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The politics of narrating Cinderella in Namibia

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This article reports on variations of the Cinderella fairytale as told by two southern Namibian storytellers, Martha Frederik and Katrina Louw. The analysis concentrates on the self-imagery of these storytellers as reflected in their performances. Although their stories are not overtly political they interpret their social environment, the relationships between men and women and employment interactions. In this sense these narratives communicate deeper dimensions of Namibian colonial relationships. Life in the towns of Aranos and Gochas is uninspiring, since these are small agricultural supply stations, settled in the mostly arid, sparse, semi-desert southern region of Namibia, Hardap. These communities are generally dirt poor, inhabited mainly by the unemployed, children, women and pensioners. The article further explores facets of the Frederik and Louw's re-interpretations of Cinderella. A few salient sections in especially the performance of Frederik are selected to demonstrate how the storytellers reconstruct their experience of life. Both texts are adapted intuitively to the storytellers' social circumstances and lived experience. The article concludes that it is through the exploration of such narrative experiences that the dialogical relationship between the powerful and the powerless can be understood. **Key words:** Cinderella, Namibia, Oral Tradition.

In this article¹ two variations on Cinderella, "Swartkappetjie" as told by Martha Frederik and "Aspoestertjie" as told by Katrina Louw, are investigated. This and several similar variations on this age-old fairy tale or variations of it were recorded in 1994 during field research in southern Namibia.² The researchers found that there was a clear gendered distinction in the performance of fairy tales. It was obvious that women were the main performers. Men knew few, if any fairy tales, but could tell of local war battles, political struggles or contested communal histories. The latter type of performances was certainly overtly political in its exploration of political power, social relationships and community struggles. Women embellished their tales with their own social experiences and interpretations (see also Isaacs, 1994; Rhoda, 1994 and Vries, 1995).

The research took place within a performance framework that explored individual and communal communicative events and the socio-political contexts of these articulations. We found that women story-

tellers through their retelling of “European fairy tales” obliquely hinted at political, gender and social matters. Although these matters were never uppermost in their performances, these became part of the local colour, the background and the finer details of community life as profiled in their stories. Through their performances the performers interpreted their social environment, the relationships between men and women and political interactions between employee and employer. These narrative articulations communicated a deeper dimension of colonial relationships in Namibia.

This essay examines the self-imagery of two Namibian Afrikaans storytellers as reflected in their retelling of Cinderella. Initially, a background description of the living conditions and circumstances of Frederik and Louw is presented; followed by a summary of two of the Cinderella-variations we have recorded. (I have not attempted an exhaustive comparative analysis of the established versions of Cinderella and those I have encountered.) Finally, the major part of this article explores facets of the Namibian re-interpretations of the Cinderella tale.

1

Both variations of Cinderella, of relevance here, were recorded on a field trip in Namibia during March-April 1994. We visited the same research site over a period of three years during university vacations, between 1993 and 1995. Normally, we were stationed in a small town, Aranos, close to the eastern border of Namibia and Botswana, on the edge of the Kalahari Desert. There we encountered one of our informants, Katriena Louw, also affectionately known as Ou Tannie. The recording of Martha Frederik, the storyteller of the key performance on which this article is based, took place in Gochas, a hamlet southwest of Aranos.

Life in Aranos and Gochas was uninspiring. Both towns were agricultural supply stations, settled in the arid, sparse, semi-desert southern region of Namibia, Hardap. Aranos, the larger of the two towns, had the essential amenities of a halfway centre: a bank; a hotel; several shops; municipal offices; a library; the luxury of three primary schools, a legacy of the apartheid era. In Aranos, the imposing white building of the Dutch Reformed Church, the *holrug kerk* (hollow back church), frequented in 1994 by a still exclusively white congregation, dominated the town's landscape. As with most southern Namibian villages mainly children, women, pensioners and the unemployed inhabited these communities. Employed relatives usually migrated to the main centres

of the country, like Keetmanshoop, Walvis Bay and especially Windhoek, the country's capital. They supported their extended families in Aranos or Gochas through monthly disbursements. Many families in these towns relied on the state pensions of the pensioners, i.e. N\$120 (US\$35 in 1994) per month. In 1994 the salaries for those employed in Aranos and Gochas hardly ever exceeded N\$500 (or US\$147) per month.

In 1994, five years after independence, the colonial history of Namibia and apartheid patterns of behaviour still predetermined privilege and access for people from different backgrounds. White people stayed in town or on their farms in the district, whereas black people, lived a few kilometres outside town in a township. Even in tiny Gochas the township was well separated from the couple of houses of the white inhabitants. In Aranos the black township was called Sonara, the inversion of the white town's name. The houses in these townships were semi-detached government houses, usually with outside ablution facilities. In both towns the majority of black people lived in mushrooming squatter camps. Many inhabitants were illiterate or barely literate farm workers who, due to labour disputes and a prolonged drought, were laid off. The majority lived in desperate conditions in flimsy corrugated iron shacks.

The Namibian economy is largely dependent on agriculture. In 1991 47,4% of all Namibians were employed in this sector (see National Planning Commission, 1994: 43). In consequence, our informants' lives were defined by their material poverty, their functional illiteracy, and their physical and emotional isolation from the world outside their rural communities.

The National Planning Commission (1994: iv) found that only 4.2% of rural households had access to electricity, 75% depended for their water on wells, boreholes or rivers and 86% used "the bush as toilet". Since their shacks were erected close to one another most of our informants in Aranos had access to radio broadcasts, although 51,9% did not own radios. 77.7% of our randomly selected informants had either no schooling or less than five years of schooling. 62.7% could not read or rarely read. Our results of a sample in a concentrated area were much higher than the 30% illiteracy indicated in the National Planning Commission's census results (National Planning Commission, 1994: 28). All of our informants spoke Afrikaans, 33.3% were bilingual (Afrikaans-Nama) and only one person was Afrikaans-English bilingual (Isaacs, 1994: 7).³

This was the world our storytellers inhabited. Both of them were



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former domestic workers on farms. OuTannie Louw (72) was illiterate and Martha Frederik had the barest smattering of education. The former moved to Aranos' Bosduin [Bush Dune] squatter camp, more than ten years previously. Her monthly pension supported an extended family, consisting of two unemployed daughters and several grandchildren. Middle-aged Frederik was a recent arrival to Gochas, after her family was laid off one of the neighbouring farms. She was unemployed with few prospects of finding sustainable employment. Unlike Louw, whose corrugated iron dwelling had the appearance of permanence, Frederik lived in a rickety, loosely assembled shack.

2

The performances of both Frederik and Louw depended on the Cinderella master narrative. Antti Arne and Stith Thompson classified Cinderella in *The Types of the Folktale* as type 510 with a wide-range of well-known variations. As Alan Dundes (1982) has shown Cinderella often served as the primary intertextual reference to many a literary text. It remains one of the most travelled fairy tales. Neil Philip (1989: 7) identified the origins of Cinderella as essentially Eur-Asian, but pointed out that "wherever the tale has travelled it has been enthusiastically adopted: by the Micmac Zuni, Piegan and Ojibwa Indians; by the Arabs of North Africa and by such sub-Saharan Africans as the Hausa and the Tonga; by Filipinos and other Indonesians".



Cinderella in Namibia: Ou Tannie Louw and her neighbourhood's children in front of her house in Bosduin, Aranos (left); Martha Frederik performing "Swartkappetjie" in Gochas (above).

Similar adaptations also occurred in Namibia. In Frederik's tale, Cinderella, now called "Swartkappetjie" [Little Black Bonnet] followed the well-known plot. Four daughters were asked to declare their love for their well-to-do father. The three eldest daughters all answered satisfactorily, but the youngest, "die enigste, mooiste kind" (the only, most beautiful child), (line 35) gave an odd and unexpected answer: "Ek is vir Pa lief soos sout" (I love you like salt, father), (line 22). This answer infuriated the father and he ordered his servants to kill her. They took the disgraced daughter away but did not carry out her father's order. She disguised herself and worked as a servant in the kitchen of another rich family. In the second part of Frederik's tale a one-eyed

woman – presumably one of Swartkappetjie's sisters – turned on her and pushed a needle through one of her eyes. Swartkappetjie then turned into a little bird. Somehow she got released from this state and the evil sister was killed. This section of the tale is known in Namibia as "Aschenputtel", the "The seed" (see Schmidt, 1991: 25-31).

The second variation told by OuTannie Louw followed in large part Frederik's tale. In her version the assimilation of "Aschenputtel" did not occur. Whereas Frederik's main characters were rich white families, Louw elected to keep her tale in line with the well-known version of Cinderella and retained the royalty so adored in fairy tales.

3

It is in the variability between the received text and the variant that one comes to appreciate what Leroy Vail and Landeg White (1991: 40) once called the "map of experience". In the retelling the storytellers constructed their experience of life in colonial circumstances and under apartheid. Both texts were adapted intuitively to the storytellers' social circumstances and their lived experience. It is in the consistency and detailed descriptions, especially in Frederik's performance, that one detects a well-developed "political unconscious".

For black women alternatives to domestic work during the apartheid era were severely limited. Considering the alternatives available to lowly educated women, pursuits like prostitution, shebeening (selling illicit liquor) or informal trading, domestic work provided a source of regular, if modest income, often within a sphere of social exploitation (see Cock, 1980: 276-277). Frederik's performance articulated the perceived similarities between the humiliation of the fictional Cinderella and her own experience as a domestic worker. In a sense Frederik (and to lesser extent Louw) accepted that the inequalities recounted in the orally transmitted tale were analogous to the social inequalities she (they) experienced in contemporary Namibian society.

I have selected and interpreted a few salient sections in the performance of Martha Frederik that revealed the well-developed, if intuitive, political unconscious of these storytellers in southern Namibia.

Frederik's tale differed from other similar performances (for instance that of Louw) in that she concentrated on the characterisation of the secondary actors in her tale as well as detailed descriptions of the setting. She related in detail Swartkappetjie's disguise: the blackening of her face, deliberately appearing filthy, tossing salt on a hot stove plate pretending that these were body lice and covering her hair with a headscarf. This characterisation did not appear once only, but Frederik repeated it several times to accentuate its importance in the context of her performance. All these actions were highly suggestive, descriptive of the narrator's well-developed sense of observation. However, in describing one particular action, Frederik demonstrated that she not only observed social interactions keenly, but also intuitively understood the nature of the perceived social differentiation between black and white people.

As an example, the following quotation where Frederik told of Swartkappetjie covering her straight hair with a headscarf:

60 Daar is nie 'n haar [wat] uitkom nie.
 (*Trek doek stywer vas.*)
 Tjik-tjik-tjik.
 Doek is mooi vas.
 (There was not a hair out of place.
 (*Pulls headscarf tighter.*)
 Chik-chik-chik. Headscarf is nicely tight.)

Also:

84 Doek mooi vasgemaak,
 (*trek haar eie doek stywer vas*)

is nie 'n haar uit nie.
(Headscarf nicely tightened
(pulled her headscarf tighter),
not a hair out [of place].

The importance of hair was illustrated revealingly when later on in Frederik's performance Swartkappetjie temporarily discarded her disguise, one of her first actions was to undo and wash her hair.

185 Pa het loop ingegaan vir hom loop gewas,
skoongemaak.
Met hom loop geketel,
Hare geketel, getol en gedress die hare.
(*Gebare vir was en aantrek.*)
(She [Pa] went in to wash himself [read: herself], cleaned [herself]. Wash himself thoroughly [gekettel].
Washed the hair; loosened, combed and styled the hair.
(*Gestures for washing and putting on clothes.*)

In covering up Swartkappetjie's straight hair the disguise would be more believable, since black servants in South Africa and Namibia often wore headscarves to cover their curly hair. Generally, domestic workers had low social status and a low self-esteem, with the constituent elements of their outfits the servants' dustcoat, apron and headscarf. (The uniforms of domestic workers in Namibia and South Africa are in fact sold as a unit, containing these three pieces of clothing.) In Namibia (and South Africa) the headscarf is not simply an optional head covering intended to cover up the hair. It has developed into an essential marking of low social status. In race-obsessed southern Africa the tightness of the hair curl was habitually perceived as commensurate with low intellectual capacity and low social status: the tighter the curl the lower a person's status on the social ladder. Those with tight curls would wrap this signifier of inferiority with a headscarf. In the context of Frederik's performance loosening the hair, untying it from under the headscarf, became more than just another beauty routine; it became the ritual shedding of a repressive state. These observations on hair in her performance could only have derived within a racialised society where complex social attitudes were externalised through somatic differentiation.

In the performances of Frederik and Louw social distance characterised the domestic servant-master relationship, a microcosm of op-

pressive conditions in historical Namibia. There were many references to housing, behaviour, clothing, skin colour and social habits, most of them indicative of social differentiation. In both performances differences in housing signified the social distance between black employee and white employer. For example, in Frederik's performance the madam took Swartkappetjie in and promptly showed her the servants' quarters next to the animal pen – lines 75-81 of "Swartkappetjie":

75 "Kyk, daarso
 teen die kraal
 staan 'n
 ou huisetjie, daar moet jy bly.
 is mooi skoongemaak van die volk,
80 daar moet jy bly vir my."
 Volkse huise daardie.
 (Look there, next to the pen is a small house. You must go
 and stay there. The [other] servants have cleaned very
 well. You must stay there. [That] is a house [meant for
 the] servants.)

A similar attempt at describing social distance appeared in Louw's "Aspoestertjie". The eponymous character had to stay in a house a distance away from the white manor house – see lines 87-90:

 En doer so 'n hele ent van die blankese af,
 het hy 'n ou kamer
 wat vol barste is.
90 Daar bly Aspoestertjie.
 (And there, a good distance away from the whites,
 [they] had a derelict room, full of cracks.
 There Aspoestertjie had to stay.)

In the scenes quoted here the distance of the farm workers' small, decrepit house from the manor house exemplified the social and political tensions within the colonial/apartheid space. In Frederik's narrative these tensions were deepened when she located the small house next to the animal pen or when Louw identified these houses as dilapidated and "full of cracks". Further examples of enforced social distance and alienation in both Frederik and Louw's tales were amplified by the respective lice-episodes. Part of Swartkappetjie or Aspoestertjie's disguise was the salt these characters every now and then were said to toss on a hot stove plate:

83 Kort-kort as hy by die stoof kom gegooi daar.
Is luise.
 Dis net ka-ka-ka-ka.
 (Every now and then she is at the stove to throw some
 [salt] there.
It's lice.
 It just ka-ka-ka-ka.)⁴

In Louw's rendition a similar lice-episode occurred:

"Aspoestertjie, wat klap so op die stoof?!"
 "Mevrou, is die luise."
 80 "Het jy nog luise ook?"
 (...)
 "Ja, Mevrou."
 Dan gee Mevrou vir Aspoestertjie
 Dettol en enige ding om mee te was.
 85 Dan was Aspoestertjie nou *vir hom*.
Maar hy was hom ook net so dat sy alleen weet hoe was hy hom.
 ("Aspoestertjie, what's that crackling sound on the stove?!"
 "Madam, it's lice." "Do you have lice also?" (...)
 "Yes, Madam."
 Madam then gave Aspoestertjie Dettol
 [an antiseptic washing liquid] and other things to wash
 herself. Then Aspoestertjie washed herself.
*But she washed her in such a way that only she knew that
 she washed herself.*)

This episode became more than just an interesting element of the disguise, or a common trait within a widely known story. The pervasiveness of the lice episode in the Namibian Cinderella tale underlined the class-race social distance between the lives lived by white people and those endured by black people. This telling disguise differentiated the place, role and person of the black servant and white madam within the shared space of the kitchen. In Louw's version historical time and space were collapsed when the madam got Aspoestertjie to wash herself with Dettol, a contemporary antiseptic liquid, to rid herself of the "infestation". The simple point is that the authenticity of the fictional disguise had an air of reality for these storytellers. They recognised the oft-repeated stereotype and accusation that black workers were less hygienic than their white masters and madams.

In a major study on the relationships between servants and employers in South Africa Jacklyn Cock (1980: 105) suggested that some of the key expectations from white employers of their domestic servants were a degree of deference and subordination. Especially in Frederik's performance this expectation was met head on and demonstrated Cock's assertion that "the deference attributed to the domestic worker rests largely on a fallacious inference made from her largely passive social behaviour". Two examples from Frederik's performance to illustrate this assertion should suffice. In the beginning of the performance she recounted the decisive action of the servants and went on to explain how they sternly directed Swartkappetjie to take up domestic work as part of her disguise and survival. In the second example another black servant, a cattle-herd, helped a young white man, Swartkappetjie's future suitor, to see the disguised woman for what she was, for him (the white man) not an undesired black servant, but a desirable young, white woman.

The plot of "Swartkappetjie" turned on the decisive intervention of the servants. The servants, even if unidentified, were portrayed as independent and trustworthy, often devoid of the deference, expected from people in colonial subservient positions. At the beginning of her performance Frederik told of a confident servant character to direct Swartkappetjie to a new life (see lines 39-50):

- Sê hulle: "Jy bly net hierso.
 Hier ander kant, (*wys die rigting aan.*)
 net hier ander kant
 sit 'n plaas.
- 45 Mōre vroeg loop soek jy vir jou daar werk.
 En jy werk daar." Okei.
 Die kind sê, "Ja, ja, ja."
 Hulle het die hele aand daar by hom gesit,
 Mooi meisiekind.
- 50 Hulle is jammer en hulle is so goed vir hom gewees.
 (They said: "You stay here. Here, not far from here
 (*shows the direction*), not far from here is a farm.
 Early tomorrow you go there and look for work.
 Then you work there." Okay.
 The child said, "Yes, yes, yes."
 They sat with her for the whole of the evening.
 Beautiful, young girl. They took pity on her and they
 were supportive of her.)

In the second example Frederik introduced the figure of a cattle-herd to tell a young white man that Swartkappetjie was, despite her appearance, in fact a white woman: (compare lines 155-175):

- 155 *Loop hulle mos uit doerso, doer so,*
 "Is nie bruin mens daardie nie,
 dis 'n blanke meisiekind!
 Dit moet jy gisteraand luister, waar hy speel."
 "Ag man, jy praat kak!
- 160 **Blerrie meid,**
 Het jy gehoor
 Hoeveel luise het sy nie?
 Sy staan en krap hulle soos die ...
 Nee man!"
 (...)
- 170 Sit (*onduidelik*)
 Kyk hoe, kyk die jongetjie,
 Hom so met 'n aandaggie aan.
 Kyk hom so met 'n aandag aan.
 "Ai, Here!
- 175 *Hierdie is tog nie 'n bruin meisie nie."*
 (They walk in that direction [where Swartkappetjie was].
 "It isn't a coloured girl, it is a white girl. Last night you
 had to listen, how she plays."
 "Oh no, you talk shit man! Bloody coloured girl [meid]!
 Haven't you heard the lice? She stood there and scratched
 herself ... No man!"
 (...) Sit (*unclear*)
 Look, look at the youngster.
 Look at him (read: her) attentively.
 "Oh God!
 This surely can't be a coloured girl.")

The confidence and lack of deference to white people, evident in these two extracts were not incidental. Frederik's figures were positive agents, characterised by their ability to take and make decisions. The fact that this type of characterisation was indeed conscious, can be seen from Frederik's portrayal of the stereotypically reaction, expected from a black servant. Compare the part in the performance where Swartkappetjie was said to look for work at the rich white madam's house (see lines 65-74):

65 "Ja?
 Ja?
 Hoe's dit nou?"
 "Werk Miesies, *asseblief?*"
 "Hoe's jou naam?"
 70 "Vuilkappie, *Miesies*"
 "O.
 Kan jy goed werk?"
 "Ja, *Miesies.*"
 "Ja."
 ("Yes? Yes? What do you want?"
 "Work Madam, *please?*"
 "What's your name?"
 "Dirty Bonnet, *Madam.*"
 "Oh. Do you work well?"
 "Yes, *Madam.*" "Yes.")

Frederik consciously enacted the significance of her social experience. The overall impression in this extract is that of deference and passivity on the part of the black servant in interaction with the white madam. Frederik, the storyteller conveyed the mood of similar interactions in the staccato sentences, the lowering of her voice, and the deliberate misnaming of her main character. Instead of using Swartkappetjie, the name she used throughout the performance, she introduced the main character as Vuilkappie, not Little Black Bonnet, but Dirty Bonnet. The repetition of "yes" is the stereotypical dependent worker response to the colonialist or white employer. The workers' servility, deference and passivity defined the social relations between white and black people in the real world, an experience that Frederik as a domestic worker certainly knew. Cock (1980: 105) argued that, "Deference is a mask which is deliberately cultivated to conform to employer expectations, and shield the workers' real feelings".

Frederik's performance exuded not only an intuitive sense of the importance of social differentiation, but she also recognised the exploitative nature of domestic work. Some of the core images that domestic workers had of themselves were that their work was drab, repetitive, not valued and above all exploitative. Even if black domestic workers because of the tenuous labour relationships rarely asserted them, they did recognise and express, if not directly, perceptions of abuse or oppression.

In Frederik's performance it was the white madam that voiced this recognition of abuse:

"Kind, waarvoor het jy dit gedoen?"

(Onduidelik)

360 "Kyk, hoeveel het ek al vir jou gemishandel.

Here, jy werk die hele dag, en swaar werke.

Hoekom het jy dit gedoen?"

Toe sê hy ...

vir die Nooi.

365 **Hy sê, "Jy sê nie 'n 'nooi' nie, jy sê 'Antie'!"**

("Child, why dit you do it? (Unclear)

Just look at how much I abused you.

Dear Lord, you've worked the whole day, and demanding work. Why did you do it?"

Then she said ... for the Madam [Nooi].

She said, "Don't say Madam, say Aunty".)

This scene can be read with the narrator's direct comment earlier in the performance:

166 So maar gewerk, gewerk, gewerk

Hulle was mos bruin mense

(Gebare vir werk.)

– bruin meisiemense.

(Then they worked, worked, worked so.

They were only [mos] coloured people.

(Gestures indicating work.)

– young coloured women.)

I would be reading too much in it if I were to suggest that the construction of the performance in this section where the madam acknowledged abuse was based on a deliberate narrative strategy, but it would be closer to the mark to recognise that Frederik indirectly commented on abusive social relations, or even shared her own lived experience of domestic work. She also intuitively accepted that the abuse and maltreatment were based on the class-race differentiation in that society, a society where "Nooi" designated distance, power and authority and "Antie" social intimacy. This, she accepted, was a distance that could only be bridged by the fictional Swartkappetjie. Cock (1980: 123) asserted, "domestic workers possess (...) a 'class-race consciousness' (...). This understanding involves a deep-seated recognition of powerlessness, and thus

little conception of an alternative society, so that a high level of perception of relative deprivation is combined with a sense of impotence”.

4

Through their performances Frederik and Louw were telling stories, shaped by their experiences of life in socio-economic conditions and political circumstances that forced them to live on the fringes of dusty Namibian villages.

Identifying social patterns, the recall of social stereotypes and the enactment of social behaviour have little sense if we cannot raise it about the level of isolated narrative structural elements. These structural elements in these tales demonstrated a much deeper dimension of the relationship between black and white people, colonised and colonialist in the Namibian political environment. Through their retelling of the Cinderella fairy tale these narrators also obliquely commented on the regulation of apartheid social relationships.

These performances were not only based on received knowledge but were also fundamentally interpreted through the narrators' authentic, lived experiences. It was in the retelling that these storytellers were defining their own values, contesting established ones and determining their own, if intuitive, visions of the future. Vail and White (1992: 320) made an observation that may be of relevance in this instance: “[T]he aesthetic of poetic license (...) makes oral poetry (read also: oral rendition) the primary means by which both oral intellectuals and ordinary men and women express, within the existing structures of power, their versions of history”. It is through the exploration and examination of these narrative experiences and performances that we also come to understand the storytellers' interpretation of their history and the dialogical relationship between the powerful and the powerless.

Notes

1. This is a revised version of a paper prepared for the 4th conference of the International Society for Oral Literature in Africa at the University of Savoie, Chambéry (France), 10-12 July 2002.
2. The University of the Western Cape's Research Committee and the Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs funded the pilot project and Atkinson's Motors (Parow, South Africa) on occasion sponsored the use of a Toyota all-terrain vehicle. I wish to express my appreciation to Rev. Walter de Sa and Sister Sieglinde of the Catholic missions at Cambridge, Aranos and Witkrans (Namibia) respectively for providing accommodation during our fieldwork. The enthusiasm and verve of my postgraduate students – Beverley Farmer, Shamiega Isaacs, Lazarus Joseph, Charmaine Plaatjies, Rozelle Rhoda, Ronnie Smit and Sharon Vries – always made the fieldtrips stimulating and memorable. My sincerest thanks must be extended to the storytellers, Martha Frederik and OuTannie Louw for allowing us to intrude into their worlds.

3. The 1991 census found that 56,9% of inhabitants in the Mariental district (incorporating Aranos and Gochas) spoke Nama/Damara as their first language, 32,3% spoke Afrikaans as their first language and .22% spoke English as their first language (National Planning Commission, 1993: 477).
4. In these transcriptions normal script indicates normal speech, italic script indicates softer than normal speech, bold script indicates louder than normal speech, the length of the line indicates the length of the expressed uttering.

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