

## **Grammatical Innovations in German in Multilingual Namibia: The Expanded Use of Linking Elements and *Gehen* ‘Go’ as a Future Auxiliary**

Sheena Shah

Christian Zimmer

*TU Dortmund University  
University of the Free State*

*TU Dortmund University*

In this paper, we provide an overview of the history and sociolinguistic setting of Germans and German in Namibia, which serves as a backdrop for our discussion of two grammatical innovations in Namibian German. German has been actively used in Namibia since the 1880s, having been brought to the country through colonization, and it remains linguistically vital today. Via a questionnaire study, we investigate the expanded use of two grammatical innovations in Namibian German, namely, i) linking elements and ii) *gehen* as a future auxiliary. We explore various factors that could have contributed to the emergence of these innovations in order to better understand the dynamics of German in multilingual Namibia.\*

---

\* We are grateful to Theresa Biberauer, Johanita Kirsten, Erin Pretorius, and Marianne Zappen-Thomson for inspiring discussions, as well as to two anonymous reviewers for valuable feedback. Christian Zimmer’s work was funded by the *Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft* (DFG; German Research Foundation), SI 750/4-1/2; ZI 1793/1-2.

© Society for Germanic Linguistics 2023. This is an Open Access article, distributed under the terms of the Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial-NoDerivatives licence (<https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/4.0/>), which permits non-commercial re-use, distribution, and reproduction in any medium, provided the original work is unaltered and is properly cited. The written permission of Cambridge University Press must be obtained for commercial re-use or in order to create a derivative work

**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 today it continues to be linguistically vital and strongly supported by the local German-speaking community.<sup>1</sup> This makes it different from many of the extraterritorial German varieties spoken by the descendants of immigrants from Central Europe, which are moribund today (such as Texas German), including other colonial varieties (such as Unserdeutsch). Instead, NG is 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, what sets NG apart from most varieties of German is that its use is actively supported in various public domains due its status as one of 13 national languages of Namibia (Shah & Zappen-Thomson 2017). Speakers are typically trilingual and habitually speak at least Afrikaans and English, besides German (Wiese et al. 2017).

(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). In general, during their initial

---

<sup>1</sup> Here *local German-speaking community* refers to the largest group of German speakers in Namibia, that is, (for the most part white) people who acquired German as their L1 in Namibia. This group has its roots mainly in colonization. See section 3 for further details on other groups of German speakers in Namibia.

interaction with local German-speaking Namibians, German visitors to Namibia do not notice anything too unusual in their speech, except for lexical peculiarities. For a long time, linguists, too, focused on its lexical peculiarities and described the ways in which NG lexicon differed from SG lexicon (see, among others, Nöckler 1963 and Böhm 2003).<sup>2</sup> In contrast, its pronunciation and grammar were (erroneously) considered to approximate that of SG (see, among others, 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.<sup>3</sup> Much of the recent work is based on a systematically compiled corpus, *Deutsch in Namibia* (*DNam*, German in Namibia; Zimmer et al. 2020a,b), 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 aim in this paper is to provide a deeper insight into the dynamics of German in multilingual Namibia. To that end, we focus on two features, namely, the expanded use of linking elements and of *gehen* as a future auxiliary, and explore in depth various factors that potentially could have contributed to their emergence. The structure of the paper is as follows: 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 focus on two grammatical innovations in NG: 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. Section 6 is a conclusion.

---

<sup>2</sup> 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 use *SG* here to refer to this standard variety. If we refer to the entirety of varieties as spoken in Germany (including SG), we use the term *German German* (henceforth GG).

<sup>3</sup> See, for example, Shah 2007, Riehl 2014, Wiese et al. 2014, 2017, Kellermeier-Rehbein 2015, Zimmer 2020, 2021a,c, forthcoming, Stuhl & Zimmer 2021, Wiese & Bracke 2021, Wiese et al. 2022.

## 2. Historical Background.

The first Germans to arrive to the territory of today's Namibia were missionaries.<sup>4</sup> 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 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, totaling 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 other factors, 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

---

<sup>4</sup> 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 March 21, 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*.

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).<sup>5</sup>

Year	Total population	Total white population	Total German-speaking population	% of German-speaking population 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. Number of German speakers within the white population in Namibia, 1891–1913.

The composition of the Namibian population changed significantly during the colonial period, and specifically during the tragic Herero and Nama War (1904–1908), today recognized as a genocide (Zimmerer 2008:323):<sup>6</sup>

[T]he German colonial army deliberately killed thousands of Herero and Nama men, women and children; let even more die of thirst in the

<sup>5</sup> In table 1, the figures for 1891–1899 are from Deumert 2009:357; the figures for 1900–1913 are from Oelhafen von Schöllénbach 1926:110–111.

<sup>6</sup> In 2015, the war was officially referred to as a *Völkermord* ‘genocide’ by the German foreign ministry (Bundespressekonferenz, July 10, 2015, available at <https://www.bundesregierung.de/Content/DE/Mitschrift/Pressekonferenzen/2015/07/2015-07-10-regpk.html>, last accessed on June 14, 2018).

Omaheke desert; and murdered thousands more by deliberate neglect in concentration camps.

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 (for example, southwestern regions of the German-speaking area for Pennsylvania Dutch speakers, see Loudon 2016; and northern Germany for Springbok German 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).<sup>7</sup> The mixture of different dialects triggered several developments that have been extensively described in the literature on dialect contact and new-dialect formation (see, among others, Trudgill 1986, 2004; Kerswill & Trudgill 2005), such as leveling, interdialect formation, reallocation, and focusing (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 *Deutschum* '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).

---

<sup>7</sup> *Springbok German* refers to the variety of German spoken in rural parts of the KwaZulu-Natal province of South Africa (Franke 2008:31).

In 1915, with the occupation of Namibia by the South African Union troops, the German colonial rule ended. From 1919 onward, 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 & 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 community, German remained in a privileged position and continued to be used as the language of instruction in German medium schools in Namibia and as a working language of the government.<sup>8</sup>

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, population from 83% of the total white population in 1913 to 40% in 1921 and 31% in 1936 (see table 2).<sup>9</sup>

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 Bavianspoort (near Pretoria) and Koffiefontein (near Kimberly). The interned Germans were only released in 1946 and were allowed to return home the following

---

<sup>8</sup> German remained protected through the London Agreement of 1923, Education Proclamation 16 of 1926, and the Swakopmund Agreement of 1929 between the administration and the *Deutscher Schulverein* of Swakopmund (Gretschel 1993:52).

<sup>9</sup> 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).

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 (see table 2).

Year	Total white population	Total German-speaking population	% of German-speaking population 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 (Bähr 1989:100).

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 institutionalized 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 (such as government, education, etc.), but also served as a lingua franca for interethnic communication (Harlech-Jones 1995). For many decades, the German-speaking community unsuccessfully sought to improve the status of German in Namibia. Only in 1984 was German 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 recognized as one of 13 national languages.

Year	Total population	Total German-speaking population		% of German-speaking population
		Speakers	Households	
1991	1,409,920	12,827	--	1%
2001	1,830,330	--	3,654	1.1%
2011	2,113,077	--	4,359	0.9%
2016	2,324,388	--	3,726	0.6%

Table 3. German population statistics in Namibia, 1991–2016.

Since Namibia gained independence in 1990, the German-speaking population in Namibia has been hovering around 1% of the total Namibian population (see table 3).<sup>10</sup> Today, about 15,000–20,000 Namibians have German as their L1.

### 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).

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’ (see, for example, Kenna 2004

<sup>10</sup> 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), Namibia Inter-Censal Demographic Survey 2016 Report, Table 6.3 (Namibia Statistics Agency 2017).

& Witte et al. 2014).<sup>11</sup> In addition, there are numerous individuals who acquire German as an additional language. These include the ever-increasing number of students of German as a foreign language (*Deutsch als Fremdsprache, DaF*), who are taught German at various educational institutions in the country (Shah & Zappen-Thomson 2017:139), as well as individuals who acquire German in more informal contexts (for example, 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 that developed during German colonialism. Crucially, Kiche Duits never became an in-group language but was mainly employed for interethnic communication between the German colonists and their workers (Deumert 2009, 2017, 2018).

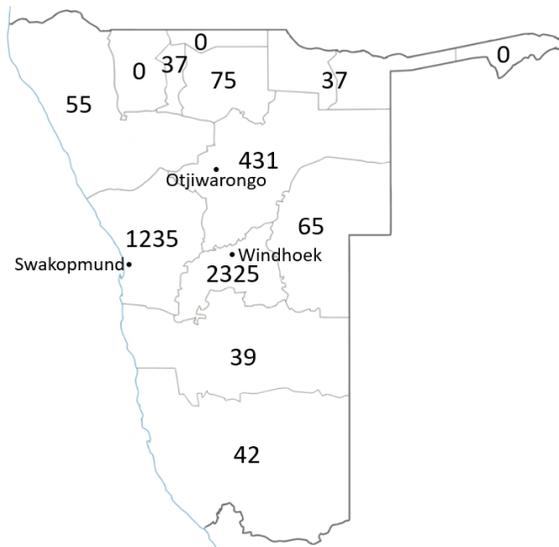


Figure 1. Regional distribution of German-speaking households.  
Source: Namibia Statistics Agency (2011:171).<sup>12</sup>

<sup>11</sup> The term *DDR-Kinder* refers to black Namibian children who were raised in East Germany from 1979–1990.

<sup>12</sup> Source of the map in figure 1: [https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Namibia\\_Regions\\_Blank.PNG](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Namibia_Regions_Blank.PNG) (last accessed on May 12, 2021). Changes made to the original map by the authors: Numbers indicating regional

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. Schlettwein (2018:329) describes the linguistic situation as follows:

[T]he ‘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 Otjherero.

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 *Südwestdeutsch* ‘South-Westerners’ German’, which relates to the former colonial name of Namibia, that is, *Südwestafrika* ‘South-West Africa’, was in wide circulation prior to and immediately after Namibia gained independence in 1990 (see, among others, Gretschel 1984, 1995; Pütz 1991; Böhm 2003:563). Although nowadays the term is 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 (see also Sell 2011, 2014), refers to a youth variety (Zappen-Thomson 2013, Kellermeier-Rehbein 2015) primarily realized in speech.<sup>13</sup> It is seldom exemplified in writing, and when it is, it is usually used in an informal manner for the purposes of demonstrating authenticity and local flavor, for example, in the squibs (*Glossen*) of the *Allgemeine Zeitung (AZ)*; see Radke 2017).<sup>14</sup> A more neutral all-encompassing term used by speakers is *Namdeutsch* ‘Nam-German’. Other terms found in the literature

---

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 last census was carried out in 2011, the number of German-speaking households is available for Kavango only.

<sup>13</sup> <https://www.youtube.com/user/eesyees>, last accessed on May 12, 2021.

<sup>14</sup> The *Allgemeine Zeitung* is a daily German-language newspaper in Namibia, which is read by almost all German-speaking households in Namibia (Shah & Zappen-Thomson 2017:137).

include *Namibisches Deutsch*, *Namibia-Deutsch* (Kellermeier-Rehbein 2016:223), and *Namlish*.<sup>15</sup>

NG is not a homogenous variety and is best described using a continuum, one end of which represents a standard-based variety of NG (that is, a variety close to SG, as spoken in Germany) and the other end approximates a nonstandard variety of NG (that is, Südwestdeutsch/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 (such as age, gender, L1 of parents, school attended) and/or to the situation at hand (such as topic of conversation, degree of formality, presence of in-group versus out-group speakers; Zimmer 2020, Wiese & Bracke 2021, Wiese et al. 2022). 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 (Bracke 2021, Wiese & 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 (for instance, 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, that is, NG is not restricted to the spoken domain; rather, lexical items specific to NG sometimes appear in the written domain (for example, in the AZ; see Kellermeier-Rehbein 2018 and Kroll-Tjingaete 2018, among others), NG morphosyntactic patterns less so (Shah 2007). Various NG dictionaries have been published over the years (Nöckler 1963, Pütz 2001, Sell 2011).<sup>16</sup> A number of common NG lexical items are considered core

<sup>15</sup> *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.

<sup>16</sup> Nöckler (1963) created 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

vocabulary items by the community and their use is not stigmatized. Some of the most common NG lexical items have also found their way into the second edition of the *Variantenwörterbuch des Deutschen* (Ammon et al. 2016) and are considered to be standard.<sup>17</sup> These include *Braai* ‘barbecue’, *Panga* ‘bush knife’, and *Rivier* ‘dry river’ (Ammon et al. 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 et al. 2022 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”, that is, 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, Bracke 2021, Wiese & Bracke 2021, Wiese et al. 2022).

German is acquired as a first language by the younger generations through intergenerational language transmission. It is used in private domains, such as the home environment, as well as in numerous public domains, including cultural, religious, educational, medical, and professional settings (see Shah & Zappen-Thomson 2017:135–141). These include kindergartens, primary and secondary schools, boarding schools, churches, media, some areas of business (especially tourism),

---

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 formed.

<sup>17</sup> 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 and are requested not to merely regard the NG lexemes as mistakes but instead to use this opportunity to create language awareness amongst students. The dictionary is particularly useful for teachers from Germany, since they are often not aware of the intricacies of NG.

etc. (Ammon 2015, Wiese et al. 2017, Zimmer 2019). It is visible in the public realm 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. This is illustrated in figure 2, which shows an advertisement from AZ (left) and from the Afrikaans-language newspaper *Republikein* (right).<sup>18</sup>

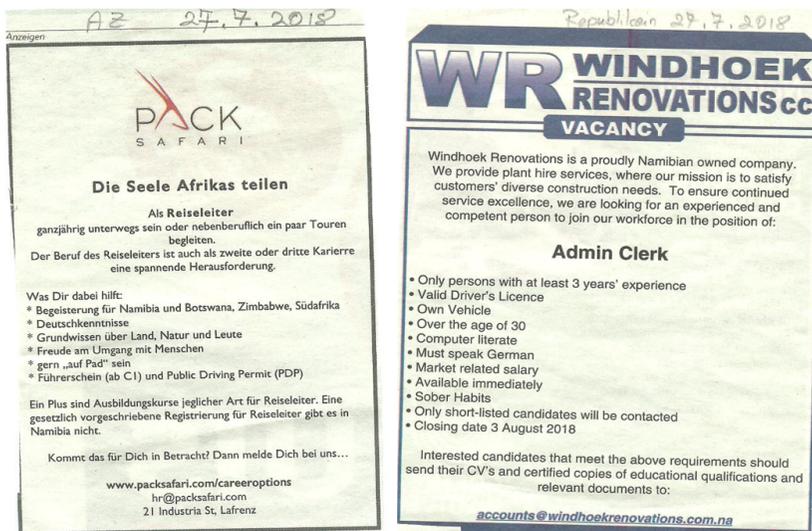


Figure 2. Job advertisements in German-language newspapers, July 2018.

The status of a national language confers certain privileges, allowing German, for example, to be used in education, legislation, administration, and the judicial system. The state support that 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

<sup>18</sup> The job advertisement on the left lists desired competences of applicants. These include *Deutschkenntnisse* ‘German language skills’.

*Deutsch als Muttersprache* (German as a mother language, *DaM*) and *Deutsch als Fremdsprache* (German as a foreign language, *DaF*) receive state and private support, both from Namibia and Germany (see table 4; data from Shah & Zappen-Thomson 2017). These various levels of support—together with the strong language loyalty among German-speaking Namibians and the many efforts that the community makes to preserve their language—have contributed to its continued use and its success in resisting the otherwise prevalent English hegemony in Namibia (Shah & 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 between which they can effortlessly switch (NG, SG, etc.), NG speakers routinely use other languages, typically Afrikaans and English, which they generally master or even speak fluently. The older generation is more familiar with Afrikaans. The younger generation, by contrast, uses English more often; for them, English symbolizes “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 10 other national languages of Namibia. This is especially the case for German children who grow up on farms; through, for example, 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).<sup>19</sup>

---

<sup>19</sup> 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).

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

Table 4. Support for the German language in Namibia  
(DaF: *Deutsch als Fremdsprache*, DaM: *Deutsch als Muttersprache*).

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 those characteristics. 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 features of NG in order to illustrate some of its grammatical characteristics. The examination of these two features complements our historical and sociolinguistic descriptions and shows how the different aspects that shape NG interact with one another.

The two morphosyntactic features that we investigate are the linking element +s+ (section 4) and the *gehen* + infinitive construction (section 5). These case studies were specifically chosen because different explanations could, at first glance, be proposed for 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.<sup>20</sup> Accordingly, language contact seems to have different degrees of impact on the development of the two phenomena, which opens up an interesting 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 analyzed 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.<sup>21</sup>

---

<sup>20</sup> 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).

<sup>21</sup> The DNam corpus is openly accessible via the *Database for Spoken German*: <https://dgd.ids-mannheim.de/>, last accessed May 12, 2021. It contains three types of data (conversation groups, “language situations”, semistructured interviews) and approximately 18 hours of transcribed, normalized, and annotated audio recordings of more than 100 speakers of NG (age range: 14–75). See Zimmer et al. (2020a,b) for more information.

#### 4. Linking Elements.

In German, compounds occur in two variants: Either the compound consists only of the stems, as in *Hand+tasche* ‘handbag’, or a linking element is inserted between the stems, as in *Heizung+s+keller* ‘boiler room’.<sup>22</sup> 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.<sup>23</sup> Examples include *Lehn+s+wort* ‘loan word’, *Kreuzwort+s+rätsel* ‘crossword puzzle’, and *Miet+s+wagen* ‘rental car’. The latter appears, for example, in the AZ, as in 1.

- (1) a. Das Trio sei in einem AVIS-**Mietswagen**, einem weißen Doppelkabiner vom Typ Toyota Hilux, unterwegs gewesen.

‘The trio had been traveling in an AVIS rental car, a white Toyota Hilux double cab.’  
(AZ, December 31, 2015)

- b. Bei einem Frontalzusammenstoß zwischen seinem Wagen und einem **Mietswagen** mit deutschen Touristen [...].

‘In a head-on collision between his car and a rental car with German tourists [...].’  
(AZ, January 24, 2017)

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

---

<sup>22</sup> In some cases, the first constituent exhibits umlaut in addition to a linking element, as in *Buch–Bücherregal* ‘book–bookshelf’. However, these cases are not relevant for our argumentation.

<sup>23</sup> There is abundant literature on the use of linking elements in GG, which cannot be summarized exhaustively here. The relevant aspects are discussed in some detail in the remainder of this section. For more information, see, for example, 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.

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 be explained neither 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 argue that the history of German provides important insights. In the following, we discuss the results of a questionnaire study. Subsequently, we 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.<sup>24</sup>

#### 4.1. Questionnaire Data.

Starting from the observation that linking elements that are unusual in GG can be observed in NG, we conducted a questionnaire study to learn more about this phenomenon.<sup>25</sup> We asked German-speaking Namibians to translate a list of selected words and phrases from English into German (see table 5, leftmost column).<sup>26</sup> An advantage of this method is that linking elements are extremely rare in English, so there should be no bias toward them.<sup>27</sup> 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

---

<sup>24</sup> Other linking elements exist in German, such as +en+ (see, among others, Nübling & Szczepaniak 2008), but our focus is on +s+ because this element is most relevant with regard to NG.

<sup>25</sup> Corpus linguistic methods could not be used for this case study because (potentially) relevant constructions are too rare in the DNam corpus.

<sup>26</sup> All participants were fluent in English.

<sup>27</sup> 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.

cannot contain a linking element because it is a simplex. Such answers were excluded from the analyses.

The list of words was compiled in such a way as to prompt the participants to choose German translations that would differ from one another 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 (such as the suffixes *-heit/keit*, *-ion*, *-(i)tät*, *-ling*, *-sal*, *-schaft*, *-tum*, and *-ung*) or prevent it (such as masculine gender + weak inflection class membership; constituent-final sibilant; constituent-final vowels).<sup>28</sup> Other cases are subject to lexeme-specific preferences (see Kopf 2018a:28–32, 43 for an overview).<sup>29</sup>

Table 5 lists the selected items and contains information on the frequency of the linking element in DeReKo (rightmost column).<sup>30</sup> The range extends from mandatory linking elements, as in *Arbeit+s+platz* ‘working place’, to cases where a linking element would be considered ungrammatical in SG, as in *\*Taxi+s+fahrer* ‘taxi driver’. For some

---

<sup>28</sup> Note that there are some German dialects for which the latter restriction does not apply, for example, 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).

<sup>29</sup> 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.

<sup>30</sup> 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 (for instance, Austria and Switzerland) and regions (such as South Tyrol; see, among others, Donalies & Bubenhofer 2011:86–92 and the corresponding entries in *Variantengrammatik des Standarddeutschen* [Variational Grammar of Standard German, Dürscheid et al. 2018]). Namibian speakers of German are generally orientated toward language use in Germany. The following archive was used: *W-ohneWikipedia-öffentlich—alle öffentlichen Korpora des Archivs W (mit Neuakquisitionen, ohne Wikipedia)*.

words, both variants occur frequently, as in *Schaden+s+ersatz* versus *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, for example, 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).

116 speakers of NG took part in our study (100 secondary school students and 16 adults, age range: 14 to 66 years). The data were 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 were counted twice, resulting in a total number of 1,358 tokens to be analyzed.

In 524 cases (or in 39%), an *+s+* was used. 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 number of standard-divergent variants in NG (both in general, when compared to GG, and 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 have an impact on the variation. Rather, there is no categorical difference here, but (at best) a tendency.

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	sportvereniging	Sport(s)verein / Sport(s)klub	≤ 1% ≤ 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)partyverj aardag(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.

In order to test the impact of the other variables, a binomial generalized linear mixed model (GLMM) was applied (see, for example,

Baayen 2008:278–284).<sup>31</sup> 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 the first constituent ending in a vowel were excluded from this analysis. Furthermore, the final sound of the first constituent was not integrated as a predictor because one level of this variable could perfectly predict the outcome, that is, one would be dealing with complete separation (see Levshina 2015:273, among others).

Instead, six other variables were included that fell into two categories. One category was sociolinguistic in nature and included the variables AGE, GENDER, and RESIDENCE of the participant. The other category was linguistic and reflected features of the compounds:<sup>32</sup> The variable LE\_GERMANY captured information on how often a linking element occurred in the word in GG. This variable had three levels: “yes”, if +s+ was used in  $\geq 99\%$  of all cases in DeReKo, “no”, if it was used in  $\leq 1\%$ , and “facultative” for all cases in between (see table 5). Next, the variable LE\_AFRIKAANS had two levels: “yes”, if there was an equivalent in Afrikaans that contained a linking element (as in *huwelik+s+voorstel* ‘marriage proposal’) and “no”, if that was not the case (as in *geskenk+Ø+papier* ‘gift wrapping paper’; see table 5, second column).<sup>33</sup> The possible impact of the absence/presence of a linking element in SG and Afrikaans was considered because of the normative orientation toward SG and the intense contact with Afrikaans. Finally, the variable COGNATES\_1CONSTITUENT captured information on whether the first constituent of the English word and the first constituent of the

---

<sup>31</sup> The software *R* (R Core Team 2020) and *RStudio* (RStudio Team 2020) was used for this and all subsequent analyses in this paper. For GLMMs, the package *lme4* was used (Bates et al. 2015).

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

<sup>33</sup> The classification was based on entries in dictionaries and on our study of a corpus that is part of the *Leipzig Corpora Collection*: the Afrikaans mixed corpus based on material from 2014.

German translation were cognates (for example, *birthday party* and *Geburt+s+tag+s+feier*) or not (for example, *suit trousers* and *Anzug+s+hose*). This variable allowed us to assess whether close resemblance between the English items and the German target words had an influence on how participants responded (see below for more details).<sup>34</sup>

In addition to these (potentially) explanatory variables, two random effects were integrated, namely, PARTICIPANT and TYPE. This was to ensure that neither idiosyncratic behaviors of individual speakers nor outliers due to one specific compound type would skew the results. The presence or absence of +s+ is the binary dependent variable (LE) that is to be predicted by the explanatory variables.<sup>35</sup>

To test which variable had a significant impact on the dependent variable, a maximum model was fitted as a first step. The model specification is given in 2.

$$(2) \text{le} \sim \text{age} + \text{gender\_speaker} + \text{residence} + \text{le\_germany} + \text{cognates\_1constituent} + \text{le\_Afrikaans} + (1|\text{participant}) + (1|\text{type})$$

Subsequently, all variables that did not significantly improve the quality of the model were identified. Only LE\_GERMANY and COGNATES\_1CONSTITUENT significantly contributed to the correct prediction of the outcome. This indicates that the presence or absence of a linking element in Afrikaans equivalent terms did not influence the likelihood of +s+ in

---

<sup>34</sup> Our data set contains many graphematic variants, including standard-divergent spellings such as <Arbeits Platz>, <Arbeits platz>, <arbeits plaz>, etc.; *Arbeitsplatz* ‘working place’. These variants were lumped together as 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 could not be ruled out that the participants had English *folk* (an established loan word in German, denoting a specific style of music) in mind instead of German *Volk* ‘folk/people’. The difference in interpretation would have an impact on the presence/absence of a linking element.

<sup>35</sup> Variants other than +s+ or +Ø+ (for example, +e+ in <Geschenke papier> ‘gift wrapping paper’) occurred only nine times in the entire data set (that is, less than 1%). These marginal cases were excluded from the analysis.

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 (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 (absence or presence of linking element).

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;  $p>0.001$ \*\*\*). Multicollinearity is no problem as all Variation Inflation Factors (VIFs) are below 3.

The variable LE\_GERMANY indicates that more participants used a linking element, if +s+ was obligatory in the compound in SG. Thus, there are parallels between SG and the participants' response behavior. This is not very surprising given the general orientation toward SG in German classes in schools, in Namibia's German-language media, etc. Interestingly, however, the level "no" does not reach the significance level. The absence of linking elements in the corresponding compounds in SG did 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: While most tokens in the analyzed data set are in line with SG, a nonmarginal number of tokens is not: 109 tokens can be classified as standard-divergent (that is, 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 DeReKo. This difference is significant in three cases (see table 7).<sup>36</sup>

	Our data set	DeReKo	p	odds ratio
<i>Anzug(s)hose</i> 'suit trousers'	39% n=41	11% n=732	<0.001 ***	5.347025
<i>Miet(s)wohnung</i> 'rental apartment'	29% n=31	3% n=7,663	<0.001 ***	14.64197
<i>Mitglied(s)staat</i> 'member state'	100% n=14	37% n=5,700	<0.001 ***	–
<i>Schaden(s)ersatz</i> '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 that the sample size for Namibia is small.<sup>37</sup> However, the results could be read as an indication of a tendency toward i) the use of *+s+* in cases where the linking element is optional in SG and ii) standard-divergent compounds.<sup>38</sup> 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 was chosen because no bias toward *+s+* was to be expected due to the absence of linking elements in (most of) the English words. However, there might naturally be a bias toward *+∅+*. In fact, the results of the GLMM support this idea. The estimate of the second significant variable, COGNATES\_1CONSTITUENT, indicates that *+∅+* is more likely to occur if the first constituents of the source word and the translation are cognates.

<sup>36</sup> Fisher's Exact Test was used (see, for example, Gries 2014). Odds ratios are not given for *Mitglied(s)staat* as there are only instances that include a linking element in our data set. The data from DeReKo are those already used for table 5 above.

<sup>37</sup> In addition, the variation in the use of *Schaden(+s+)ersatz* might also reflect genre differences.

<sup>38</sup> Unfortunately, it would be challenging to repeat the study in Germany, as a high level of English competence would be required among the participants.

This means that standard-divergent omission of the linking element is more likely in words such as *Advent+s+kalender* ‘advent calendar’ than in *Arbeit+s+platz* ‘place of work’. Presumably, close resemblance between the English and the German words fosters a 1:1 transfer from one language into the other during the translation task. Note that there might be an effect that goes beyond this potential artefact of the method, that is, close resemblance might also be relevant in natural language use. It is conceivable that similarity promotes convergence. However, this cannot be determined using our methodology. It is well known that translations that resemble their source have to be taken with caution. Therefore, many scholars focus on deviations from the translated source (see, for example, Fleischer et al. 2008 for methodological considerations on this issue). This is also how we proceed in the following. The standard-divergent occurrences of +s+ are more interesting in any case, as they can be explained neither 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 does not seem to be the case. Combrink (1990:272), for example, states: “In Sweeds en Duits is -s- bv. uiteraard 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.]<sup>39</sup> It should be noted that when the +s+ linking element is used in Afrikaans, it is often used in similar contexts to SG. For example, first constituents ending in *-heid/-heit*, *-ing/-ung* or *-skap/*

---

<sup>39</sup> 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 the work of Kürschner (2010), whose contrastive study on Danish, Dutch, German, and Swedish reveals many parallels.

*-schaft* almost categorically co-occur with *+s+* in both languages (see, among others, Kempen 1969:99–102 on Afrikaans and Ortner et al. 1991:73–75 on German).<sup>40</sup> However, 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, for example, Donaldson 1993:438–439 and Krott et al. 2007). In fact, the distribution of *+s+* has been referred to as “arbitrary” (Fuhrhop & Kürschner 2015:576) or “idiosyncratic” (Krott et al. 2007:45). Crucially, Afrikaans has no rule along the lines of “first constituent ending in a plosive entails *+s+*”, which would have made an explanation of standard-divergent *+s+* in NG in terms 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 (*werk+Ø+gewer* ‘employer’), and some allow both options (*week+s+dag* versus *week+Ø+dag* ‘weekday’).<sup>41</sup>

Against this backdrop, it seems unlikely that standard-divergent *+s+* in NG can be categorized as a contact-induced change from a minor to a major use pattern. So, transfer from one of the main contact languages, Afrikaans or English, does not seem to be a decisive factor here. Instead, we argue that it is worth considering the recent history of German, which is 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 today) were reanalyzed as the first constituent of a compound. The example in 3a illustrates an

---

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

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

unambiguous genitive construction because the determiner agrees with the genitive attribute *König-s*. Example 3b contains a bridging construction, that is, a construction that allows for both interpretations, which makes reanalysis possible. Finally, 3c shows the new construction, that is, a compound. All examples are taken from Kopf 2018b:94.<sup>42</sup>

- (3) a. in [ein-es König-s] Schloss  
 in [a-M.GEN.SG king-M.GEN.SG] castle.N.NOM.SG  
 ‘in a king’s castle’
- b. ein-es König-s Schloss-es gewahr  
 a.M/N-GEN.SG KING.M-GEN.SG/LE castle.N-GEN.SG aware  
 werden  
 become  
 ‘become aware of the castle of a king / of a royal castle’
- c. d-as [König-s Schloss]  
 the-N.NOM.SG [king.M-LE castle.N.NOM.SG]  
 ‘the royal castle’

The example in 3c still contains an *-s*. This *-s* cannot, however, be classified as an inflectional suffix anymore, as *Königs Schloss* is to be analyzed 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*).<sup>43</sup> If this construction were not a compound, the determiner would have to agree with *König*, which is masculine (Kopf 2018b:94).

In cases such as 3c, one is clearly dealing with a linking element. These elements were primarily limited to compounds with a masculine or neuter first constituent (such as *König* ‘king’). They are usually referred to as paradigmatic, as the first constituent, which includes the linking

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

<sup>43</sup> Note that disjoint spelling is not a reliable source of information regarding the morphological status of a construction in this period.

element, formally matches the genitive (Fuhrhop 1996). Subsequently, however, more and more compounds with feminine first constituents were used with the linking element *+s+*, as in 4. In such cases, the first constituent + the linking element could never be interpreted as a genitive construction, as feminine nouns do not have a genitive *-s* (and so the first constituent + linking element of such compounds would differ from 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).

- (4) *Geburt+s+tag*  
 birth.F+s+day.M  
 ‘birthday’

Thus, the restrictions for the use of *+s+* loosen. This development is accompanied by further changes that support the spread of *+s+*. For example, a new word formation pattern with *-ung* derivatives as the first component of a compound emerges, as in *Nahrung+s+mittel* ‘foodstuff’. In this new pattern, *+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, that is, compounds with nominalized verbs as their 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 summarized as a clear tendency toward a spread of *+s+* beginning in the Early New High German period. However, this development seems to have slowed down (see, among others, Kopf 2018a:286), which goes along with a reduction of variation. This was already noted by Pavlov (1983), who analyzed the proportion of types that exhibit variation (presence versus absence of a linking element) in texts from Early New High German and the 1st century of the New High German period. Kopf (2018a:254) observes that in general, there is less variation in the use of linking elements 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:

- (i) There is/was a tendency toward a spread of +s+ in German.
- (ii) This development slowed down, presumably due to the increased importance of linguistic norms, resulting in less variation (in GG).
- (iii) 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 intraterritorial varieties. The standard-divergent forms in NG seem to continue a development that in other varieties has been partly constrained by language-external influence.

In light of the explanation in i–iii, 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, as shown in 5.<sup>44</sup>

(5) Ein **Miethswagen** stand vor dem Gitterthor.

‘A rental carriage stood in front of the barred gate.’ (Gutzkow 1877)

This variant competed with *Mietwagen*, which prevailed in the following years. The last occurrence of *Mietswagen* in DeReKo dates from the 1950s, and already in that 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, for example, Maitz & Elspaß 2013). At the same time, both variants are presently used in

---

<sup>44</sup> The spelling with <th> is an old graphematic variant. The example in 5 was found with the help of *Deutsches Textarchiv* (German text archive) at <https://www.deutschestextarchiv.de>, last accessed on March 5, 2021; see Data Sources for details.

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 that has been constrained in other contexts. Given that the occasions to talk about rental carriages in the past were presumably few in Namibia, this might be the more plausible scenario. Such a development would be consistent with what Trudgill (2004:129–147) has labeled “theory of drift”: Innovations in an extraterritorial 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, transfer from the contact languages does not seem to play a central role in the emergence of standard-divergent linking elements. The tendency in multilingual settings to attach less importance to linguistic norms and the corresponding propensity for variation provide a more plausible explanation (see, for example, Wiese et al. 2014, 2017).

The idea that the standard-divergent linking elements in NG could follow a tendency that was (or still is) characteristic of other varieties is supported by the distribution of linking elements in our questionnaire data. Linking elements are not distributed randomly in our data set but in accordance with constraints relevant in SG: A final vowel excludes +s+ in both varieties (see, among others, Wegener 2003, 2005; Fehrer 2009; Kopf 2018a:28–32 on German varieties, including SG). Thus, these linking elements occur in our data set only in contexts where +s+ would theoretically also be possible in SG. This can be illustrated nicely with the first constituent *Miet+*. In SG, there is a strong tendency toward *Miet+s+haus* (versus *Miet+Ø+haus* ‘tenement’; 96% of cases in DeReKo contain the linking element +s+) and *Miet+s+kaserne* (versus *Miet+Ø+kaserne* ‘block of flats’; 98%). In contrast, *Miet(s)wohnung* is typically used without the linking element, and in *Mietswagen* and *Mietauto* +s+ is almost categorically absent in SG (see table 5).

At the same time, it has repeatedly been shown that the first constituent is decisive as regards the use of a linking element in German (see, among others, Krott et al. 2007). Against this backdrop, the outlined differences are curious. There are no obvious intralinguistic 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.<sup>45</sup>

## 5. Go-Future Construction.

### 5.1. Expression of Future in German, Afrikaans, and English.

SG has two constructions for expressing the future: the auxiliary verb *werden* + infinitive, as in 6a, and the futurate present tense, as in 6b.

- (6) a. Ich **werde** morgen mein Zimmer **aufräumen**.  
 I AUX tomorrow my room clean.up.INF
- b. Ich **räume** morgen mein Zimmer **auf**.  
 I clean.1SG tomorrow my room up  
 ‘I will clean my room tomorrow.’

The second construction, the futurate present tense in 6b, is used more frequently than *werden* + infinitive in 6a (Brons-Albert 1982, Di Meola 2013) and is quite common in contexts where English would resort to other constructions to express futurity, for example, by using the future auxiliary *will*, as in 7a, or *going to*, as in 7b.

- (7) a. Ich komme heute Nachmittag zurück.  
 I come.1SG today afternoon back  
 ‘I’ll be back this afternoon.’
- b. Isst du den Nachtisch?  
 eat.2SG you the.ACC dessert?  
 ‘Are you going to eat the dessert?’

The two constructions in 6 are also used in NG to express future meaning. In addition, a third construction can be observed: *gehen* +

---

<sup>45</sup> Interestingly, these differences between SG and NG resemble differences between Dutch and Afrikaans: In Afrikaans (which is more influenced by language contact than Dutch), a spread of +s+ can also be observed, which has been interpreted as a continuation of an already existing trend (Kempen 1969:103–109).

infinitive, as in 8a.<sup>46</sup> Afrikaans and English can also express futurity with constructions involving the verb *go*: Example 8b contains *gaan* + infinitive and 8c contains *going* + infinitive (see also the English translation in 7b above). This type of construction is henceforth referred to as the *go*-future construction.

- (8) a. ey wir **gehn** nich unsre beine **brechn**  
 hey we go.1PL not our legs break.INF  
 wir **gehn sterbn**.  
 we go.1PL die.INF (NAM062W1)
- b. Hey, ons gaan nie ons bene breek nie,  
 hey we go.1PL NEG our legs break.INF NEG  
 ons gaan sterf.  
 we go.1PL die.INF
- c. Hey, we're not going to break our legs, we're going to die.

Forming the equivalent sentence in SG with *gehen* is not possible and would be considered ungrammatical.<sup>47</sup>

Since *gehen* + infinitive in NG mirrors similar constructions in Afrikaans and English, this may suggest that the use of *go*-future in NG is a contact effect.<sup>48</sup> Previous research on German in southern Africa has

---

<sup>46</sup> 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 (for instance, 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).

<sup>47</sup> There are specific contexts where *gehen* + infinitive is used in SG; see section 5.3.

<sup>48</sup> 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 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*

reached a similar conclusion in this regard (see, among others, Shah 2007 for NG and Franke 2008 for South African German). While there is no denying that language contact clearly plays a significant role, we argue, based on a closer examination of the grammaticalization of *go*-future constructions in general, that there is more to be said about this innovation.

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

### 5.2. Corpus and Questionnaire Data.

By examining the corpus data, we found that the *go*-future construction is frequent in spoken NG, especially in informal free speech (see table 8).<sup>49</sup>

language situations	<i>gehen</i> + infinitive	<i>werden</i> + 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* versus *werden* in the corpus.

---

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). 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 grammaticalized 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).

<sup>49</sup> Register differentiations can clearly be observed here. For register differentiations among German-speaking Namibians in general, see Wiese & Bracke 2021 and Wiese et al. 2022.

German-speaking Namibians, therefore, have more options at their disposal to mark the future than the speakers of SG, and, crucially, they have 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). Moreover, the 55 instances of *gehen* in the *go*-future construction occur with a wide range of main verbs (see below for more details).

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 it. These preselected lexemes could be modified (for example, inflected) by participants and/or complemented with words of their own choice.

For each group, the data collection started with a test phase to allow participants to familiarize themselves with the design of the study and to ensure that the instructions provided were clear. The stimuli, that is, the first part of each sentence, had been prerecorded by a member of the German-speaking community in Namibia. The participants were presented with a questionnaire and asked to record their responses by hand. This questionnaire contained only the lexeme(s) to be used, in addition to the sentence number, as shown in 9.

(9) 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); the response time was deliberately kept short to ensure spontaneous answers and not to provide too much time for reflection on the metalinguistics of the sentences. A total of 34 sentences had to be completed by each participant.

Of the 34 items, 16 had been designed to elicit one of the three constructions to express futurity (see table 9). The other 18 items were fillers (or items that were used for the investigation of other linguistic phenomena not discussed in this article). 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 table 10 below). The

items were presented to the different groups in two different and randomized sequences.

Stimuli	lexeme(s) to be used
<i>Namibia hat sich noch nie für ne Fußball-WM qualifiziert. Aber ich denk', in 10 oder 15 Jahren...</i> 'Namibia has never qualified for a World Cup. But I think in 10 or 15 years...'	<i>teilnehmen</i> 'to participate'
<i>Ich will mich bei der Schulleiterin beschweren. Morgen früh...</i> 'I want to complain to the headmistress. Tomorrow morning...'	<i>zu ihr; gehen</i> 'to her; to go'
<i>Wir haben kein Biltong mehr. Wenn unser Besuch weg ist ...</i> 'We're out of biltong. When our visitors are gone ...'	<i>zum Einkaufszentrum; fahren</i> 'to the mall; to drive'
<i>Meine Freunde haben einen neuen Fußball gekauft. Morgen...</i> 'My friends have bought a new football. Tomorrow...'	<i>spielen</i> 'to play'
<i>Ich wollte schon immer wissen, wo sie die Tasche gekauft hat. Wenn ich sie das nächste Mal sehe...</i> 'I've always wanted to know where she bought the bag. Next time I see her...'	<i>fragen</i> 'to ask'
<i>Ich weiß nicht, was der Plan für heute Abend ist. Vielleicht...</i> 'I don't know what the plan is for tonight. Maybe...'	<i>zu Freunden; fahren</i> 'to friends; to drive'
<i>Heute hat's sehr wenig geregnet. Morgen...</i> 'It has rained very little today. Tomorrow...'	<i>vielleicht; mehr regnen</i> 'maybe; more to rain'
<i>Ich hab Hunger und hier gibt's gute Pizza. Nachdem ich telefoniert hab'...</i> 'I'm hungry and there's good pizza here. After I made a phone call...'	<i>chauen</i> NG: 'to eat'
<i>Ich weiß noch nicht, was ich antworten soll. Aber ich verspreche dir, morgen ...</i> 'I don't know what to reply yet. But I promise you, tomorrow...'	<i>darüber; nachdenken</i> 'about that; to think'
<i>Meine Ma ist immer pünktlich. In ein paar Minuten...</i> 'My mom's always on time. In a few minutes...'	<i>hier; sein</i> 'here; to be'

Stimuli	lexeme(s) to be used
<i>Hast du Lust, zum Essen hier zu bleiben? Heute Abend...</i> 'Would you like to stay for dinner? Tonight...'	<i>braaien</i> NG: 'to barbecue'
<i>Ich bin grad ziemlich arm. Aber ich bin mir fast sicher, in zehn Jahren...</i> 'I'm pretty poor right now. But I'm almost sure in ten years...'	<i>reich sein</i> 'to be rich'
<i>Die Wolken sind ziemlich dunkel. Bald...</i> 'The clouds are pretty dark. Soon...'	<i>regnen</i> 'to rain'
<i>Wenn wir weiter über Reiten reden, ...</i> 'If we keep talking about riding...'	<i>einschlafen</i> 'to fall asleep'
<i>Bis jetzt weiß sie noch nichts davon. Aber wenn ich nächste Woche bei ihr bin...</i> 'She doesn't know anything about it yet. But when I'm with her next week...'	<i>es; sagen</i> 'it; to tell'
<i>Das Restaurant ist echt gut. Schon bald...</i> 'This restaurant is really good. Soon...'	<i>viele Gäste; haben</i> 'many guests; to have'

Table 9. Stimuli used to elicit constructions expressing futurity.

184 participants took part in the questionnaire study, that is, 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 secondary school students (149 participants). However, a significant number of adults from each location participated in the study as well (35 participants). Some participants took part in both this study and the study on linking elements.

In their responses, participants used the present tense, the *werden* + infinitive construction or the *gehen* + infinitive construction. As mentioned above, the use of the present tense for a future event, as in 10a, is common in Germany and is not specific to NG. For our study, we decided to focus on the auxiliary choice between *gehen* 'to go', the standard-divergent option in NG, as in 10b, and *werden* lit. 'to become', as in 10c.

(10) Heute hat's sehr wenig geregnet. Morgen...  
 '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 in 11.<sup>50</sup>

(11) Ich will mich bei der Schulleiterin beschweren. Morgen früh...  
 'I want to complain to the headmistress. Tomorrow morning...'

**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 1,378 sentences with an auxiliary. It cannot be ruled out that this proportion does not reflect the true importance of *gehen* as a future auxiliary in NG, especially when considering its frequency in the corpus (see above). Furthermore, the questionnaire somewhat resembles typical tasks used in the contexts of language teaching, which might have led to a bias toward the variant that conforms to SG. This idea is supported by the fact that

<sup>50</sup> NG behaves in a similar manner to present-day English: *be going to* can also be combined with the lexical verb *go*, as in *She is going to go to the cinema*. In contrast, present-day Dutch does not permit *gaan* to be followed by *gaan*, as in *\*Ik gaa naar de bioscoop gaan* (Nübling & Kempf 2020:129).

some participants revised their responses: They initially used *gehen* but then “corrected” it to *werden*. In any case, it is remarkable that there is a nonmarginal number of standard-divergent instances in the data set. This substantiates that *gehen* is a significant option in NG.<sup>51</sup>

We were particularly interested to see if any specific patterns concerning the use of *gehen* versus *werden* could be detected in the responses. So, the test items in table 9 were designed to investigate the influence of four factors: the time of the event, the animacy of the participants, the presence of intention and predictable/likely outcome, and whether the main verb is a borrowing from either English or Afrikaans. Historically, the first three factors played a major role in future auxiliary selection in English and Dutch, and they remain important in present-day English and Afrikaans. Therefore, we wanted to see if they were relevant in NG as well.<sup>52</sup> The fourth factor is inspired by our analysis of the corpus data. Table 10 presents the four variables along with the relevant hypotheses, which are based on preferences in English and Afrikaans and on our analysis of the corpus data.<sup>53</sup>

---

<sup>51</sup> 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.

<sup>52</sup> Needless to say, there are more variables that might have some impact in one English variety or another (see, among others, Tagliamonte et al. 2014). Given the limited number of factors that can be tested with our design, we decided to select those that we consider the most influential ones across (present-day) varieties of English.

<sup>53</sup> Not every level of each variable we are interested in can be illustrated with corpus data, which is not surprising given its limited size. This is one reason why we decided to conduct a questionnaire study.

Variable	Description of variable	Levels	Hypothesis: <i>gehen</i> versus <i>werden</i>
TIME_OF_EVENT	How soon will the event take place (as viewed by the speaker)?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• today</li> <li>• tomorrow</li> <li>• (probably) this year</li> <li>• later</li> </ul>	<i>gehen</i> is more likely to be used with events taking place in the immediate, or imminent future
ANIMACY	Is the subject animate?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• animate</li> <li>• not animate</li> </ul>	<i>gehen</i> is more likely to be used with animate subjects
PREDICTION_ PROBABILITY_ INTENTION	What is the probability that the event will take place?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• intention (of the speaker)</li> <li>• absolute prediction (prediction based on present circumstances)</li> <li>• pure prediction (prediction not based on present circumstances)</li> </ul>	<i>gehen</i> is more likely to be used with events that are intentional and are followed by predictable outcomes
BORROWED_VERB	Is the main verb borrowed from English or Afrikaans?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• borrowed</li> <li>• not borrowed</li> </ul>	<i>gehen</i> is more likely to be used with borrowed verbs

Table 10. Coding used for the questionnaire study.

In the corpus, no level of any one of these variables co-occurs categorically with *gehen* or *werden*, as briefly illustrated below. As far as our hypotheses in table 10 are concerned, this means that one may be dealing with preferences rather than inviolable constraints.

With respect to the variable TIME\_OF\_EVENT we observed that in NG, the *go*-future construction signals events that are about to happen, as in 12a, as well as events taking place in the distant future, as in 12b.

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

**einschlafn**

fall.asleep.INF

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

(NAM102W1)

- b. diesn weihnachtn **geh** ich glühwein **trinken**  
this christmas go.1SG I mulled.wine drink.INF

'This Christmas I'll drink mulled wine.'

(NAM172M2)

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

With respect to the variable ANIMACY, the corpus has revealed that the NG *go*-future construction co-occurs with both animate and inanimate subjects, as shown in 13a and 13b, respectively.

- (13) a. ich **geh** nix auswendig **lern**  
I go.1SG nothing by.heart learn.INF

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

(NAM115M1)

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

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

(NAM029W1)

As the *go*-future construction in English and Dutch was becoming grammaticalized, *be going to* and *gaan* first occurred with agents, that is, animate actors capable of intentional movement, before extending to inanimate subjects (Hilpert 2008:106–123). A similar pattern has been observed in Afrikaans for *gaan* as a future auxiliary (Kirsten 2018:291).

With respect to the variable INTENTION\_PROBABILITY\_PREDICTION we observed in the corpus that the *go*-future construction expressed events that involved intentions of human agents as well as predictions of the likelihood of the event or action taking place, as in 14.

- (14) a. ich **geh** mal bei dir essn **gehn**  
 I go.1SG sometime at your.place eat.INF go.INF  
 ‘I’m going to come to your place for a meal.’ (NAM006M1)
- b. ich denk die boys **gehn sich crackn**  
 I think.1SG the boys go.3PL REFL crack.INF  
 wenn die sich das hörn  
 when they REFL this listen.INF  
 ‘I think the guys will crack up when they listen to that.’  
 (NAM138W1)

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

Finally, the variable BORROWED\_VERB was motivated by the assumption that lexical material from Afrikaans or English could trigger the choice of *gehen*, given that this construction may have emerged as a result of contact between NG and these languages. With respect to this variable, we observed that the *go*-future construction co-occurs with native German verbs, as in 15a, and (repeatedly) also with borrowed verbs, as in 15b, cf. South African colloquial English *chow* ‘to eat’.

- (15) a. doch es **geht** witzig **sein**  
 but it go.3SG funny be.INF  
 ‘But it’ll be funny.’ (NAM119W1)
- b. was **gehst** du **chown**  
 what go.2SG you eat.INF  
 ‘What are you going to eat?’ (NAM171W2)

In order to examine the distribution of *gehen* versus *werden* in our questionnaire data, a GLMM was fitted.<sup>54</sup> Given the relatively high number of intralinguistic factors we were interested in, we decided to leave out the sociolinguistic factors AGE, GENDER, and RESIDENCE. This was done so as not to 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 16.

$$(16) \text{ aux} \sim \text{time\_of\_event} + \text{animacy} + \text{borrowed\_verb} + \text{intention\_probability\_prediction} + (1|\text{speaker}) + (1|\text{item})$$

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).

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 versus 0.943. Particularly, the random effect SPEAKER is of high relevance, which means that there is a lot of interindividual variation in our data. However, as mentioned above, the fixed effect TIME\_OF\_EVENT also significantly improves the model quality. The estimate of this fixed

<sup>54</sup> The GLMM was calculated according to the procedure described above, see section 4.

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 TIME\_OF\_EVENT, there is no evidence for the relevance of any of the other variables discussed in this section. Accordingly, our data suggest that the use of *gehen* in NG is not fully congruent with the use of *gaan* in Afrikaans, where there is no dispreference for *gaan* when speaking about the remote future (Kirsten 2018); nor is it the same as the use of *go* in English, where one might expect an influence of the variable INTENTION\_PROBABILITY\_PREDICTION (see, for example, König & Gast 2018:84–87). Yet in some cases, the use of *gehen* in NG is parallel to the use of its counterparts in both contact languages, for instance, when the speaker refers to an intended action in the immediate future (see, among others, Palmer 1974:147, Nicolle 1997, König & Gast 2018:85–87 for English and Kirsten 2018 for Afrikaans).

The difference between NG and SG is larger. In particular, the absence of a significant effect of ANIMACY in our data points to a categorical difference: *Go*-future constructions with an inanimate subject are not possible in SG, whereas in NG it seems to be irrelevant whether the subject is inanimate or not, as shown in 10b and the corresponding examples from the corpus in 13b and 15a.

### 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 et al. 2023 for Kroondal German). Its use in Springbok German is reported to be somewhat limited (for example, to constructions involving animate subjects only). However, 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 in Springbok German. For example, *go*-future constructions with inanimate subjects are possible in Kroondal German.

Given that both NG and South African German have the *go*-future construction and find themselves in similar contact settings, the question whether the emergence of *go*-future in NG is due to contact with

Afrikaans and/or English is a natural one.<sup>55</sup> *Gaan* + infinitive and *going* + infinitive are fully grammaticalized future constructions in present-day Dutch/Afrikaans and English, respectively (Hopper & Traugott 2003, Hilpert 2008, Kirsten 2019). Given the parallel development of *gehen* into a future auxiliary in NG and South African German, it is indeed very likely that the emergence of this new feature has been reinforced by the influence of fully grammaticalized *gaan* in Afrikaans and *going to* in English. However, there seem to be additional factors that contributed to this development; language contact, in our opinion, is only part of the explanation.

In general, lexical items that enter a grammaticalization process are few, and they typically denote basic human experiences that for the most part are culturally independent. In the words of Heine et al. (1991:33), such experiences “tend to be conceived of in a similar way across linguistic and ethnic boundaries.” In light of this observation, it is not surprising that the development of future markers from verbs or phrases that denote movement toward a goal is quite common crosslinguistically. In fact, Bybee et al. (1994:253) found that “the most frequent [lexical] sources [of future grams] are movement verb constructions.” For example, in a number of Germanic languages, future auxiliaries have developed from verbs of motion (see König & Van der Auwera 2002, Harbert 2007).<sup>56</sup> 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 in its lack of use of motion verbs, such as *gehen* and *kommen*, as future auxiliaries (Nübling & Kempf 2020:130).

---

<sup>55</sup> Besides NG and South African German, *gehen* + infinitive as an immediate future construction has also been reported for (Canadian) Pennsylvania German, as in *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.

<sup>56</sup> 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.

Moreover, the development of future markers from directed motion verbs or phrases follows a well-attested grammaticalization path shown in 17. This path is replicated in many of the world's languages, including those that are genetically and areally unrelated (Bybee & Pagliuca 1987, Bybee et al. 1994, Heine & Kuteva 2004:161–163). This means that future constructions can emerge independently of language contact (see, among others, Matras 2020:259 for examples).

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

It is true, of course, that contact with Afrikaans and English may have triggered the grammaticalization process in NG; after all, “semantically similar verbs are likely to follow similar grammaticalization paths in languages in contact” (Aikhenvald 2006:28). However, there would be nothing unusual about *gehen* developing into a future auxiliary in NG regardless of its contact with the other languages. In fact, it is an ideal candidate for grammaticalization: It is a movement verb that captures a fundamental culturally independent experience, that is, directed motion.

Furthermore, a *gehen* + infinitive construction already exists in German. This construction is typically employed to describe events that involve movement by humans and has an aspectual reading (Demske 2020). Based on their analysis of questionnaire data, Elspaß & Möller (2003ff., map *gehen* + Verb) found that in Germany, Austria, and Switzerland 18a is widespread, while 18b is atypical.<sup>57</sup> In 18a, movement to a supermarket is implied, whereas in 18b there is normally no movement involved; *heiraten* ‘to marry’ implies a change of state and not a movement to another location (the examples in 18 are from Elspaß & Möller 2003).

(18) a. Sie **geht** gleich **einkaufen**.  
she go.3SG shortly shop.INF  
‘She’s about to go shopping.’

<sup>57</sup> <https://www.atlas-alltagssprache.de/gehen-verb/?child=runde> (last accessed on January 10, 2022).

- b. Sie **geht** in einem halben Jahr **heiraten**.  
 she go.3SG in a half year marry.INF  
 ‘She’s going to get married in half a year.’

Demske (2020) states that *gehen* retains most semantic components of the full (motion) verb in cases such as 18a, and that is why 18b is rare. However, 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. This is the case, for example, in 19a, for which the context provided by Paul et al. (2022) specifies that Peter is already lying in bed. Similarly, in 19b, the specified way of movement is not *gehen* as in ‘to move along on foot’, if the speaker is uttering the sentence while driving to the supermarket (the examples are from Paul et al. 2022:166; see also Nübling & Kempf 2020:133 on the latter use of *gehen*). Thus, *gehen* seems to be losing some of its original semantics with regard to movement (Paul et al. 2022). Crucially, however, unlike many of the other Germanic languages, such as English and Afrikaans, SG does not allow the use of *gehen* as a future auxiliary, as in 19c (examples 19a,b are from Paul et al. 2022:166).

- (19) a. Peter **geht** **schlafen**.  
 Peter go.3SG sleep.INF  
 ‘Peter goes to sleep.’
- b. Ich **gehe** **einkaufen**.  
 I go.1SG shop.INF  
 ‘I go shopping.’
- c. \*Sie **geht** ihn morgen **anrufen**.  
 she go.3SG him tomorrow call.INF  
 ‘She is going to call him tomorrow.’

Since a construction comprising *gehen* + infinitive already exists in German, NG is well positioned to develop a *go*-future construction. As Heine & Kuteva (2005:40–62) point out, contact-induced grammatical innovations typically do not start from scratch but build on existing material. The combination *gehen* + infinitive has already undergone a significant context extension in NG. Following Heine & 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 a *go*-future construction: A minor use pattern in German has been expanded under the influence of both major contact languages, leading to a change along a crosslinguistically very common grammaticalization 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 enforcement of SG norms in schools (as indicated by the “corrections” made by some participants in our questionnaire study).

Interestingly, this grammatical innovation in NG does not perfectly mirror the *go*-construction in either of the two major contact languages. On the one hand, just like its counterpart in English but not in 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 section 5.2). These observations concern preferences, not categorical differences. Nonetheless, this might indicate that NG has developed a specific variant of the *go*-construction.

## 6. Conclusion.

In this paper, we described the historical and sociolinguistic background of German in Namibia and then 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. However, 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 is 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 that already existed in the language. Speech communities in multilingual settings are generally more open to variation and may attribute reduced importance to linguistic norms, and the German-speaking community in Namibia is no exception here. 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 or patterns that exist crosslinguistically: As demonstrated above, linking elements in NG occur in contexts that would theoretically be possible in GG as well, and the *go*-future construction developed along a grammaticalization path attested in many different languages, irrespective of their genetic affiliation and geographic distribution. 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. *Grammars in contact: A cross-linguistic typology (Explorations in Linguistic Typology)*, ed. by Alexandra Y. Aikhenvald & Robert M. W. Dixon, 1–66. 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. *Variante nwörterbuch des Deutschen. Die Standardsprache in Österreich, der Schweiz, Deutschland, Liechtenstein, Luxemburg, Ostbelgien und Südtirol sowie Rumänien, Namibia und Mennonitensiedlungen*. 2nd edn. Berlin: 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. Harald. 2008. *Analyzing linguistic data. A practical introduction to statistics using R*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Bähr, Jürgen. 1989. Deutsche Farmer in Südwestafrika/Namibia. *Europäische Ethnien im ländlichen Raum der neuen Welt (Passauer Schriften zur Geographie 7)*, ed. by Klaus Rother, 99–111. 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. Berkeley, CA: University of California, Berkeley dissertation. Available at <https://escholarship.org/uc/item/8sr6157f>, accessed on May 12, 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. *German(ic) in language contact: Grammatical and sociolinguistic dynamics (Language Variation 5)*, ed. by Christian Zimmer, 97–126. 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. *Diachronic studies on the languages of the Anabaptists (Bochum-Essener Beiträge zur Sprachwandelforschung 17)*, ed. by Kate Burridge & Werner Enninger, 199–241. Bochum: Brockmeyer.
- Burridge, Kate. 2002. Changes within Pennsylvania German grammar as enactments of Anabaptist world view. *Ethnosyntax: Explorations in grammar and culture*, ed. by Nick J. Enfield, 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. *English in the German-speaking world*, ed. by Raymond Hickey, 334–360. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Bybee, Joan L. 2012. Diachronic linguistics. *The Oxford handbook of cognitive linguistics*, ed. by Dirk Geeraerts & Herbert Cuyckens, 945–987. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

- Bybee, Joan L., & William Pagliuca. 1987. The evolution of future meaning. *Papers from the 7th International Conference on Historical Linguistics (Current Issues in Linguistic Theory 48)*, ed. by Anna Giacalone Ramat, Onofrio Carruba, & Giuliano Bernini, 109–122. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Bybee, Joan L., Revere Perkins, & William Pagliuca. 1994. *The evolution of grammar: Tense, aspect and modality in the languages of the world*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
- Combrink, Johan G. H. 1990. *Afrikaanse Morfologie: Capita Exemplaria*. Pretoria: Academia.
- Demske, Ulrike. 2001. *Merkmale und Relationen (Studia Linguistica Germanica 56)*. Berlin: 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 on Language contact in the German colonies. Papua New Guinea and beyond*, ed. by 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. 91–111.
- 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: 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.
- Elspeß, Stephan, & Robert Möller. 2003. *Atlas der deutschen Alltagssprache*. Available at [www.atlas-alltagssprache.de](http://www.atlas-alltagssprache.de), accessed on January 10, 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. Melbourne, Australia: Monash University dissertation. Available at [https://bridges.monash.edu/articles/thesis/\\_We\\_call\\_it\\_Springbok-German\\_language\\_contact\\_in\\_the\\_German\\_communities\\_in\\_South\\_Africa\\_/4546159](https://bridges.monash.edu/articles/thesis/_We_call_it_Springbok-German_language_contact_in_the_German_communities_in_South_Africa_/4546159), accessed on May 12, 2021.
- Fuhrhop, Nanna. 1996. Fugenelemente. *Deutsch—typologisch*, ed. by Ewald Lang & Gisela Zifonun, 525–550. Berlin: de Gruyter.
- Fuhrhop, Nanna. 1998. *Grenzfälle morphologischer Einheiten (Studien zur deutschen Grammatik 57)*. Tübingen: Stauffenburg.
- Fuhrhop, Nanna, & Sebastian Kürschner. 2015. Linking elements in Germanic. *Word-formation: An international handbook of the languages of Europe (Handbücher zur Sprach- und Kommunikationswissenschaft / Handbooks of Linguistics and Communication Science (HSK) 40.1)*, ed. by Peter O. Müller, Ingeborg Ohnheiser, Susan Olsen, & Franz Rainer, 568–582. Berlin: de Gruyter Mouton.
- Gallmann, Peter. 1999. Fugenmorpheme als Nicht-Kasus-Suffixe. *Variation und Stabilität in der Wortstruktur. Untersuchungen zur Entwicklung, Erwerb und Varietäten des Deutschen und anderer Sprachen (Germanistische Linguistik 141–142)*, ed. by Matthias Butt & Nanna Fuhrhop, 177–190. Hildesheim: Olms.
- Gretschel, Hans-Volker. 1984. Südwestler-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? *Pütz* 1995, 299–313.
- Gries, Stefan Th. 2014. Frequency tables: Tests, effect sizes, and explorations. *Corpus methods for semantics: Quantitative studies in polysemy and synonymy (Human Cognitive Processing 43)*, ed. by Dylan Glynn & Justyna A. Robinson, 365–389. Amsterdam: John 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. *Pütz* 1995, 181–206.
- Häusler, Sabine. 2018. Zur Varietät des Deutschen in Namibia. *Das Deutsche als plurizentrische Sprache. Ansprüche—Ergebnisse—Perspektiven. Sonderheft der Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie (Sonderheft der Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie 136)*, ed. by Heinz Sieburg & Hans-Joachim Solms, 193–214. Berlin: Erich Schmidt.

- Heine, Bernd, Ulrike Claudi, & Friederike Hünemeyer. 1991. *Grammaticalization: A conceptual framework*. Chicago, IL: 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: John Benjamins.
- Hopper, Paul J., & Elizabeth Closs Traugott. 2003. *Grammaticalization*. 2nd edn. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Kautzsch, Alexander. 2019. Namibian English on the web: Lexical and morphosyntactic features in a Corpus of Namibian Online Newspapers (CNamON). *Corpus linguistics and African Englishes (Studies in Corpus Linguistics 88)*, ed. by Alexandra U. Esimaje, Ulrike Gut, & Bassey E. Antia, 232–258. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Kellermeier-Rehbein, Birte. 2015. Namslang—Deutsche Jugendsprache in Namibia? *Sprachvariation und Sprachreflexion in interkulturellen Kontexten*, ed. by Corinna Peschel & Kerstin Runschke, 41–62. Frankfurt am Main: Lang.
- Kellermeier-Rehbein, Birte. 2016. Sprache in postkolonialen Kontexten. Varietäten der deutschen Sprache in Namibia. *Sprache und Kolonialismus*, ed. by Thomas Stolz, Ingo H. Warnke, & Daniel Schmidt-Brücken, 213–234. Berlin: de Gruyter.
- Kellermeier-Rehbein, Birte. 2018. Plurizentrische Wortschatzvariation des Deutschen innerhalb und außerhalb Europas. *Wortschatz: Theorie, Empirie, Dokumentation (Germanistische Sprachwissenschaft um 2020 2)*, ed. by Stefan Engelberg, Heidrun Kämper & Petra Storjohann, 189–212. Berlin: 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: Klaus Hess.
- Kerswill, Paul, & Peter Trudgill. 2005. The birth of new dialects. *Dialect change: Convergence and divergence in European languages*, ed. by Peter Auer, Frans Hinskens, & Paul Kerswill, 196–220. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Kirsten, Johanita. 2018. “Dit gaan nog belangrik word”: Veranderinge in grammatikale toekomsverwysing in Afrikaans. *Tydskrif vir Geesteswetenskappe* 58. 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 edn. London: Routledge.
- König, Ekkehard, & Volker Gast. 2018. *Understanding English-German contrasts*. 4th edn. (*Grundlagen der Anglistik und Amerikanistik* 29). Berlin: Erich Schmidt.
- Kopf, Kristin. 2018a. *Fugenelemente diachron. Eine Korpusuntersuchung zu Entstehung und Ausbreitung der Verfügenden N+N-Komposita (Studia Linguistica Germanica 133)*. Berlin: 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. *Germanic genitives (Studies in Language Companion Series 193)*, ed. by Tanja Ackermann, Horst J. Simon, & Christian Zimmer, 91–114. Amsterdam: John 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. *Vom Schutzgebiet bis Namibia 2000*, ed. by Klaus A. Hess & Klaus J. Becker, 257–320. Göttingen: Klaus Hess.
- Kürschner, Sebastian. 2010. Fuge-n-kitt, voeg-en-mes, fuge-masse und fog-e-ord. *Fugenelemente im Deutschen, Niederländischen, Schwedischen und Dänischen. Kontrastive Germanistische Linguistik (Germanistische Linguistik 206–209)*, ed. by Antje Dammel, Sebastian Kürschner, & Damaris Nübling, 827–862. Hildesheim: Olms.
- Levshina, Natalia. 2015. *How to do linguistic with R: Data exploration and statistical analysis*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Louden, Mark L. 2016. *Pennsylvania Dutch: The story of an American language*. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Louden, Mark L. 2020. Minority Germanic languages. *The Cambridge handbook of Germanic linguistics*, ed. by Michael T. Putnam & B. Richard Page, 807–832. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Lunderstedt, Steve. 2016. Today in Kimberley's History 29 February. *Kimberley City Info*. Available at <https://www.kimberley.org.za/today-in-kimberleys-history-29-february/>, accessed on June 16, 2018.
- Mair, Christian. 2004. Corpus linguistics and grammaticalization theory: Statistics, frequency, and beyond. *Corpus approaches to grammaticalization*

- in English (Studies in Corpus Linguistics 13)*, ed. by Hans Lindquist & Christian Mair, 121–150. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Mair, Christian. 2006. *Twentieth-century English: History, variation and standardization*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Maitz, Péter, & Stephan Elspaß. 2013. Zur Ideologie des “Gesprochenen Standarddeutsch.” *Pragmatischer Standard*, ed. by Jörg Hagemann, Wolf Peter Klein, & Sven Staffeldt, 35–48. Tübingen: Stauffenburg.
- Matras, Yaron. 2020. *Language contact*. 2nd edn. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- 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. *Wortbildung im Deutschen. Aktuelle Perspektiven*, ed. by Elke Hentschel, 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. *Grammaticalization scenarios. Cross-linguistic variation and universal tendencies, vol. 1, (Comparative Handbooks of Linguistics 4)*, ed. by Walter Bisang & Andrej Malchukov, 105–164. Berlin: 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 Schöllnbach, Hans. 1926. *Die Besiedlung Deutsch-Südwestafrikas bis zum Weltkrieg*. 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, ed. by Lorelies Ortner & Elgin Müller-Bollhagen)*. Berlin: de Gruyter.
- Palmer, Frank R. 1974. *The English verb*. 2nd edn. London: Longman.
- Paul, Katharina, Maik Thalmann, Markus Steinbach, & Marco Coniglio. 2022. *Gehen as a new auxiliary in German. Language change at the interfaces: Intrasentential and intersentential phenomena (Linguistics Today 275)*, ed. by Nicholas Catasso, Marco Coniglio, & Chiara De Bastiani, 165–188. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Pavlov, Vladimir M. 1983. *Zur Ausbildung der Norm der deutschen Literatursprache im Bereich der Wortbildung (1470–1730), vol. 6: Von der Wortgruppe zur substantivischen Zusammensetzung (Bausteine zur Sprachgeschichte des Neuhochdeutschen 56)*. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag.

- Pütz, Joe. 2001. *Das grosse Dickschenärie: Dickschenärie I & II, kommbeind, riekonndischend, gemoddfeid und gesuhpt*. Swakopmund: Peter's Antiques.
- Pütz, Martin. 1991. "Südwesterdeutsch" in Namibia: Sprachpolitik, Sprachplanung und Spracherhalt. *Linguistische Berichte* 136. 455–476.
- Pütz, Martin (ed.). 1995. *Discrimination through Language in Africa? Perspectives on the Namibian experience*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- R Core Team. 2020. *R: A language and environment for statistical computing*. Vienna: R Foundation for Statistical Computing. Available at <https://www.R-project.org/>, accessed on May 12, 2021.
- Radke, Henning. 2017. "Lekker dieses namtal zu lesen. Ich hou davon.": Namdeutscher Sprachgebrauch in namibischer Onlinekommunikation. *Germanistische Mitteilungen* 43. 109–132.
- Riehl, Claudia Maria. 2014. *Sprachkontaktforschung. Eine Einführung*. 3rd edn. Tübingen: Narr.
- RStudio Team. 2020. *RStudio: Integrated development for R*. Boston, MA: RStudio, PBC. Available at <http://www.rstudio.com/>, accessed on May 12, 2021.
- Ryland, Glen P. 2013. *Translating Africa for Germans: The Rhenish mission in Southwest Africa, 1829–1936*. Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame 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. *Writing Namibia: Literature in transition*, ed. by Sarala Krishnamurthy & Helen Vale, 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 Apräidet)*. Windhoek: EES Records.
- Sell, Eric. 2014. *NAM-Boy Shtories*. 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. 2023. *Sixth-generation contact German in South Africa: The case of Kroondal German*. London: EL Publishing.
- Shah, Sheena, & Marianne Zappen-Thomson. 2017. German in Namibia. *Heritage language policies around the world*, ed. by Corinne A. Seals & Sheena Shah, 128–147. Abingdon, VA: Routledge.
- Siemens, Heinrich. 2018. Mennoniten in Übersee. *Handbuch der deutschen Sprachminderheiten in Übersee*, ed. by Albrecht Plewnia & Claudia Maria Riehl, 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. *Corpus Linguistics and African Englishes (Studies in Corpus Linguistics 88)*, ed. by Alexandra U. Esimaje, Ulrike Gut, & Bassey E. Antia, 98–117. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Stuhl, Britta, & Christian Zimmer. 2021. Northern German in Southern Africa? On the phonology of Namdeutsch. *German(ic) in language contact: Grammatical and sociolinguistic dynamics (Language Variation 5)*, ed. by Christian Zimmer, 73–96. Berlin: 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. 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*. *Studies on English modality: In honour of Frank Palmer*, ed. by Anastasios Tsangalidis & Roberta Faccinetti, 357–386. Bern: Lang.
- Walther, Daniel Joseph. 2002. *Creating Germans abroad: Cultural policies and national identity in Namibia*. Athens, OH: Ohio University Press.
- Wecker, Julia. 2017. *Sprachkontakt in Namibia: Der Einfluss des Englischen und Afrikaanses auf das Namdeutsche*. Munich, Germany: Ludwig Maximilian University of Munich MA thesis.
- 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. *Ein gross vnnd narhafft haffen. Festschrift für Joachim Gessinger*, ed. by Elisabeth Berner, Manuela Böhm, & Anja Voeste, 175–187. Potsdam: Universitätsverlag Potsdam.
- Weigend, Guido G. 1985. German settlement patterns in Namibia. *Geographical Review* 75. 156–169.
- Wiese, Heike, & Yannic Bracke. 2021. Registerdifferenzierung im Namdeutschen: Informeller und formeller Sprachgebrauch in einer vitalen Sprechergemeinschaft. *Kontaktvarietäten des Deutschen im Ausland (Beiträge zur interkulturellen Germanistik 14)*, ed. by Csaba Földes, 273–293. Tübingen: Narr.
- Wiese, Heike, Antje Saueremann, & Yannic Bracke. 2022. Coherence and language contact: Orderly heterogeneity and social meaning in Namibian

- German. *The coherence of linguistic communities: Orderly heterogeneity and social meaning*, ed. by Karen V. Beaman & Gregory R. Guy, 301–318. Abingdon, VA: 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. 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 35: Special issue on 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. 481–495.
- Zappen-Thomson, Marianne. 2000. *Interkulturelles Lernen und Lehren in einer multikulturellen Gesellschaft—Deutsch als Fremdsprache in Namibia*. Göttingen: Klaus Hess.
- Zappen-Thomson, Marianne. 2013. Und das soll Deutsch sein? Gedanken zur Jugendsprache. *Perspektiven 2014—Aktuelle Beiträge zu Kirche, Gesellschaft und Zeitgeschehen: Das junge Namibia—Träume und Realität*, ed. by Henning Melber, 76–79. Windhoek: Deutsche Evangelisch-Lutherische Kirche in Namibia.
- Zimmer, Christian. 2019. Deutsch als Minderheitensprache in Afrika. *Sprache und Raum—Deutsch. Ein internationales Handbuch der Sprachvariation (Handbücher zur Sprach- und Kommunikationswissenschaft 30.4)*, ed. by Joachim Herrgen & Jürgen Erich Schmidt, 1176–1190. Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton.
- Zimmer, Christian. 2020. Kasus im Namdeutschen. *Zeitschrift für Germanistische Linguistik* 48. 298–335.
- Zimmer, Christian. 2021a. Sprachliche Charakteristika des Deutschen in Namibia—ein korpusbasierter Überblick. *Sprachwissenschaft* 46. 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. 324–350.
- Zimmer, Christian. forthcoming. Linguistic variation and age of speakers in Namibian German: Loan word usage in “Wenker sentences.” *German abroad:*

*Comparative perspectives on language contact*, ed. by Hans C. Boas, Leiden: Brill.

Zimmer, Christian, Heike Wiese, Horst J. Simon, Marianne Zappen-Thomson, Yannic Bracke, Britta Stuhl, & Thomas Schmidt. 2020a. 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. *The historiography of genocide*, ed. by Dan Stone, 323–343. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

#### Dictionaries and Corpora

*Allgemeine Zeitung*. December 31, 2015. *Suche nach Franzosen bleibt erfolglos*. Author not specified.

*Allgemeine Zeitung*. 24 January 2017. *Klageerwiderung von Dippenaar erwartet*. Author not specified.

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.

Dürscheid Christa, Stephan Elspaß, & Arne Ziegler. 2018. *Variantengrammatik des Standarddeutschen* [Variational Grammar of Standard German]. (e)s-Fuge/Nullfuge bei Substantivkomposita, available at [http://mediawiki.ids-mannheim.de/VarGra/index.php/Kategorie:\(e\)sFuge/\\_Nullfuge\\_bei\\_Substantivkomposita](http://mediawiki.ids-mannheim.de/VarGra/index.php/Kategorie:(e)sFuge/_Nullfuge_bei_Substantivkomposita), accessed on March 8, 2021.

Gutzkow, Karl. 1877. *Die neuen Serapionsbrüder*. Bd. 2. Breslau: Verlag von S. Schottlaender. Available at [https://www.deutschestextarchiv.de/book/view/gutzkow\\_serapionsbrueder02\\_1877?p=30&hl=Miethswagen](https://www.deutschestextarchiv.de/book/view/gutzkow_serapionsbrueder02_1877?p=30&hl=Miethswagen), accessed on March 5, 2021.

Leibniz-Institut für Deutsche Sprache. 2020. *DeReKo-2020-I (Das Deutsche Referenzkorpus* [the German Reference Corpus]). Available at [www.ids-mannheim.de/DeReKo](http://www.ids-mannheim.de/DeReKo), accessed on March 5, 2021.

*Leipzig Corpora Collection*. Available at [https://corpora.uni-leipzig.de?corpusId=af\\_r\\_mixed\\_2014](https://corpora.uni-leipzig.de?corpusId=af_r_mixed_2014), accessed on March 5, 2021.

Namibia Statistics Agency. 2011. *Namibia 2011: Population and housing census main report*. Windhoek: Namibia Statistics Agency.

Namibia Statistics Agency. 2017. *Namibia inter-censal demographic survey 2016 report*. Windhoek: Namibia Statistics Agency.

Zimmer, Christian, Heike Wiese, Horst J. Simon, Marianne Zappen-Thomson, Janosch Leugner, Yannic Bracke, Britta Stuhl, & Thomas Schmidt. 2020b.

*Deutsch in Namibia–DNam corpus*. 2020. Accessible via DGD (*Datenbank für gesprochenes Deutsch [Database for Spoken German]*): <https://dgd.ids-mannheim.de/>, accessed on May 12, 2021.

Sheena Shah

TU Dortmund University  
Faculty of Cultural Studies  
Emil-Figge-Str. 50  
44227 Dortmund  
Germany  
[sheena.shah@tu-dortmund.de]

University of the Free State  
PO Box 339  
Bloemfontein 9300  
South Africa  
[shahsb@ufs.ac.za]

Christian Zimmer  
TU Dortmund University  
Faculty of Cultural Studies  
Emil-Figge-Str. 50  
44227 Dortmund  
Germany  
[christian.zimmer@tu-dortmund.de]