has rained very little today. Tomorrow...'

a.   regnet   es vielleicht   mehr
     rain.3SG   it perhaps   more
     'it may rain more'

b.   geht   es vielleicht mehr regnen
     go.3SG it perhaps   more rain.INF
     'it will perhaps rain more'

c.   wird   es vielleicht mehr regnen
     become.3SG   it perhaps   more rain.INF
     'it will perhaps rain more'

The data clearly show that *gehen* is used as a proper auxiliary in the same sense as *werden*. This is, for example, evidenced by the combination of *gehen* with itself (see (16)).[51]

(16) Ich will mich bei der Schulleiterin beschweren. Morgen früh … [sentence beginning]
    'I want to complain to the headmistress. Tomorrow morning …'

a.   geh   ich zu   ihr   gehen
     go.1SG I   to   her go.INF
     'I will go to her'

The results of the questionnaire study show that the participants used *werden* in most cases. *gehen* occurred only in 7% out of 1378 sentences with an auxiliary. It cannot be ruled out that this proportion underestimates the importance of *gehen* as a future auxiliary in NG, especially when considering its frequency in the corpus (see Section 5.1 above). Furthermore, the questionnaire somewhat resembles typical tasks used in the contexts of language teaching, which might have led to a bias towards the variant which conforms to SG. This idea is supported by some revision made by participants on their questionnaire: Some of them initially used *gehen* but then "corrected" this to *werden*. In any case, it is remarkable that there is a non-marginal number of standard-divergent instances in the data set. This substantiates that *gehen* is a significant option in NG.[52]

---

[51] NG behaves in a similar manner to present-day English: *be going to* can also be combined with the lexical verb *go* (e.g. *She is going to go to the cinema*). Present-day Dutch, on the other hand, does not permit *gaan* to be followed by *gaan* (**Ik gaa naar de bioscoop gaan*) (Nübling & Kempf 2020: 129).

[52] Interestingly, in the whole data set, *sollen* ('shall') is used as a future auxiliary in only three instances. Given that *sal* ('shall') is regularly used as a future auxiliary in Afrikaans, one might have expected a higher proportion of such instances.

Of particular interest to us was if any specific patterns concerning the use of *gehen* vs. *werden* could be detected in the responses. The test items (see Table 9) were designed to investigate the influence of three variables which we consider to be major factors in the choice of the future auxiliaries in present-day English and Afrikaans or are crucial in the respective grammaticalisation processes (see Table 10).[53] The fourth variable is inspired by our analysis of the corpus data (see below).

Variable	Description of variable	Levels	Hypothesis
Time of event	How soon will the event take place (as viewed by the speaker)?	• today • tomorrow • (probably) this year • later	*gehen* is more likely to be used with events taking place in the immediate or imminent future
Animacy	Is the agent alive?	• animate • not animate	*gehen* is more likely to be used with animate agents
Prediction / probability / intention	What is the probability that the event will take place?	• intention (of the speaker) • absolute prediction (prediction based on present circumstances) • pure prediction (prediction not based on present circumstances)	*gehen* is more likely to be used with events which are intentional followed by predictable events
Borrowed verb	Is the main verb borrowed from English or Afrikaans?	• borrowed • not borrowed	*gehen* is more likely to be used with borrowed verbs

Table 10: Coding used for the questionnaire study

In the corpus, no level of these variables co-occurs categorically with *gehen* or *werden*, which will briefly be illustrated below, along with some background information on why we included each variable.[54] On the variable TIME_OF_EVENT: We observed that the go-future construction signals events that are about to happen, as well as events taking place in the distant future (cf. (17) vs. (18)).

---

[53] Needless to say, there are more variables that might have some impact in one English variety or another (see, e.g., Tagliamonte, Durham & Smith 2014). Given the limited number of factors that can be tested with our design, we decided to select those which we consider the most influential ones across (present-day) varieties of English.

[54] Not every level of the variables we are interested in can be illustrated with corpus data, which is not surprising given the limited size of our corpus data. This is one reason why we decided to conduct a questionnaire study.

(17) wenn wir weiter von reitn redn **geh** ich
if we any.longer about riding talk.1PL go.1SG I

einschlafn (NAM102W1)
fall.asleep.INF

'If we keep talking about riding, I'm going to fall asleep.'

(18) diesn weihnachtn **geh** ich glühwein **trinken** (NAM172M2)
this christmas go.1SG I mulled.wine drink.INF

'This Christmas I'll drink mulled wine.'

Historically, in English and Dutch, *be going to* and *gaan* were first associated with imminent future events (Hilpert 2008: 106–123). In present-day English, imminent future events favour *be going to*, while events taking place in the far future favour *will* (Palmer 1974: 147; Nicolle 1997). In present-day Afrikaans, *gaan* signals both immediate and remote future (Kirsten 2018: 278).

On the variable ANIMACY: In the corpus, we observed that the go-future construction co-occurs with both animate and inanimate subjects (cf. (19) vs. (20)).

(19) **ich geh** nix auswendig **lern** (NAM115M1)
I go.1SG nothing by.heart learn.INF

'I'm not going to learn anything by heart.'

(20) jetz kak aber nach ner weile **geht das** alright **sein** (NAM029W1)
now shit but after a while go.3SG it alright be.INF

'Now it sucks but after a while it'll be okay.'

In the grammaticalisation of go-future constructions in English and Dutch, *be going to* and *gaan* first correlated with animate agents capable of movement before extending to non-human subjects (Hilpert 2008: 106–123). Similarly, in Afrikaans, *gaan* as a future auxiliary has over time increasingly been used with inanimate objects (Kirsten 2018: 291).

On the variable INTENTION_PROBABILITY_PREDICTION: In the corpus, we observed that the go-future construction marks events which are connected to the intentions of human agents as well as predictions of the likelihood of an event or action taking place (cf. (21) vs. (22)).

(21) ich **geh** mal bei dir essn **gehn** (NAM006M1)
I go.1SG sometime at your.place eat.INF go.INF

'I'm going to come to your place for a meal.'

(22) ich denk die boys **gehn sich crackn** wenn die sich das
I think.1SG the boys go.3PL REFL crack.INF when they REFL this

hörn (NAM138W1)
listen.INF

'I think the guys will crack up when they listen to that.'

Historically, in English and Dutch, *be going to* and *gaan* were first connected to events that were associated with an intentional reading (Hilpert 2008: 106–123). In present-day Afrikaans, *gaan* is used for objective, epistemic predictions about the future (Kirsten 2019: 99). In present-

day English, *be going to* expresses an absolute prediction (rather than pure prediction), which is based on present intentions or causes (König & Gast 2018: 85–87; see also Nübling & Kempf 2020: 131 and Bybee & Pagliuca 1987: 117). Because intention, absolute prediction, and pure prediction are interconnected as they succeed each other along a continuum representing the likelihood of the future event taking place, we decided to subsume these aspects under one variable.

On the variable BORROWED_VERB: In the corpus, we observed that the go-future construction co-occurs with native German verbs and (repeatedly) also with borrowed verbs (cf. (23) vs. (24)).

(23) doch es **geht** witzig **sein** (NAM119W1)
  but it go.3SG funny be.INF
  'But it'll be funny.'

(24) was **gehst** du **chown** (NAM171W2)
  what go.2SG you eat.INF
  'What are you going to eat?'

This variable was motivated by the assumption that lexical material from Afrikaans or English could trigger the choice of *go* given that this construction might be associated with these languages.

In order to examine the distribution of *gehen* vs. *werden* in our questionnaire data, a GLMM was fitted.[55] Given the relatively high number of intra-linguistic factors we were specifically interested in, we decided to leave out sociolinguistic factors such as age, gender, and residence in order to not overload the model with explanatory variables in view of the not overly large sample size. Instead, we included the four variables described above and two random effects (SPEAKER and ITEM). The dependent variable AUX has two levels, namely *gehen* and *werden*. The model specification is given in (25).

(25) aux ~ time_of_event + animacy + borrowed_verb + intention_probability_prediction
  + (1|speaker) + (1|item)

Subsequently, all variables that did not significantly improve the quality of the model were identified. This concerns all explanatory variables with the exception of one – only TIME_OF_EVENT significantly improves the model quality. Hence, all other fixed effects were removed. The outcome of the final model version is given in Table 11.

	Estimate	Std. Error	z value	Pr (> |z|)
(Intercept)	7.4827	1.6424	4.556	< 0.001***
TIME_OF_EVENT (ordinal variable)				
	1.6636	0.5033	3.305	< 0.001***

Table 11: Results of a GLMM (auxiliary choice)

---

[55] The GLMM was calculated according to the procedure described above, see Section 4.

The model discriminates very well (C = 0.990). 97.4% of all observations are correctly predicted by the model (this rate is significantly higher than the No Information Rate; p > 0.001***). The good model quality is largely due to the random effects, which explains the big difference between marginal and conditional r^2: 0.054 vs. 0.943. Particularly, the random effect SPEAKER is of high relevance, which means that there is a lot of inter-individual variation in our data. However, also the fixed effect TIME_OF_EVENT significantly improves the model quality.

The estimate of this fixed effect indicates that the probability of *werden* increases significantly the more distant the event is in the future. In other words: proximity to the time of speaking triggers *gehen*. Aside from this variable, there is no evidence for the relevance of any of the other variables described above. Accordingly, our data suggest that the use of *gehen* in NG is neither fully congruent with the use of *gaan* in Afrikaans (where there is no dispreference for *gaan* when speaking about the remote future according to Kirsten 2018) nor with the use of *go* in English (where we might expect an influence of the variable INTENTION_PROBABILITY_PREDICTION, see, e.g., König & Gast 2018: 84–87). However, the use of *go* in NG is compatible with both contact languages in some cases, e.g. when the speaker refers to an intended action in the immediate future (see, e.g., Palmer 1974: 147; Nicolle 1997; König & Gast 2018: 85–87 on English; and Kirsten 2018 on Afrikaans).

The differences between NG and SG are much bigger. In particular, the absence of a significant effect of ANIMACY in our data points to a fundamental difference: Constructions with an inanimate agent are not possible in SG, whereas in NG it seems to be irrelevant whether the agent is animate or not (see (15a)) and the corresponding examples from the corpus in (20) and (23)).

5.3 *gehen/go/gaan* as a future auxiliary: A comparative approach

Outside of Namibia, the go-future construction has also been described for South African German varieties (see Franke 2008: 331–333 for Springbok German and Shah, Biberauer & Herrmann submitted for Kroondal German). Its use in Springbok German is reported to be somewhat limited (e.g. in constructions involving animate subjects only), although Franke (2008: 331) notes that this may be due to the nature of the data collected and postulates that "it may nonetheless develop into a more common future marker". In Kroondal German, by contrast, its use is far more widespread than that described for Springbok German, although not all options are available in Kroondal German (e.g. go-future constructions with the verb *sterben* ('to die')*,* of the type illustrated in (13) for NG, are not possible in Kroondal German).

Given that both NG and South African German have the go-future construction and find themselves in similar contact settings, this naturally begs the question if the emergence of the go-future in these two varieties is a contact effect from Afrikaans and/or English.[56] In fact,

---

[56] Besides NG and South African German, *gehen* + infinitive as an immediate future construction has also been reported for (Canadian) Pennsylvania German, e.g. *Ich hab geglaubt – es geht ihm happene*! ('I thought – it's gonna happen to him!') (Burridge 1992: 206). While *gehen* is described as not being the most common future auxiliary in (Canadian) Pennsylvania Dutch (Burridge 2002: 224), it is unclear just how widespread this *gehen* + infinitive construction is in this variety of German.

'*gaan* + infinitive' and '*going* + infinitive' are fully grammaticalised future auxiliaries in present-day Dutch, Afrikaans, and English, respectively (Hopper & Traugott 2003; Hilpert 2008; Kirsten 2019).

Given the parallel developments of *gehen* into a future auxiliary in NG and South African German, it is indeed very likely that the emergence of this new feature may have been reinforced by the influence of fully grammaticalised *gaan* in Afrikaans and *going to* in English. However, there seem to be additional aspects supporting this development – attributing this phenomenon to contact may, in our opinion, be only part of the explanation.

The development of future markers from verbs or phrases which signal movement towards a goal follows a well-attested grammaticalisation path (26), which is replicated in many of the world's languages, including languages which are genetically and areally unrelated from one another (Bybee & Pagliuca 1987; Bybee, Perkins & Pagliuca 1994; Heine & Kuteva 2004: 161–163).

(26) movement path: movement toward a goal > intention > future (Bybee 2012: 967)

This grammaticalisation process may also happen independently, i.e. without contact (see i.a. Matras 2020: 259 for examples). Also in a number of Germanic languages, future auxiliaries have developed from verbs of motion (cf. König & Auwera 2002; Harbert 2007).[57] In many cases, a form of '*go* + infinitive' or '*come* + infinitive' is used to express events taking place in the near future. SG is somewhat unusual when compared to its close family members within the Germanic family for its lack of use of motion verbs (i.e. *gehen, kommen*) as a future auxiliary (Nübling & Kempf 2020: 130).

While Afrikaans and English may have triggered the grammaticalisation process in NG, given that "semantically similar verbs are likely to follow similar grammaticalisation paths in languages in contact" (Aikhenvald 2006: 28), there is nothing unusual about *gehen* developing into a future auxiliary in NG. Bybee, Perkins and Pagliuca (1994: 253) have found that "the most frequent [lexical] sources [of future grams] are movement verb constructions". *gehen* is an ideal candidate for grammaticalisation. Lexical items which enter into the grammaticalisation process are few and have in common that they are fundamental to human experience and are for the most part culturally independent, i.e. "they tend to be conceived of in a similar way across linguistic and ethnic boundaries" (Heine, Claudi & Hünnemeyer 1991: 33).

Furthermore, a *gehen* + infinitive construction already exists in German. This construction is restricted to activities involving movement by humans and has an aspectual reading (Demske 2020 and Paul et al. 2022). Elspaß & Möller (2003 ff.: map "gehen + Verb")[58] provide empirical data and found that (27) is widespread in Germany, Austria, and Switzerland while (28) is atypical. In (27), movement to a supermarket is implied, whereas in (28) there is

---

[57] Along the lines of Trudgill's (2004: 129–147) remarks on the "theory of drift", one could argue that these developments are motivated by a common structural predisposition of the Germanic languages. Against this backdrop, the innovation in NG would be all the more explicable.

[58] https://www.atlas-alltagssprache.de/gehen-verb/?child=runde (last accessed 10 January 2022)

normally no movement involved; *heiraten* 'to marry' implies a change of state and not a movement to another location.

(27) Sie geht gleich einkaufen.   (Elspaß & Möller 2003)
         'She's about to go shopping.'

(28) Sie geht in einem halben Jahr heiraten.   (Elspaß & Möller 2003)
         'She's going to get married in half a year.'

While Demske (2020) states that *gehen* retains most semantic components of the full (motion) verb in such cases, Paul et al. (2022) show that some speakers of SG accept *gehen* in combination with a verb in the infinitive, even when no movement is involved, e.g. when Peter is already in bed in the case of (29) or when the specified way of movement is not *gehen* as in 'to move along on foot' in the case of the speaker driving to the supermarket and at the same time uttering the sentence in (30) (see also Nübling & Kempf 2020: 133 on the second aspect). *gehen* therefore seems to be losing some of its original semantics as regards to movement and may be gaining an aspectual reading (Paul et al. 2022). Crucially, however, unlike many of the other Germanic languages, such as English and Afrikaans, *gehen* is not used as a future tense auxiliary in SG (31).

(29) Peter geht schlafen.   (Paul et al. 2022: 166)
         'Peter goes to sleep.'

(30) Ich gehe einkaufen.   (Paul et al. 2022: 166)
         'I go shopping.'

(31) SG: *Sie geht ihn morgen anrufen.
         'She is going to call him tomorrow.'

Since a construction comprising *gehen* + infinitive already exists in German, NG is well suited to develop a go-future construction. As Heine and Kuteva (2005: 40–62) point out, contact-induced grammatical innovations typically do not start from scratch but build on existing material. *gehen* + infinitive has undergone a significant context extension in NG. Following Heine and Kuteva (2005: 40–41), this can be interpreted as a change from a minor use pattern to a major use pattern.

Against this backdrop, it does not seem very surprising that NG has developed the go-future construction: There is a minor used pattern in German which is expanded under the influence of both major contact languages leading to a change along a cross-linguistically very common grammaticalisation path. The major obstacle to this development and the reason why the go-future is not used even more frequently in NG might be standard language ideologies and SG being enforced in schools (as indicated by some "corrections" made by some participants in our questionnaire study).

Interestingly, the grammatical innovation in NG does not completely mirror one of the two major contact languages. As is the case in English, but not Afrikaans, the go-construction in NG is mainly used for the immediate future. On the other hand, NG seems to resemble Afrikaans as regards the apparent irrelevance of the distinction between intention, absolute prediction, and pure prediction (see above). These observations concern preferences, not

categorical differences. Nonetheless, this might indicate that NG has developed a specific variant of the go-construction.

5. CONCLUSION

In this paper, we described the historical and sociolinguistic background of German in Namibia and we focused on two grammatical innovations in NG. Our analyses show that no single factor alone can adequately explain their emergence in NG, rather various factors need to be taken into account to reach a holistic understanding of these properties and to better understand the dynamics of German in multilingual Namibia.

Given the frequent and intense contact with Afrikaans and English and the structural similarity of these two contact languages with German, direct transfer of structures from Afrikaans and English may seem to be an obvious explanation for some of the standard-divergent features in NG. While language contact undoubtedly plays a significant role (see Section 5), it cannot explain all grammatical innovations in NG (see Section 4). Even in cases where language contact serves as an explanatory factor for the emergence of a grammatical innovation in NG, it is not the sole factor.

In both our case studies, what is crucial is that the constructions in question are not novel. Both +s+ and *gehen* + infinitive exist in GG, although in restricted contexts. The grammatical innovations in NG therefore did not start from scratch, but picked up and built on material which already existed in the language. Speech communities in multilingual settings are generally more open to variation and may place reduced importance to linguistic norms, and the German-speaking community in Namibia is no exception here. Already existing trends therefore gain ground in the multilingual context of Namibia and their development may be accelerated by the availability of a parallel structure in the contact languages (as in the case of the go-future). These extensions of use are not arbitrarily applied but rather follow constraints also found in GG (as was demonstrated by linking elements in NG occurring in contexts which would theoretically be possible in GG as well) or patterns which exist cross-linguistically (as was demonstrated by the go-future construction developing along a common grammaticalisation path attested cross-linguistically). Standard language ideologies are nonetheless prevalent in Namibia to some extent and are reinforced through schooling, media, etc. This might explain why the standard-divergent constructions are not used even more frequently in NG.

References

Aikhenvald, Alexandra Y. 2006. Grammars in Contact: A Cross-Linguistic Perspective. In Alexandra Y. Aikhenvald & Robert M. W. Dixon (eds.), *Grammars in Contact: A Cross-Linguistic Typology*, 1–66. (Explorations in Linguistic Typology). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Ammon, Ulrich. 2015. *Die Stellung der deutschen Sprache in der Welt*. Berlin: de Gruyter.

Ammon, Ulrich, Hans Bickel & Alexandra N. Lenz (eds.). 2016. *Variantenwörterbuch des Deutschen. Die Standardsprache in Österreich, der Schweiz, Deutschland, Liechtenstein, Luxemburg, Ostbelgien und Südtirol sowie Rumänien, Namibia und Mennonitensiedlungen*. 2nd ed. Berlin & Boston: de Gruyter.

Aronoff, Mark & Nanna Fuhrhop. 2002. Restricting Suffix Combinations in German and English: Closing Suffixes and the Monosuffix Constraint. *Natural Language & Linguistic Theory* 20. 451–490.

Augst, Gerhard. 1975. *Untersuchungen zum Morpheminventar der deutschen Gegenwartssprache*. (Forschungsberichte des Instituts für deutsche Sprache 25). Tübingen: Narr.

Baayen, R. H. 2008. *Analyzing Linguistic Data. A Practical Introduction to Statistics Using R*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Bähr, Jürgen. 1989. Deutsche Farmer in Südwestafrika/Namibia. In Klaus Rother (ed.), *Europäische Ethnien im ländlichen Raum der neuen Welt*, 99–111. (Passauer Schriften zur Geographie 7). Passau: Universitätsverlag Passau.

Bates, Douglas, Martin Mächler, Ben Bolker & Steve Walker. 2015. Fitting Linear Mixed-Effects Models Using *lme4*. *Journal of Statistical Software* 67. 1–48.

Bergerson, Jeremy. 2011. Apperception and Linguistic Contact between German and Afrikaans. UC Berkeley PhD dissertation. https://escholarship.org/uc/item/8sr6157f (12 May, 2021).

Böhm, Michael Anton. 2003. *Deutsch in Afrika: Die Stellung der deutschen Sprache in Afrika vor dem Hintergrund der bildungs- und sprachpolitischen Gegebenheiten sowie der deutschen auswärtigen Kulturpolitik*. (Duisburger Arbeiten zur Sprach- und Kulturwissenschaft 52). Frankfurt am Main: Lang.

Bracke, Yannic. 2021. Namibian German and gender: A corpus study on the use of transferred lexical items. In Christian Zimmer (ed.), *German(ic) in language contact: Grammatical and sociolinguistic dynamics*, 97–126. (Language Variation 5). Berlin: Language Science Press.

Brons-Albert, Ruth. 1982. *Die Bezeichnung von Zukünftigem in der gesprochenen deutschen Standardsprache*. Tübingen: Narr.

Burridge, Kate. 1992. Creating grammar: Examples from Pennsylvania German, Ontario. In Kate Burridge & Werner Enninger (eds.), *Diachronic Studies on the Languages of the Anabaptists*, 199–241. (Bochum-Essener Beiträge zur Sprachwandelforschung 17). Bochum: Brockmeyer.

Burridge, Kate. 2002. Changes within Pennsylvania German grammar as enactments of Anabaptist world view. In Nick J. Enfield (ed.), *Ethnosyntax: Explorations in Grammar and Culture*, 207–230. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Buschfeld, Sarah & Alexander Kautzsch. 2014. English in Namibia: A first approach. *English World-Wide* 35. 121–160.

Buschfeld, Sarah & Anne Schröder. 2019. English and German in Namibia. In Raymond Hickey (ed.), *English in the German-Speaking World*, 334–360. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Bybee, Joan L. 2012. Diachronic linguistics. In Dirk Geeraerts & Herbert Cuyckens (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Cognitive Linguistics*, 945–987. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Bybee, Joan L. & William Pagliuca. 1987. The evolution of future meaning. In Anna Giacalone Ramat, Onofrio Carruba & Giuliano Bernini (eds.), *Papers from the 7th International Conference on Historical Linguistics*, 109–122. (Current Issues in Linguistic Theory 48). Amsterdam & Philadelphia: Benjamins.

Bybee, Joan L., Revere Perkins & William Pagliuca. 1994. *The Evolution of Grammar: Tense, Aspect and Modality in the Languages of the World*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Central Bureau of Statistics. 2001. *Namibia – Population and Housing Census 2001*. Windhoek: National Planning Commission, Central Bureau of Statistics.

Central Statistics Office. 1994. *Population and Housing Census: Basic Analysis with Highlights*. Windhoek: National Planning Commission, Central Statistics Office.

Combrink, Johan G. H. 1990. *Afrikaanse Morfologie: Capita Exemplaria*. Pretoria: Academia.

Demske, Ulrike. 2001. *Merkmale und Relationen*. (Studia Linguistica Germanica 56). Berlin & New York: de Gruyter.

Demske, Ulrike. 2020. Zur Grammatikalisierung von *gehen* im Deutschen. *Linguisten-Seminar: Forum japanisch-germanistischer Sprachforschung* 2. 9–42.

Deumert, Ana. 2009. Namibian Kiche Duits: the making (and decline) of a neo-African language. *Journal of Germanic Linguistics* 21. 349–417.

Deumert, Ana. 2017. Towards a sociolinguistics of the contact zone – comparative reflections on the linguistic legacies of German colonialism. *Language & Linguistics in Melanesia* (Special issue: *Language Contact in the German Colonies: Papua New Guinea and beyond*; hg. v. Péter Maitz & Craig A. Volker). 197–220.

Deumert, Ana. 2018. Settler colonialism speaks: Early contact varieties in Namibia during German colonial rule. *Language Ecology* 2 (1–2). 91–111. doi:10.1075/le.18006.deu.

Di Meola, Claudio. 2013. *Die Versprachlichung von Zukünftigkeit durch Präsens und Futur I. Eine ebenenübergreifende Untersuchung samt kontrastivem Ausblick auf das Italienische*. Tübingen: Stauffenburg.

Donaldson, Bruce C. 1993. *A Grammar of Afrikaans*. (Mouton Grammar Library 8). Berlin & New York: Mouton de Gruyter.

Donalies, Elke & Noah Bubenhofer. 2011. Tagtraum, Tageslicht, Tagedieb. *Ein korpuslinguistisches Experiment zu variierenden Wortformen und Fugenelementen in zusammengesetzten Substantiven*. (Arbeitspapiere und Materialien zur deutschen Sprache 42). Mannheim: Institut für Deutsche Sprache.

Elspaß, Stephan & Robert Möller. 2003. *Atlas der deutschen Alltagssprache*. www.atlas-alltagssprache.de (10 January, 2022).

Fehringer, Carol. 2009. *Wie wär's mit einem richtigen Mädelsabend?* Plural *-s* within Compounds in Colloquial Northern German. *Journal of Germanic Linguistics* 21. 149–165.

Fleischer, Jürg, Roland Hinterhölzl & Michael Solf. 2008. Zum Quellenwert des althochdeutschen Tatian für die Syntaxforschung: Überlegungen auf der Basis von Wortstellungsphänomenen. *Zeitschrift für Germanistische Linguistik* 36. 210–239.

Franke, Katharina. 2008. "We call it Springbok-German!": Language Contact in the German Communities in South Africa. Monash University.

Fuhrhop, Nanna. 1996. Fugenelemente. In Ewald Lang & Gisela Zifonun (eds.), *Deutsch – typologisch*, 525–550. Berlin & New York: de Gruyter.

Fuhrhop, Nanna. 1998. *Grenzfälle morphologischer Einheiten*. (Studien zur deutschen Grammatik 57). Tübingen: Stauffenburg.

Fuhrhop, Nanna & Sebastian Kürschner. 2015. Linking elements in Germanic. In Peter O. Müller, Ingeborg Ohnheiser, Susan Olsen & Franz Rainer (eds.), *Word-formation: An International Handbook of the Languages of Europe*, 568–582. (Handbücher zur Sprach- und Kommunikationswissenschaft / Handbooks of Linguistics and Communication Science (HSK) 40.1). Berlin & Boston: de Gruyter Mouton.

Gallmann, Peter. 1999. Fugenmorpheme als Nicht-Kasus-Suffixe. In Matthias Butt & Nanna Fuhrhop (eds.), *Variation und Stabilität in der Wortstruktur. Untersuchungen zur Entwicklung, Erwerb und Varietäten des Deutschen und anderer Sprachen*, 177–190. (Germanistische Linguistik 141–142). Hildesheim, Zürich & New York: Olms.

Gretschel, Hans-Volker. 1984. Südwester-Deutsch – eine kritische Bilanz. *Logos* 4. 38–44.

Gretschel, Hans-Volker. 1993. The lost 'umlaut': The German language in Namibia 1915–1939 – A suppressed language? *Logos* 13. 44–60.

Gretschel, Hans-Volker. 1995. The status and use of the German language in independent Namibia: Can German survive the transition? In Martin Pütz (ed.), *Discrimination through language in Africa? Perspectives on the Namibian Experience*, 299–313. Berlin & New York: de Gruyter.

Gries, Stefan Th. 2014. Frequency tables: tests, effect sizes, and explorations. In Dylan Glynn & Justyna A. Robinson (eds.), *Corpus Methods for Semantics: Quantitative studies in polysemy and synonymy*, 365–389. (Human Cognitive Processing 43). Amsterdam & Philadelphia: Benjamins.

Grimm, Jacob. 1826. *Deutsche Grammatik. Zweiter Theil*. Göttingen: Dieterich.

Harbert, Wayne. 2007. *The Germanic languages*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Harlech-Jones, Brian. 1995. Language policy and language planning in Namibia. In Martin Pütz (ed.), *Discrimination through Language in Africa? Perspectives on the Namibian Experience*, 181–206. Berlin & New York: Mouton de Gruyter.

Häusler, Sabine. 2018. Zur Varietät des Deutschen in Namibia. In Heinz Sieburg & Hans-Joachim Solms (eds.), *Das Deutsche als plurizentrische Sprache. Ansprüche – Ergebnisse – Perspektiven. Sonderheft der Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie*, 193–214. (Sonderheft der Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie 136). Berlin: Erich Schmidt.

Heine, Bernd, Ulrike Claudi & Friederike Hünnemeyer. 1991. *Grammaticalization: A Conceptual Framework*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Heine, Bernd & Tania Kuteva. 2004. *World Lexicon of Grammaticalization*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Heine, Bernd & Tania Kuteva. 2005. *Language Contact and Grammatical Change*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Hilpert, Martin. 2008. *Germanic Future Constructions: A Usage-Based Approach to Grammaticalization*. (Constructional Approaches to Language 7). Amsterdam & Philadelphia: Benjamins.

Hopper, Paul J. & Elizabeth Closs Traugott. 2003. *Grammaticalization*. 2nd ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Kautzsch, Alexander. 2019. Namibian English on the web: Lexical and morphosyntactic features in a Corpus of Namibian Online Newspapers (CNamON). In Alexandra U. Esimaje, Ulrike Gut & Bassey E. Antia (eds.), *Corpus Linguistics and African Englishes*, 232–258. (Studies in Corpus Linguistics 88). Amsterdam & Philadelphia: Benjamins.

Kellermeier-Rehbein, Birte. 2015. Namslang – Deutsche Jugendsprache in Namibia? In Corinna Peschel & Kerstin Runschke (eds.), *Sprachvariation und Sprachreflexion in interkulturellen Kontexten*, 41–62. Frankfurt am Main: Lang.

Kellermeier-Rehbein, Birte. 2016. Sprache in postkolonialen Kontexten. Varietäten der deutschen Sprache in Namibia. In Thomas Stolz, Ingo H. Warnke & Daniel Schmidt-Brücken (eds.), *Sprache und Kolonialismus*, 213–234. Berlin & Boston: de Gruyter.

Kellermeier-Rehbein, Birte. 2018. Plurizentrische Wortschatzvariation des Deutschen innerhalb und außerhalb Europas. In Stefan Engelberg, Heidrun Kämper & Petra Storjohann (eds.), *Wortschatz: Theorie, Empirie, Dokumentation*, 189–212. (Germanistische Sprachwissenschaft um 2020 2). Berlin & Boston: de Gruyter.

Kempen, Willem. 1969. *Samestelling, Afleiding en Woordsoortelike Meerfunksionaliteit in Afrikaans*. Cape Town: Nasou Beperk.

Kenna, Constance (ed.). 2004. *Die "DDR-Kinder" von Namibia - Heimkehrer in ein fremdes Land*. Göttingen & Windhoek: Klaus Hess.

Kerswill, Paul & Peter Trudgill. 2005. The birth of new dialects. In Peter Auer, Frans Hinskens & Paul Kerswill (eds.), *Dialect Change. Convergence and Divergence in European Languages*, 196–220. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Kirsten, Johanita. 2018. "Dit gaan nog belangrik word": Veranderinge in grammatikale toekomsverwysing in Afrikaans. *Tydskrif vir Geesteswetenskappe* 58 (2). 277–292.

Kirsten, Johanita. 2019. *Written Afrikaans since Standardization: A Century of Change*. Lanham, MD: Lexington.

König, Ekkehard & Johan van der Auwera (eds.). 2002. *The Germanic Languages*. 2nd ed. London & New York: Routledge.

König, Ekkehard & Volker Gast. 2018. *Understanding English-German Contrasts*. 4th ed. (Grundlagen der Anglistik und Amerikanistik 29). Berlin: Erich Schmidt.

Kopf, Kristin. 2018a. *Fugenelemente diachron. Eine Korpusuntersuchung zu Entstehung und Ausbreitung der Verfugenden N+N-Komposita*. (Studia Linguistica Germanica 133). Berlin & Boston: de Gruyter.

Kopf, Kristin. 2018b. From genitive suffix to linking element: A corpus study on the genesis and productivity of a new compounding pattern in (Early) New High German. In Tanja Ackermann, Horst J. Simon & Christian Zimmer (eds.), *Germanic Genitives*, 91–114. (Studies in Language Companion Series 193). Amsterdam & Philadelphia: Benjamins.

Kroll-Tjingaete, Anika. 2018. *Strukturelle Veränderungen der deutschen Sprache in Namibia: eine textanalytische Untersuchung*. (Hochschulschriften 51). Berlin: trafo.

Krott, Andrea, Robert Schreuder, R. Harald Baayen & Wolfgang U. Dressler. 2007. Analogical effects on linking elements in German compound words. *Language and Cognitive Processes* 22. 25–57.

Kube, Sigrid & Carol Kotze. 2002. Chronik. In Klaus A. Hess & Klaus J. Becker (eds.), *Vom Schutzgebiet bis Namibia 2000*, 257–320. Göttingen & Windhoek: Klaus Hess.

Kürschner, Sebastian. 2010. *Fuge-n-kitt*, *voeg-en-mes*, *fuge-masse* und *fog-e-ord*. Fugenelemente im Deutschen, Niederländischen, Schwedischen und Dänischen. In Antje Dammel, Sebastian Kürschner & Damaris Nübling (eds.), *Kontrastive Germanistische Linguistik*, 827–862. (Germanistische Linguistik 206–209). Hildesheim, Zürich & New York: Olms.

Levshina, Natalia. 2015. *How to Do Linguistic with R. Data Exploration and Statistical Analysis*. Amsterdam & Philadelphia: Benjamins.

Louden, Mark L. 2016. *Pennsylvania Dutch: The Story of an American Language*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Louden, Mark L. 2020. Minority Germanic languages. In Michael T. Putnam & B. Richard Page (eds.), *The Cambridge Handbook of Germanic Linguistics*, 807–832. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Lunderstedt, Steve. 2016. Today in Kimberley's History 29 February. https://www.kimberley.org.za/today-in-kimberleys-history-29-february/ (16 June, 2018).

Mair, Christian. 2004. Corpus linguistics and grammaticalization theory: Statistics, frequency, and beyond. In Hans Lindquist & Christian Mair (eds.), *Corpus approaches to grammaticalization in English*, 121–150. (Studies in Corpus Linguistics 13). Amsterdam & Philadelphia: Benjamins.

Maitz, Péter & Stephan Elspaß. 2013. Zur Ideologie des "Gesprochenen Standarddeutsch." In Jörg Hagemann, Wolf Peter Klein & Sven Staffeldt (eds.), *Pragmatischer Standard*, 35–48. Tübingen: Stauffenburg.

Matras, Yaron. 2020. *Language Contact*. 2nd ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Namibia Statistics Agency. 2011. *Namibia 2011: Population and Housing Census Main Report*. Windhoek: Namibia Statistics Agency.

Neef, Martin. 2015. The status of so-called linking elements in German: Arguments in favor of a non-functional analysis. *Word Structure* 8. 29–52.

Nickel, Grit. 2016. Von *Gäul-s-bauer*, *April-s-narr* und *Getreid-s-gabel*. Die Verwendung und Verbreitung des Fugen-*s* im Ostfränkischen. In Elke Hentschel (ed.), *Wortbildung im Deutschen. Aktuelle Perspektiven*, 214–243. Tübingen: Narr.

Nicolle, Steve. 1997. A relevance-theoretic account of be going to. *Journal of Linguistics* 33. 355–377.

Nöckler, Herbert C. 1963. *Sprachmischung in Südwestafrika*. München: Hueber.

Nübling, Damaris & Luise Kempf. 2020. Grammaticalization in the Germanic Languages. In Walter Bisang & Andrej Malchukov (eds.), *Grammaticalization Scenarios. Cross-linguistic Variation and Universal Tendencies*, vol. 1, 105–164. (Comparative Handbooks of Linguistics 4). Berlin & Boston: de Gruyter.

Nübling, Damaris & Renata Szczepaniak. 2008. On the way from morphology to phonology: German linking elements and the role of the phonological word. *Morphology* 18. 1–25.

Oelhafen von Schöllenbach, Hans. 1926. *Die Besiedlung Deutsch-Südwestafrikas bis zum Weltkriege*. Berlin: Reimer.

Ortner, Lorelies, Elgin Müller-Bollhagen, Hans Wellmann, Maria Pümpel-Mader & Hildegard Gärtner. 1991. *Substantivkomposita (Komposita und kompositionsähnliche Strukturen 1)*. (Deutsche Wortbildung. Typen und Tendenzen in der Gegenwartssprache 4). Berlin & New York: de Gruyter. doi:10.1515/9783110847628.

Palmer, Frank R. 1974. *The English Verb*. 2nd ed. London: Longman.

Paul, Katharina, Maik Thalmann, Markus Steinbach & Marco Coniglio. 2022. *Gehen* as a new auxiliary in German. In Nicholas Catasso, Marco Coniglio & Chiara De Bastiani (eds.), *Language Change at the Interfaces: Intrasentential and intersentential Phenomena,* 165–188. (Linguistics Today 275). Amsterdam & Philadelphia: Benjamins.

Pavlov, Vladimir M. 1983. *Zur Ausbildung der Norm der deutschen Literatursprache im Bereich der Wortbildung (1470-1730). Von der Wortgruppe zur substantivischen Zusammensetzung*. (Zur Ausbildung der Norm der deutschen Literatursprache (1470-1730) 6). Berlin: Akademie-Verlag.

Pütz, Joe. 2001. *Das grosse Dickschenärie: Dickschenärie I & II, kommbeind, riekonndischend, gemoddifeid und gesuhpt*. Swakopmund: Peter's Antiques.

Pütz, Martin. 1991. 'Südwesterdeutsch' in Namibia: Sprachpolitik, Sprachplanung und Spracherhalt. *Linguistische Berichte* 136. 455–476.

R Core Team. 2020. *R: A language and environment for statistical computing. R Foundation for Statistical Computing*. Vienna. https://www.R-project.org/.

Radke, Henning. 2017. "Lekker dieses namtal zu lesen. Ich hou davon.": Namdeutscher Sprachgebrauch in namibischer Onlinekommunikation. *Germanistische Mitteilungen* 43 (2). 109–132.

Riehl, Claudia Maria. 2014. *Sprachkontaktforschung. Eine Einführung*. 3rd ed. Tübingen: Narr.

RStudio Team. 2020. *RStudio: Integrated Development for R. RStudio, PBC*. Boston, MA. http://www.rstudio.com/.

Ryland, Glen P. 2013. Translating Africa for Germans: The Rhenish mission in Southwest Africa, 1829–1936. University of Notre Dame PhD dissertation.

Schäfer, Roland & Elizabeth Pankratz. 2018. The plural interpretability of German linking elements. *Morphology* 28. 325–358.

Schlettwein, Sylvia. 2018. When the colonised imperialists go post-colonial: Namibian-German literature since independence. In Sarala Krishnamurthy & Helen Vale (eds.), *Writing Namibia: Literature in Transition*, 327–346. Windhoek: University of Namibia Press.

Schmidt-Lauber, Brigitta. 1998. *Die verkehrte Hautfarbe: Ethnizität deutscher Namibier als Alltagspraxis*. (Lebensformen 10). Berlin: Reimer.

Sell, Eric. 2011. Esisallesoreidt. *NAM Släng – Deutsch. Voljum 2 (Bikkie Apgräidet)*. Windhoek: EES Records.

Sell, Eric. 2014. *NAM-Boy Schtories*. Windhoek: NAM Flava Media.

Shah, Sheena. 2007. German in a contact situation: The case of Namibian German. *eDUSA* 2. 20–45.

Shah, Sheena, Theresa Biberauer & Erika Herrmann. submitted. Sixth-generation contact German in South Africa: The case of Kroondal German.

Shah, Sheena & Marianne Zappen-Thomson. 2017. German in Namibia. In Corinne A. Seals & Sheena Shah (eds.), *Heritage Language Policies around the World*, 128–147. Abingdon & New York: Routledge.

Siemens, Heinrich. 2018. Mennoniten in Übersee. In Albrecht Plewnia & Claudia Maria Riehl (eds.), *Handbuch der deutschen Sprachminderheiten in Übersee*, 265–293. Tübingen: Narr.

Steigertahl, Helene. 2019. Introducing a corpus of English(es) spoken in post-independence Namibia: Insights into corpus design and quantitative analyses. In Alexandra U. Esimaje, Ulrike Gut & Bassey E. Antia (eds.), *Corpus Linguistics and African Englishes*, 98–117. (Studies in Corpus Linguistics 88). Amsterdam & Philadelphia: Benjamins.

Stuhl, Britta & Christian Zimmer. 2021. Northern German in Southern Africa? On the phonology of Namdeutsch. In Christian Zimmer (ed.), *German(ic) in language contact: Grammatical and sociolinguistic dynamics*, 73–96. (Language Variation 5). Berlin & Boston: Language Science Press.

Tagliamonte, Sali A., Mercedes Durham & Jennifer Smith. 2014. Grammaticalization at an early stage: future *be going to* in conservative British dialects. *English Language and Linguistics* 18 (1). 75–108.

Trudgill, Peter. 1986. *Dialects in Contact*. (Language in society 10). Oxford: Blackwell.

Trudgill, Peter. 2004. *New-Dialect Formation: The Inevitability of Colonial Englishes*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Van Olmen, Daniël & Tanja Mortelmans. 2009. Movement futures in English and Dutch. A contrastive analysis of be going to and gaan. In Anastasios Tsangalidis & Roberta Faccinetti (eds.), *Studies on English Modality: In Honour of Frank Palmer*, 357–386. Bern: Lang.

Variantengrammatik des Standarddeutschen. 2018. *Ein Online-Nachschlagewerk. Verfasst von einem Autorenteam unter der Leitung von Christa Dürscheid, Stephan Elspaß und Arne Ziegler.* (e)s-*Fuge / Nullfuge bei Substantivkomposita.* http://mediawiki.ids-mannheim.de/VarGra/index.php/Kategorie:(e)s-Fuge_/_Nullfuge_bei_Substantivkomposita (8 March, 2021).

Walther, Daniel Joseph. 2002. *Creating Germans Abroad: Cultural Policies and National Identity in Namibia*. Athens: Ohio University Press.

Wecker, Julia. 2017. Sprachkontakt in Namibia: Der Einfluss des Englischen und Afrikaansen auf das Namdeutsche. Ludwig Maximilian University MA dissertation.

Wegener, Heide. 2003. Entstehung und Funktion der Fugenelemente im Deutschen, oder: warum wir keine **Autosbahn* haben. *Linguistische Berichte* 196. 425–457.

Wegener, Heide. 2005. Das Hühnerei vor der Hundehütte. Von der Notwendigkeit historischen Wissens in der Grammatikographie des Deutschen. In Elisabeth Berner, Manuela Böhm & Anja Voeste (eds.), *Ein gross vnnd narhafft haffen. Festschrift für Joachim Gessinger*, 175–187. Potsdam: Universitätsverlag Potsdam.

Weigend, Guido G. 1985. German settlement patterns in Namibia. *Geographical Review* 75 (2). 156–169.

Wiese, Heike & Yannic Bracke. 2021. Registerdifferenzierung im Namdeutschen: Informeller und formeller Sprachgebrauch in einer vitalen Sprechergemeinschaft. In Csaba Földes (ed.), *Kontaktvarietäten des Deutschen im Ausland*, 273–293. (Beiträge zur interkulturellen Germanistik 14). Tübingen: Narr.

Wiese, Heike, Antje Sauermann & Yannic Bracke. forthcoming. Coherence and language contact: Orderly heterogeneity and social meaning in Namibian German. In Karen V. Beaman & Gregory R. Guy (eds.), The Coherence of Linguistic Communities: Orderly Heterogeneity and Social Meaning. Abingdon & New York: Routledge.

Wiese, Heike, Horst J. Simon, Marianne Zappen-Thomson & Kathleen Schumann. 2014. Deutsch im mehrsprachigen Kontext: Beobachtungen zu lexikalisch-grammatischen Entwicklungen im Namdeutschen und im Kiezdeutschen. *Zeitschrift für Dialektologie und Linguistik* 81 (3). 274–307.

Wiese, Heike, Horst J. Simon, Christian Zimmer & Kathleen Schumann. 2017. German in Namibia: A vital speech community and its multilingual dynamics. *Language &*

Linguistics in Melanesia (Special issue: *Language Contact in the German Colonies: Papua New Guinea and beyond*; ed. by Péter Maitz & Craig A. Volker). 221–245.

Witte, Matthias D., Caroline Schmitt, Serpil Polat & Yvonne Niekrenz. 2014. Praktiken der Grenzbearbeitung in den Lebensgeschichten der "DDR-Kinder aus Namibia." *Diskurs Kindheits- und Jugendforschung* 9 (4). 481–495.

Zappen-Thomson, Marianne. 2000. *Interkulturelles Lernen und Lehren in einer multikulturellen Gesellschaft – Deutsch als Fremdsprache in Namibia*. Göttingen & Windhoek: Klaus Hess.

Zappen-Thomson, Marianne. 2013. Und das soll Deutsch sein? Gedanken zur Jugendsprache. In Henning Melber (ed.), *Perspektiven 2014 - Aktuelle Beiträge zu Kirche, Gesellschaft und Zeitgeschehen: Das junge Namibia - Träume und Realität*, 76–79. Windhoek: Deutsche Evangelisch-Lutherische Kirche in Namibia.

Zimmer, Christian. forthcoming. Linguistic variation and age of speakers in Namibian German: loan word usage in "Wenker sentences." In Hans C. Boas (ed.), *German Abroad: Comparative Perspectives on Language Contact*. Leiden: Brill.

Zimmer, Christian. 2019. Deutsch als Minderheitensprache in Afrika. In Joachim Herrgen & Jürgen Erich Schmidt (eds.), *Sprache und Raum – Deutsch. Ein internationales Handbuch der Sprachvariation*, 1176–1190. (Handbücher zur Sprach- und Kommunikationswissenschaft 30.4). Berlin & Boston: De Gruyter Mouton.

Zimmer, Christian. 2020. Kasus im Namdeutschen. *Zeitschrift für Germanistische Linguistik* 48. 298–335. doi:10.1515/zgl-2020-2004.

Zimmer, Christian. 2021a. Sprachliche Charakteristika des Deutschen in Namibia – ein korpusbasierter Überblick. *Sprachwissenschaft* 46 (2). 227–266.

Zimmer, Christian. 2021b. Wie viel Niederdeutsch steckt im Namdeutschen? Die Rolle niederdeutscher Dialekte beim Varietätenkontakt in der ehemaligen Kolonie Deutsch-Südwestafrika. *Korrespondenzblatt des Vereins für niederdeutsche Sprachforschung* 128. 55–68.

Zimmer, Christian. 2021c. Siedlungsgeschichte und Varietätenkontakt: Zur Entstehung des Namdeutschen. *Zeitschrift für Dialektologie und Linguistik* 88 (3). 324–350.

Zimmer, Christian, Heike Wiese, Horst J. Simon, Marianne Zappen-Thomson, Yannic Bracke, Britta Stuhl & Thomas Schmidt. 2020. Das Korpus *Deutsch in Namibia* (*DNam*): Eine Ressource für die Kontakt-, Variations- und Soziolinguistik. *Deutsche Sprache* 48. 210–232.

Zimmerer, Jürgen. 2008. Colonial genocide: The Herero and Nama War (1904–8) in German South West Africa and its significance. In Dan Stone (ed.), *The Historiography of Genocide*, 323–343. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Sheena Shah

Universität Hamburg

Asien-Afrika-Institut

Edmund-Siemers-Allee 1

20146 Hamburg, Germany

[sheena.shah@uni-hamburg.de]

Christian Zimmer

Freie Universität Berlin

Institut für Deutsche und Niederländische Philologie

Habelschwerdter Allee 45

14195 Berlin, Germany

[christian.zimmer@fu-berlin.de]