

**THE CONSTRUCTION OF LINGUISTIC IDENTITIES IN LEVUBU: AN
INVESTIGATION OF LANGUAGE ATTITUDES AND PERCEPTIONS OF BLACK
AFRIKAANS SPEAKERS TOWARDS AFRIKAANS IN POST-APARTHEID SOUTH
AFRICA**

BY

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DECLARATION

I Lidon Chauke (student number 61951862) declare that ***The construction of identities in Levubu: an investigation of language attitudes and perceptions of black Afrikaans speakers towards Afrikaans in post-apartheid South Africa*** is my work and all other sources used in this thesis have been quoted and have been listed in the reference list. This thesis has not been submitted to any other university, for any other purposes.

Signature.....

Date.....

L. Chauke

DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to the following people: Charlie (great grandfather); James(grandfather); Jackson(father); Reckson; Jerry 'Cocks'(uncles) and Anna(aunt) all of whom are late and were Black Afrikaans speakers of Levubu. Your lived experiences of language did not go unnoticed-they aroused my curiosity and inspired me to undertake this research. May your souls continue to rest in eternal peace.

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ABSTRACT

The notion of identity is complex. Identities are not fixed, but fluid and multifaceted. They are constantly negotiated and re-negotiated under different circumstances and situations for a variety of reasons. Human identity is negotiated through various aspects, such as, among others, language, accent, religion, dress, location and dance. Identity acts and performances can evoke different responses from people, for example when one speaks a certain variety of a language, people may respond to it either negatively, positively or have no response to the variety at all. Having said that, this thesis explored and investigated the language attitudes of black Afrikaans¹speakers (who speak and identify with Afrikaans, together with Tsonga and/or Venda) of Levubu (a farming community in the outskirts of Louis Trichardt), towards Afrikaans in post-apartheid South Africa. It also explored how the Afrikaans language is used as an identity marker and a distinguishing factor amongst inhabitants of Levubu. Levubu is a small farming community with a population estimated at 207 (Census 2012), therefore 40 participants²(both male and female, and young and old) were selected for this study. To answer the research question and elicit rich data from the participants, this study was guided by and employed a multisemiotic approach to data collection in the form of questionnaires, language portraits and interviews. Results from data analysis reveal that participants generally have positive attitudes towards Afrikaans and the language is used as a medium of communication on a daily basis in Levubu. Subjects also revealed positive attitudes towards Afrikaans by associating the language with positive attributes such as farming, love, green pastures, food etc. in their mapping of the language portrait. Together with the continued use and dominance of Afrikaans, multilingualism, code-switching and code-mixing are also prevalent in Levubu. In other words, Levubu residents transcend their linguistic and cultural boundaries to reach their communication goals. To sum up, this thesis finds identity, particularly linguistic ones, to be slippery, a social construct, contradictory and location (speech community) based.

KEYWORDS: Language and Identity; Language and ethnicity; Levubu farms; Black Afrikaans; Language attitudes; Language portraits; Body mapping; Narrative analysis.

¹ During the years of apartheid, people in South Africa were classified according to race i.e. White, Coloured, Indian and Black (Bantu/natives). Participants in this research are those who were classified as Black (Bantu/Natives) during the years of segregation. In other words, people of African descent not those classified as 'Coloured' or mixed-race.

² The initial plan was to interview only 20 participants, but the number was increased to achieve a holistic picture of the nature of the linguistic behaviour and practices of Levubu inhabitants. Also, the increment enabled the researcher to interview participants until data saturation was reached.

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

Attitude studies, specifically language attitudes, have proven to be challenging over the years due to attitudes being psychological constructs rather than something tangible or visible. Therefore, earlier scholars believed that it was impossible to study and measure this phenomenon (Reid 2006) because it is an abstraction that cannot be directly apprehended (Oppenheim 1982). It is challenging to decipher how someone feels about a specific language by simply asking them questions. Having realised that and being influenced by the works of Thurstone (1929), Likert (1932), Gardner and Lambert (1972), and Oppenheim (1982), Baker (1992) established that language attitudes are a form of behaviour and a mental state of mind that can be influenced by different environmental factors, including one's place of birth, social status, location and language. The exploratory study of attitudes forms part of the emerging field of cognitive sociolinguistics and is a coalescence between a usage-based approach to language and language-internal variationist and an empirical, methodological approach. Attitudes are psychological dispositions, beliefs and memory associations. Therefore, attitudes imply evaluations typically conducted on a bipolar continuum from favourable to unfavourable or positive to negative and can comprise likeable-dislikeable attributes. Attitudes are formed from one's emotions towards a specific subject/object, and they can be either negative or positive.

Over the years, other scholars have followed this approach (Busch 2012; 2018; Wolf 2014), with some even building on methodologies developed by earlier social science scholars (Gumperz 1964; Likert 1932; Krumm 2005; Riessman 2007; Blommaert 2010; Li Wei 2011). Then, scholars from various fields and disciplines conducted studies focussing on attitudes using different study designs and methodologies. While countless studies on the origin, development and attitudes towards Afrikaans have been conducted in post-apartheid South Africa, only a few studies focus on the black Afrikaans-speaking identity. No known recorded studies focus on the black Afrikaans speakers' linguistic attitudes and behaviour. This study area has been neglected due to the mismatch between the two entities - black and Afrikaans. Therefore, this study investigates the language attitudes and linguistic behaviour of black Afrikaans

speakers from Levubu towards Afrikaans in post-apartheid South Africa. It also explores how Afrikaans is both a distinguishing factor and an identity marker.

1.2 Defining attitudes

While scholars from various fields can survey and define attitudes differently, this thesis focuses on the definitions relating to language attitudes. One of the earliest scholars of attitude studies, Allport (1935), considered the psychological and mental nature of attitudes and defined attitudes as a mental state of readiness to respond to something based on experiences, influencing posterior behaviour towards a specific object. He further maintained that attitudes are “the most distinctive and indispensable concept in social psychology” (Allport 1935: 798). Therefore, attitudes are influenced and are a response to existing societal factors. They are revealed through a specific practice and outwardly communicate what is happening inwardly. Gardner and Lambert (1972) indicated that individuals could display certain attitudes in a speech community to seek integration and acceptance into a given language community. Attitudes reflect how people see the world around them, and they are a mirror of an individual’s view and perception of things and situations. More specifically, language is used as an instrument reflecting social realities and feelings of speech communities.

1.3 Functions of language

The Sapir Whorf hypothesis³ decrees that “the language we speak and think in shapes the way we perceive the world, and the existence of the various language systems implies that the people who think in these different languages must perceive the world differently” (Ntsana 2018: 24). Language spoken in speech communities influences how members perceive the world around them. Members who belong to the same speech community, bound together by the same language, view the world similarly and, to some extent, share similar attitudes. According to the American psychologist Steven Pinker, language is “so tightly woven into human experience that it is scarcely possible to imagine human life without it” (1994: 17). Language is the pivot of human existence, distinguishing humans from other species. It enables humans to communicate with one another in a way that no other species can.

³ This hypothesis has been heavily criticised by scholars such as i.e., Lakoff(1987), Wardhaugh(2002) among others.

However, humans also use language to communicate their feelings and emotions, among which identity is central. Jespersen (1946), Trudgill (1974) and Fasold (1984) concurred that together with being a medium of communication, language is used as a marker of one's identity—even to communicate it to others. Moreover, language is used as an entity that creates and maintains social relationships and communication with others within the same speech community. Accordingly, people define themselves based on the language they share with others, and that language is an inclusion and exclusion mechanism. As Thornborrow (2014: 158) alluded, “one of the most fundamental ways we have of establishing our identity, and of shaping other people's views of who we are, is through our use of language”. Inevitably, communicating or speaking, in particular, without revealing glimpses of one's identity or social class is near impossible. More specifically, this thesis investigates how Afrikaans is used as an identity marker by Levubu residents. It employs multi-semiotic, multimodal and interrelated modes of data collection, i.e., questionnaires, interviews and language portraits, to investigate black Afrikaans speakers of Levubu's attitudes and perceptions towards Afrikaans.

1.4 Background of the study

Afrikaans is one of South Africa's official languages, with approximately seven million first language (L1) speakers. Before 1994, Afrikaans and English were South Africa's only official languages at the expense of other South African indigenous languages, placing them at the forefront of developments, as they were used in government departments, newspapers, television and parliament. They were also the only two languages used for teaching and learning in high schools and universities in South Africa during apartheid (Southern 2012: 14). Furthermore, they were introduced as the learning and teaching languages at the primary school level from Grade 3 (Hartshorne 1997: 203). Although English and Afrikaans have enjoyed prestige in South Africa for numerous years, they do not have the most L1 speakers. The most common first languages spoken by South Africans are isiZulu (23%), isiXhosa (16%), and Afrikaans (14%). English has the fourth-most L1 speakers (9.6%), according to the 2011 census findings.

Afrikaans originated from a substrate of South Holland Dutch due to the interaction between European colonists, who arrived in 1652, enslaved people imported from

Africa and Asia, and indigenous Khoisan people who did not share a common language (Giliomee 2003: 4). The lack of a common language created a need to develop a pidgin (among enslaved people and Khoikhoi pastoralists) that would facilitate communication. Hence, the pidgin developed over the years and attained its L1 speakers (the subject is discussed in detail in Chapter 2 under the history and development of Afrikaans section). Then, the pidgin became a creole between the late 17th and 18th centuries (Ponelis 1993: 73; Giliomee 2003: 6; Kriel 2018: 140; Parker 2015: 16) and was afforded official status alongside English in 1925 (McCormick 2006: 99). Upon attaining its official status, it was promoted as part of the Afrikaner nationalist movement and enjoyed parity of esteem in the apartheid government⁴.

After dismantling the apartheid system, there has been a change in Afrikaans' status and political standing. It has experienced rapid attrition in everyday contexts and its usage in the public domain for state administration, politics, economics and social life (Webb 2010: 106). With Afrikaans and English sharing official status with nine other languages, a shift regarding Afrikaans usage and negative language attitudes towards Afrikaans has been documented (Neethling 1998; Webb and Kriel 2000; De Klerk and Barkhuizen 2004; Giliomee 2003; Anthonissen 2009; Maartens 2010; Southern 2012; Shaikjee & Milani; Parker 2015).

Despite its current decline in socio-political and economic terms, Afrikaans is still widely spoken by people from different racial backgrounds. According to the 2012 census, Afrikaans is primarily used by the Coloured population, accounting for 50.2% of Afrikaans L1 speakers, followed by 40.8% White, 9% Black and 1% Indian speakers⁵. According to McCormick (2006: 95), these speakers use varieties of Afrikaans, including Oosgrensafrikaans (Eastern Cape Afrikaans), Kaapse Afrikaans (Cape Afrikaans) and Oranjerivierafrikaans (Orange River Afrikaans). The Afrikaans variety that originated from the Eastern Cape was chosen for standardisation, and it is frequently associated with whiteness, linguistic purity and Afrikaner identity and might imply issues of power and exclusion.

⁴ Also served as a relic of the apartheid government.

⁵ The racial categories are merely used for statistical purposes as used in Statistics South Africa (Census 2012).

This thesis focuses on the Afrikaans variety spoken by black Africans, particularly those in Levubu, to investigate their attitudes and perceptions towards Afrikaans in post-apartheid South Africa. Levubu is a multilingual farming community in the outskirts of Louis Trichardt (Makhado) and comprises black and white people who speak and use Afrikaans in their daily activities.

Several studies on attitudes towards Afrikaans, its use as an identity marker, and the construction of identities through language have been conducted in post-apartheid South Africa studies (Neethling 1998; Webb and Kriel 2000; De Klerk and Barkhuizen 2002; Giliomee 2003; Maartens 2010; Govender 2010; Beukes and Pienaar 2014; Southern 2012; Loubster 2014; Parker 2015).

Although the research represents a propitious departing point, it focuses on Afrikaans-speaking Indian, Coloured and White communities. Recent studies on these racial groups indicate a decomposing status of Afrikaans—a language that was once held in the same regard as English. Afrikaans went from being the primary language of administration to being an ‘African language’, a status indicative of its decline and on par with the other nine indigenous languages. Despite serving as a relic of the apartheid government, “it should be noted that it [...remains...] the mother tongue of a sizeable part of the population, Africans (blacks) included” (Ntsandeni 1999: 33). As the focal point of this thesis, scraping out Afrikaans as a language of communication, administration, and learning and teaching affects its white, ‘coloured’, Indian speakers and those of African descent (blacks).

Given Afrikaans’ decaying status, this thesis uncovers an under-researched topic regarding Afrikaans—the perceptions and attitudes of black Afrikaans speakers towards the language. Is Afrikaans also decomposing in a farming community that closely identifies with the language? What are the implications of its decline on blacks who use it as their L1? Because no recorded studies have reported on the attitudes of black Afrikaans speakers towards Afrikaans, this study sheds light on the status of Afrikaans in an Afrikaans-speaking farming community of Levubu. Most studies conducted among black people are about their attitudes towards Afrikaans, and this study is unique as it focuses on black Afrikaans speakers themselves.

The study by Beukes and Pienaar (2014) is similar to this study because it (i) was conducted in post-apartheid South Africa, (ii) focuses on black Afrikaans speakers and (iii) investigates the link between language and identity. The study, however, does not investigate the participants' language attitudes/behaviour towards Afrikaans but only the link between language and identity in an enclaved Afrikaans-speaking community of Onverwacht.

1.5 Problem statement

The decline of Afrikaans as a language of teaching and learning in schools and universities, administration in government departments, and even in its number of speakers is palpable. This decline was followed by concomitant negative attitudes towards the language from people of different races and ethnicities in South Africa, even those who previously identified as native Afrikaans speakers. To many South Africans, Afrikaans has come to represent South Africa's ugly past, suffering and the repulsive apartheid system. However, to date, Afrikaans is still spoken as a first language in South Africa among people of different racial backgrounds. According to Statistics South Africa (2012), 1/5 (close to 600 000) of black South Africans, particularly those on the farms, identify Afrikaans as their L1.

Only a few studies have explored the black Afrikaans-speaking identity and the use of Afrikaans as an identity marker in black farming communities. Although these studies acknowledge this phenomenon, none provide an in-depth exploration and analysis of the black Afrikaans speakers' language attitudes, particularly in post-apartheid South Africa. Provided that no recorded studies have addressed this linguistic issue, this study casts some light on the linguistic situation in Levubu and discusses and analyses the status of Afrikaans in the farming community. Because this study is based on a farming speech community, it will shed light on the status of Afrikaans in an environment (farming environment) that has been identified by Ponelis (1993) and Ntsandeni (1999) as an Afrikaans-speaking hotspot.

1.6 Levubu research site

This research is based on an area called Levubu (*New England*). The term, *New England*, was coined for Levubu after the arrival of missionaries and white farmers, but the original reference term is Levubu (Nefale 2000). Some inhabitants indicated

that *New England* only constitutes a small portion of the Levubu area, comprising a farming community. However, the area's inhabitants and those of neighbouring villages interchangeably use these two terms.

Levubu is a rich ecological area where various big and small game found a home in the tall and evergreen luxurious forest in the 1800s and early 1900s (Nefale 2000: 1). The term *Levubu* is derived from the Venda word *Luvuvhu* and the Tsonga word *Rivhubye*, the name of a dominant river in the area (Nefale 2000). According to Nefale (2000), the word currently refers to the valley stretching from the Zoutpansberg Mountains to the north to the Luvhola and Mashau mountain ranges to the south. The area lies east of the town of Louis Trichardt (Makhado) on the Mohohodi river and goes as far as Tshitavhadulu and Tshakhuma in the East. Figures 1 and 2 show the geographical location of Levubu.

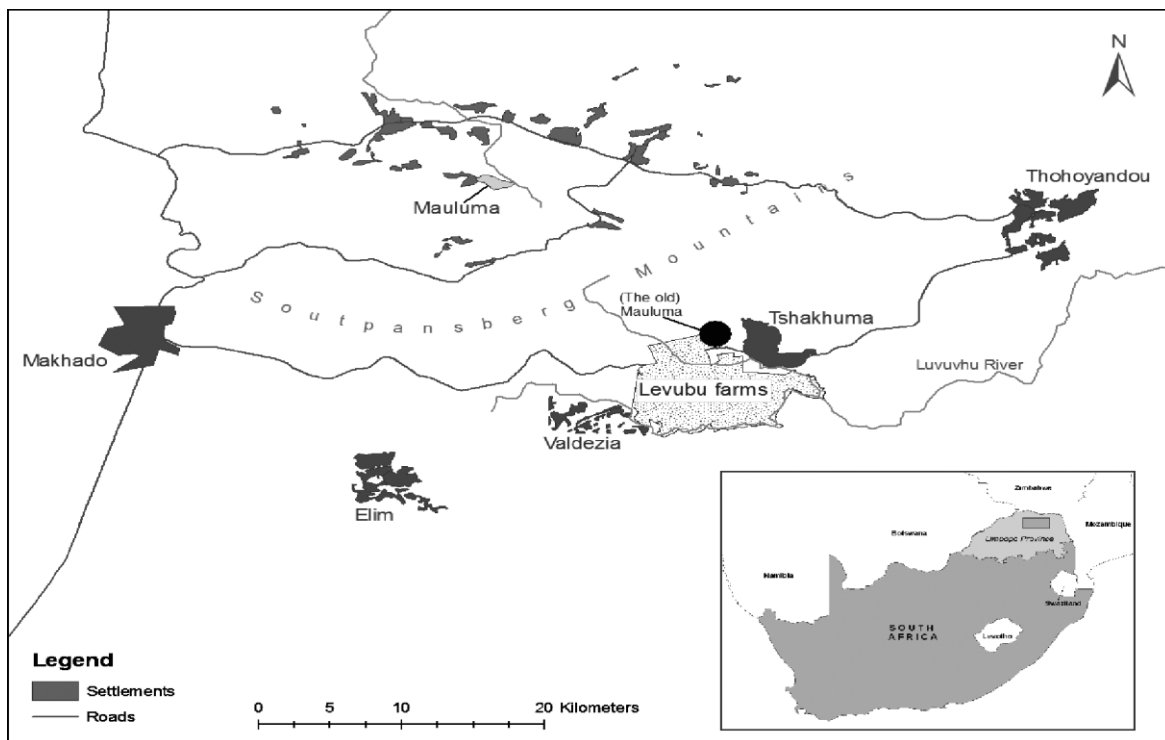


Figure i. The geographical location of Levubu (www.mapstudio.co.za)



Figure ii. The geographical location of Levubu (www.maplandia.com)

Before the Afrikaners declared Levubu a white area in 1936, it comprised two dominant groups: Vhavenda and Vatsonga (Manenzhe 2007: 7). The land is still under the Venda chieftaincy, and the Venda are still the dominant ethnic group. According to Nefale (2000), “chiefs in the area were Venda speaking, and some of the [...Tsongas...] living there were under Venda chiefs” (Nefale 2000: 11).

Like many other areas in the country, the long history of forced removals in South Africa affected Levubu. While the apartheid administration systematically conducted forced removals on a massive scale, “removals occurred [even] before the national party came into power” (Baldwin 1975: 216). Pre-apartheid laws supporting earlier removals include the 1913 Native Land Act and the 1936 Native Trust Land Act. Following these pre-apartheid measures, various laws were implemented to justify forced removals, which led to inequality in land distribution to the detriment of Indigenous populations.

Due to Levubu’s fertile land, white farmers forcibly removed the first settlers in 1932 to nearby areas, including Valdezia, Vyeboom, Tshakhuma, Vuwani and Mission in the then Venda Bantustan. When the natives were removed from their land, they

became poor and could not sustain a living as “they were reduced to being a source of labour without any ownership of land” (Manenzhe 2007: 19). Today, Levubu is still a fertile area suitable for farming practices. According to Ntsandeni (1999), Nefale (2000), Manenzhe (2007) and Nkuna and Odiyo (2016) and verbal reports from the participants during the interviewing process, the farmers were white Afrikaans-speaking, and the farmworkers were black Africans. When the white farmers introduced commercial farming in the area in 1939, many Africans from around the then Venda area (designated for the Vhavenda people) and Gazankulu area (designated for the Vatsonga people) went to Levubu to seek employment, and most of them settled there (on the farms) and started having families (Manenzhe 2007: 7).

The relevance of both Manenzhe’s (2007) and Nefale’s (2000) findings regarding race in the area can be better understood by considering that the population comprises 74.18% blacks/Africans, 24.25% Whites, 0.87% Coloureds, 0.43% Indian/Asian and 0.43% other (Census 2011). The groups that have sought employment in Levubu came from different linguistic and cultural backgrounds, resulting in Levubu’s multilingual landscape. Webb (2002) claimed that multilingualism among black people is high, and most can speak three or more languages. He further indicated that the apartheid government accepted multilingualism, and it often included Afrikaans as “...Afrikaans [...was...] used throughout the socio-economic spectrum” (Webb 2002: 82). Notably, the most spoken languages in the area include Afrikaans, Tshivenda, Xitsonga and Sepedi (Nefale 2000: 11).

Parker (2015) observed that “Statistics show that while Afrikaans is the third most spoken language in South Africa, it has the broadest geographical and racial distribution of all the official South African languages” (Parker 2015: 16). From Statistics South Africa, Parker further indicated that “600,000 Black South Africans [...speak...] it as their L1” (Parker 2015: 17). Research suggests that many black Africans have Afrikaans as their first language, but due to the role of Afrikaans in the apartheid project, many have distanced themselves from the language (Van der Westhuizen 2016: 383; Kriel 2018: 151). However, the continued use of Afrikaans by natives in Levubu, regardless of its links with apartheid, makes this study significant.

The economic value of Afrikaans has significantly influenced the use of Afrikaans in native communities (Ponelis 1993; Ntsandeni 1999; Webb 2002; Parker 2015). This

study investigates the role of Afrikaans in the lives of the Levubu community regarding its usage, its role as an identity marker (distinguishing factor), and the attitudes of black Afrikaans speakers towards Afrikaans in post-apartheid South Africa. This study significantly contributes to sociolinguistics because it focuses on the neglected part of Afrikaans—the black Afrikaans-speaking identity. It uncovers the status of Afrikaans in the black-dominated farming community of Levubu.

1.7 Research question

What are the language attitudes of black Afrikaans speakers of Levubu towards Afrikaans in post-apartheid South Africa?

1.8 Research aims and objectives

This study investigates the language attitudes and perceptions of black Afrikaans speakers towards Afrikaans in Levubu in post-apartheid South Africa. This study also examines the role of language (Afrikaans in this case) in creating linguistic identities.

The study's objectives are to investigate:

1. How Levubu residents use Afrikaans as both an identity marker and a distinguishing factor
2. How the language attitudes and language identities of the respondents can be explained
3. The language attitudes of black Afrikaans speakers from Levubu towards Afrikaans in post-apartheid South Africa
4. The linguistic behavioural practices of Levubu residents
5. The role of Afrikaans as the basis of Levubu residents' linguistic identities
6. The relationship between language attitudes and linguistic identity

1.9 Chapter outline

Following Chapter One, Chapter Two discusses the historical overview of Afrikaans. This chapter discusses (i) the arrival and settlement of the Dutch in the Cape and the genesis and development of Afrikaans, (ii) the British occupation and Anglicisation, (iii) the Great Trek, the establishment of Natalia, and British annexation, (iv) activism for recognising Afrikaans as an independent language and establishing the

Genootskap fan Regte Afrikaners (GRA), (v) the formation of the Union of South Africa and the Afrikaners' racial capitalism and empowerment, (vi) and the apartheid policies and legalised framework.

Chapter Three focuses on the theoretical framework and literature review of this study. It discusses issues of language and identity, social identity vs self-identity and language attitudes.

Chapter Four outlines the research design, methods/procedures, chosen instruments used in data collection (each instrument is discussed separately in the methodology section), the participants in this study, sampling, and ethical considerations.

Chapter Five focuses on data presentation, interpretation and the discussion. Chapter Six provides an overview of the conclusions drawn from the data, the study's limitations, and recommendations for future research.

CHAPTER TWO: A HISTORICAL OVERVIEW OF AFRIKAANS

2.1 Introduction

Afrikaans developed in the early Cape settlement and became a lingua franca between enslaved people from different parts of the world, including Malaysia, India, Bengal, the coastal parts of Africa⁶ and local Khoikhoi pastoralists. The devoted members of the Afrikaner nationalism under the National Party later developed⁷, standardised Afrikaans and placed it in the front footing of development during apartheid. For the Afrikaners, Afrikaans served as a pivot and basis of their nationality and identity. During apartheid, Afrikaner nationalism and Afrikaans were inseparable—one could not speak of Afrikaner nationalism without mentioning Afrikaans and vice versa. After 40 years in power, the Afrikaner segregationist regime of apartheid was dismantled, leaving Afrikaans on par with South Africa's other nine indigenous languages. The dismantlement of the apartheid regime weakened the Afrikaners and Afrikaans, and the language was left bruised, with concomitant negative attitudes attached. Therefore, this section discusses the primary aspects of Afrikaans, i.e., its origins and development and its relationship with the apartheid government.

2.1.1 The 1652 period onwards: the arrival and settlement of the Dutch with Khoi Afrikaans already spoken in the Cape

The contact language⁸ of the Khoikhoi, dating from 1595, did not remain purely a market language—it acquired negotiating functions and was used to settle disputes that arose from

⁶ Angola and Mozambique.

⁷ Although its development and promotion began before the apartheid years, it was primarily during apartheid (1948–1994) that Afrikaans became the primary language of administration.

⁸ The initial contact between Khoikhoi pastoralists and the Dutch officials (seafarers) occurred in 1595, not 1652, as it is popularly believed. The Khoikhoi pastoralists lived along the seashores, which the Europeans (seafarers) established to be a good resting place when travelling from Europe to the East and vice versa. According to van Rensburg, “[t]he ships wanted to travel by sea from Europe to the East and then take scarce spices and other trade goods back to Europe. The old trade routes by which they had reached the East by land in the past could no longer be used. Going via the Cape had become the only way, and the opportunity to stop at the Cape broke the long journey up into shorter runs” (2019: 11). This resulted in a contact situation with the land's inhabitants, the Khoikhoi, and negotiations for food and water refills. The Khoikhoi adopted and incorporated Dutch derived words and phrases into their daily speech, which saw a new language (pidgin) being formed. For the most part, the newly

trade and serious conflict situations between the Khoikhoi and the Dutch. Khoikhoi employees working in Dutch homes would have learnt the elite employers' Dutch. As in other situations of linguistic contact, these Khoikhoi showed off their new knowledge among themselves and expanded their abilities in Khoi Afrikaans (van Rensburg 2019: 17).

This section explores the genesis and history of Afrikaans and the Afrikaans-speaking identity presented by Ponielis (1993). Ponielis indicates that the diverse society founded by the Dutch East Indian Company at the Cape in the seventeenth century gave rise to a variety of Dutch, later known as Afrikaans. This variety was characterised by linguistic elements foreign to the Dutch variety and was incorporated into the daily speech of the Cape settlers. Furthermore, the foreign linguistic elements were only incorporated into the speech of the enslaved, Khoikhoi and domestic servants, whereas the white Dutch speakers⁹ maintained 'pure' Dutch (my interpretation). He further indicates that Afrikaans was formed through the coming together of different people from different places in the world, speaking different languages in the Cape. These groups include the Dutch, high and low German, French and Khoikhoi language groupings, Austronesian languages, including Malagasy, Malay, Javanese, Buginese and Portuguese, and the languages of India (Ponielis 1993: 13).

Regardless of the mixture, the Dutch variety spoken by the Dutch slave masters became the grammatical substrate of the variety spoken by people of colour, giving the impression that Afrikaans is a hybrid language formed through a fusion of different sounds and phrases from different languages. Although Ponielis' theory presents a propitious argument on the genesis of Afrikaans and the Afrikaans-speaking identity,

formed language (pidgin) represented a more functional value than their native languages to the Khoikhoi—it was used during negotiations and settlement of feuds between themselves and the Dutch. Since the initial intention of the Dutch seafarers was not to settle in Table Mountain but establish a refreshment station, Khoikhoi pastoralists used their newly formed language (pidgin) long after the Dutch seafarers had left for their destinations. The variety continued to grow among the Khoikhoi and even acquired its first language speakers (du Plessis & Grant 2020). As van Rensburg (2019:11) puts it, the newly formed pidgin (I would like to believe that it was now evolving into a creole, considering it was acquiring its first language speakers) became something to show off among the Khoikhoi (also, with showing off comes the competition of who is more competent than the other, resulting in a more advanced use of a language). Therefore, when the Dutch settled in the Cape in 1652 onwards, Khoikhoi pastoralists had already been speaking Khoi Afrikaans.

⁹ Although many sailors and soldiers spoke an informal, even a slightly different variety of Dutch, theirs was not as far different from the standardised variety compared to the creolised version (spoken by slaves and the Khoikhoi). In other words, their informal variety of Dutch was still considered a variety of Dutch, not its creolised form.

his emphasis is on the coming together of people from different places in the world who sought to communicate, and Afrikaans then came into existence. In other words, this theory implies that the coming together of people from different linguistic and cultural backgrounds in the early Cape automatically developed Afrikaans. No specifics are provided regarding who, in particular, among the different groups, proposed the idea of creating a common language or a variety that would serve as a lingua franca among the inhabitants of the early Cape. Surprisingly, Dutch slave owners and masters favoured the creolised version of Dutch spoken by slaves, Khoikhoi and natives (Africans), whom they had relegated to a status of worthless property. Thus, the mixture theory provides more questions than answers regarding the genesis and development of Afrikaans.

Together with Ponelis, Parker (2015) refers to McCormick (2006) and posits that the occurrence of multilingualism led to a linguistic mixture, which gradually evolved into what was known as Cape Dutch (Parker 2015: 17). This linguistic mixture was primarily used in informal settings, such as Dutch households by domestic servants, Khoikhoi locals and slaves brought by VOC officials who came from Malaysia, India, Mozambique, and Angola (McCormick 2006: 92; van Rensburg 2019: 17). Parker (2015) further states that no formal schooling in Dutch was made available for the slaves (from different parts of the world) and Khoikhoi working for the Dutch East Indian Company, resulting in the much-spread different form of Dutch later labelled Afrikaans.

Accordingly, the linguistic situation of the early Cape was characterised by two closely linked features: (a) an extraordinarily high incidence of secondary proficiency accompanying (b) widespread multilingualism (Parker 2015: 17; Ponelis 1993: 14). The primary component in Afrikaans development is that it was an all-inclusive and non-racialised language, formed through the coming together of people from different racial, cultural and linguistic backgrounds for communication and trade. However, I posit that multilingualism alone would have resulted in the early Cape settlers learning and using each other's languages, not the creation of a new one. After all, the master's language, Dutch, was already present even though the sailors and soldiers spoke a variety that might not be classified as 'proper' or 'pure' Dutch. Despite the fact that only a small percentage of the early Cape population spoke Dutch, the Dutch made it their objective that everyone living in the Cape was assimilated into the Dutch

language. Therefore, the secondary proficiency would have led to using the same language with a different accent and pronunciation—not introducing new words and phrases foreign to the Dutch language.

Raidt (1978, 1983, and 1991) and Pheiffer (1980) suggest that Afrikaans was formed through native language intrusion and the minimal acquisition of Dutch by the enslaved and the Khoikhoi servants, resulting in its creolised form (Roberge 1994: 27). Therefore, the errors were accidental and did comprise a linear system. These errors were subsequently coupled with the gradual diffusion of internal linguistic change in progress and were introduced into the patterns of variation inherent to the fledging community. Again, Raidt and Pheiffer emphasise the role of the Khoikhoi servants and slaves in forming and developing Afrikaans. In their view, the creolised form of Dutch spoken by the Khoikhoi and the enslaved servants was later incorporated into the speech community and, subsequently, developed separately from Dutch. The creolised version of Dutch by slaves and the Khoikhoi domestic workers gradually formed part of the daily speech. After all, Dutch was foreign to each non-white person of the early Cape (although Dutch was also not a first language to most of the white population, it was not an entirely foreign language to them. That is, they were also from Europe and may have been somewhat familiar¹⁰ with the language). Raidt (1991) and Pheiffer (1980) present an interesting argument in that they acknowledge slaves and the Khoikhoi as the major contributors to the development of Afrikaans as a separate language from Dutch. Notwithstanding, from the beginning, the Khoikhoi and slaves used the re-created or creolised version of Dutch when communicating with Dutch speakers, including sailors, soldiers and slave masters. The multifaceted language contact between slaves, Khoikhoi, sailors, soldiers (who spoke a nonstandard variety) and free natives perpetuated linguistic creativity and a unique way of pronouncing words, leading to the loss of Dutch inflection systems.

Furthermore, Greek professor, Hesseling, claims that Afrikaans originated from a convergence between the Dutch and Malay-Portuguese spoken by the slaves¹¹ (cited in Meyer 2018: 15), documented in his book *Het Afrikaans* written in 1899. His theory goes against the idea that Afrikaans originated and developed from nonstandard Dutch by claiming that such a development was unpalatable in given the short period

¹⁰ Not necessarily fluent in it.

¹¹ The first group of slaves arrived in 1658.

(Meyer 2018). He further emphasises that there had to have been outside influence leading to the language's origin and development. Furthermore, when the slaves arrived, they infiltrated the Cape with significant force under the control of the Dutch colonists, helping in the development of Afrikaans. Meyer further reinforces his theory by mentioning words that are used in Afrikaans but are of Malay-Portuguese origin, i.e., (as quoted in Meyer 2018: 15) *baadjie* (jacket), *baklei* (fight), *klapper* (coconut), *pieering* (saucer), *pondok* (shack), *tjap* (stamp), *kombers* (blanket), *kraal* (cattle), *piekenien* (small), *sambreel* (umbrella), *trunk* (prison), *mielie* (maize), *kraal* (cattle enclosure), *nooi* (girl), *tamaai* (huge), and *tjokka* (squid). This theory is vehemently opposed by Raidt (1983) and Scholtz (1963) who believe that Afrikaans originated from a linear development of dialectal Dutch, which occurred within a contact situation characterised by large second language users such as German, French and Khoikhoi (Deumert 1999: 41).

Schuster (2016) presents another theory on the origin of Afrikaans, establishing that Afrikaans is a Dutch-based language. In her view, the first visitors of the Cape spoke a range of Dutch dialects because they came from different places within the Netherlands (Schuster 2016: 11). Therefore, Afrikaans embraced several varieties of Dutch spoken in the early Cape. These Dutch speakers, speaking different varieties¹², contacted speakers of West German dialects, French and languages brought by slaves from India, Indonesia, and West and East Africa, and along them, there were two lingua francae, i.e., creole Portuguese and Malay. She alludes that “these speakers gradually began using Afrikaans (Cape Dutch) based on the grammar of their first language and added or borrowed words from their respective languages when an Afrikaans alternative was unknown or did not exist” (Schuster 2016: 11). Notably, the theory highlights the possibilities of borrowing whenever the need arose for the enslaved and the Khoikhoi. On the contrary, borrowing alone would not be enough to turn Dutch into a new language, Afrikaans, which gradually sounded different from Dutch. We live in a world where languages rub shoulders, and by so doing, words from one language are usually adopted and naturalised into other¹³

¹² The early Cape settlers came from different parts of Holland, making them speakers of different varieties of the same language, Dutch. In other words, according to Schuster (2016), these speakers communicated with one another and there was an inevitable integration of words and phrases from the different varieties. The integration encouraged a deviation from proper (standardised) Dutch, into what would later be termed Kaapse-Hollands.

¹³ Many Afrikaans words originate from English.

languages (for example, English and Afrikaans). Thus, something more serious than borrowing must have happened for Afrikaans to sound different from Dutch.

Furthermore, to avoid a conundrum where two bulls would be trapped in the same kraal without an exit point, Dutch slave masters and officials of the DEIC¹⁴ made it a point that only Dutch was to be spoken to the slaves, Khoikhoi and free natives. Dutch officials made it their primary mission that the Huguenots were assimilated into the Dutch linguistic and cultural ways, and French was obliterated to form a linguistic uniformity and avoid the language question in the future (Kriel 2018: 137). Kriel further proposed that although German-speaking settlers were numerically higher in number than the Dutch officials in the eighteenth century in the Cape, because they, Dutch officials, were single men who married outside of their ethnicity and sometimes race, proved to be advantageous for them. They married female descendants of the already assimilated Huguenots¹⁵ and, in some cases, women of colour (Kriel 2018: 137).

Also, not to be ignored are the rape cases by Dutch officials on the enslaved and free natives, which perpetuated offspring of those rape victims to use creole Dutch. Dutch was enforced on people of colour, but the Dutch they adopted was simplified, comprising words and phrases of Malay, Portuguese, Buginese, Javanese, Khoikhoi, and Arabic origin. The integration of slave offspring and Huguenot descendants and their children¹⁶ into the Dutch language and cultural ways saw German slowly becoming extinct. Thenceforth, each newcomer¹⁷ was assimilated into the Dutch language, culture, and way of life. Reverting to Schuster's theory, it is highly improbable that the already obliterated Western Germanic languages, i.e., French and German, would have formed the grammatical substrate of Cape Dutch, later termed Afrikaans. In other words, by the time the recreation of Dutch into its creolised form occurred, German, Portuguese and French were already extinct or at least used minimally in the Cape. After all, only the slaves from Africa, the East and the Khoikhoi had a lingua franca, not their masters and the bureaucrats.

However, Roberge (1994) indicates that the lack of multiple migrations in which the component waves had a distinctly regional character makes it challenging to trace the

¹⁴ Dutch East Indian Company

¹⁵ Who at this stage only spoke Dutch.

¹⁶ Fathered by Dutch officials.

¹⁷ Either as a slave or VOC official; from Africa, Asia and Europe

origin of Afrikaans. Although there has been general agreement regarding South Dutch¹⁸ being the primary contributor in the formation of Cape Dutch (Afrikaans), its speakers never constituted an absolute majority, leaving much to be desired regarding it being the basis and foundation of Cape Dutch. Thus, we should not expect all defining features of Afrikaans to be traceable from the South Holland variety (Roberge 1994: 30).

One of the earliest scholars of the origin of Afrikaans, Kruisinga (1906) and later Boshoff (1921/ 1959; Smith 1927), present another school of thought on the genealogy and genesis of Afrikaans. They believe that Afrikaans was formed through the spontaneous development of Dutch on foreign land. They assume minimal language contact between the Dutch, German, Portuguese and the enslaved. However, Bosman (1923) vehemently opposes this spontaneous development, conceding that spontaneous development alone could not account for the rapid transformation of Dutch into Afrikaans, considering its creole-like features, attributed to the influence of second language Dutch speakers (Bosman 1923: 43).

Like Bosman (1923), van der Waal (2012) and Stell (2017) consider Afrikaans as a creolised language that emerged in the composite mix of people from different origins in the Cape, including slave masters from Holland, sailors and soldiers, slaves from Indonesia and many others (van der Waal 2012: 449). Moreover, it further alludes that the creole (later Afrikaans) was a dialect of Dutch that, with time, has undergone a limited measure of creolisation from the basic Dutch structure (Giliomee 2003: 4). However, in their recent study, du Plessis and Grant (2019: 25) found that modern Afrikaans comprises lexical and grammatical elements of Khoi Afrikaans that cannot be traced back to Dutch, disputing the possibility of Afrikaans developing from a dialectal variety of Dutch. Stell (2017: 4) avers that

Creoles arose among non-Europeans in colonial contexts of racial segregation with the symbolic purpose of functioning as in-group solidarity-marking codes [...and...] that non-Europeans in colonial contexts were engaged in a collective – and to an extent unsuccessful – effort to acquire European norms, whose prestige they more or less consistently acknowledged.

¹⁸ The variety of South Dutch formed the grammatical superstrate of Cape Dutch later Afrikaans.

According to Muysken and Smith (1995: 3), “a creole language can be defined as a language that has come into existence at a point in time that can be established fairly precisely”. Mufwenwe (2015: 133) alludes that “creoles and pidgins are new language varieties that developed out of contacts between nonstandard colonial varieties of a European language and several non-European languages around the Atlantic and in the Indian and Pacific Oceans during the seventeenth to nineteenth centuries”. Creoles are frequently a result of a linguistic mixture of two or more unrelated tongues to achieve a communicative goal, particularly among people of different hierarchies and standards. Linguistic contact typically occurs between the economically powerful European (white) minority and the African and Asian minorities. People of lower status frequently undertake creolisation to recreate the prestigious language. Due to their linguistic creativity and compromise, a new language emerges. The European languages often form the grammatical superstrate of creoles. Like Jamaica, Trinidad, Tobago, the West Indies, and the Dominican Republic, the early Cape was no exception. According to Kriel (2018), an influx of German-speaking settlers in the eighteenth century moved to the Cape and outnumbered those from Holland. They were single men who married Dutch-speaking women and Huguenots, and occasionally non-European women (Kriel 2018: 137). Regardless of the high number of Germans who flocked to the Cape, these intermarriages minimised using German, and all newcomers, as per policy, had to learn the Dutch language, cultural customs, and practices and would be integrated into the Dutch nation (Giliomee 2003: 11). According to Johnson (2004) and Sparks (1990),

speakers of different tongues had to communicate with one another. From 1658 onwards, VOC officials and slave owners also needed to communicate with the slaves who were brought to the Cape from various parts of Africa and the East, and slaves required a lingua franca among themselves and to communicate with the Khoikhoi—many of whom came to work and live alongside them, sometimes have children with them (cited in Kriel 2018: 138).

Upon their arrival, the Dutch variety already spoken was influenced by the languages of the slaves, which led to a recreated/creolised form of the Dutch one, with pronunciations influenced by the languages of India, Indonesia, Malay, and other countries. As Kriel (2018) postulates, non-native Dutch speakers, including Huguenots, slaves, Khoikhoi domestic servants and everyone who could not be

classified as white, were the prime practitioners of the creolisation process of Dutch in the late seventeenth century. Burghers and their helpers continued the creolisation process in the eighteenth century (Kriel 2018: 139), which led to it becoming increasingly diluted as it spread further from the origin. At this stage, new slaves had to acquire their second language and could be more directly targeted toward European languages than in other slave labour systems where creole languages have formed (Stell 2017; Roberge 1999: 88), and “there was no doubts which language this would be” (Kriel 2018: 138). “Linguistic convergence of non-Europeans to Europeans seems to have been encouraged or at least not obstructed” (Stell 2017: 6). Accordingly, the Eastern slaves and those from Mozambique outnumbered the Dutch slave owners, and creolisation was inevitable (Roberge 1999: 88).

Cristo van Rensburg, a prominent Afrikaans scholar, dedicated over four decades to studying the genesis and development of Afrikaans. Being one of the earliest scholars to debunk the myth of Afrikaans being a white man’s language, some of his discoveries are astonishing¹⁹. He found in his extensive studies spanning over 40 years that Khoikhoi pastoralists had been using Khoi Dutch, or Khoi Afrikaans, which they had coined as a lingua franca during their earliest contact with the Dutch officials in the sixteenth century. According to van Rensburg (2019: 12), “new words were employed to ease the transactions and were used over and over”. In other words, the need for trade propelled the introduction of new Khoikhoi-derived words. As days, weeks and months went by, the Khoikhoi acquired more Dutch words and phrases that would be used during negotiations and bartering. Accordingly, “when the Dutch who had gone to trade in the East set up a more permanent halfway station at the Cape in 1652, Khoi Afrikaans had already been used for 50 years” (van Rensburg 2019: 12). Ostensibly, the Khoikhoi were the first, or even primary contributors, to Afrikaans development. Du Plessis and Grant (2019) expanded on van Rensburg’s extensive work on the genealogy and origin of Afrikaans. They speak of Khoi Afrikaans and cattle farmer Afrikaans to be the language’s first two varieties (these varieties are not associated with whiteness and livestock). They also established that, in the years leading to 1652 (when the Dutch finally settled in the Cape), the Khoikhoi were very much in control of

¹⁹ His discoveries point towards Khoi Afrikaans being one of first varieties of the language.

the negotiations and bartering of their livestock. Conversely, the need to acquire more Dutch words during negotiations gained momentum.

While I concur with the above scholars, I wish to add that before the settlement of the seafarers (Dutch) in 1652, the Khoi used Afrikaans (Khoi Dutch?) as more of a pidgin rather than a creole. Albeit challenging to distinguish between the two, pidgins are characterised by their limited function and reduced structures and are primarily found in trade colonies. In other words, they are a language without first-language speakers primarily used for transactional purposes. Words are creatively used to convey a message without following a specific language's grammatical structures. The Afrikaans used by the Khoikhoi still comprised more KhoeKhoen expressions and words than Dutch-derived ones. In van Rensburg's (2019: 12) account, "the words were not inflected, and no articles were used with the nouns". Since the Dutch's intentions during their initial contact with the Khoikhoi were not to settle but use the Cape as their resting place, Dutch-derived words were used minimally, specifically when not in the company of the Dutch speakers. Their speech was still predominantly of KhoeKhoen words and phrases. Introducing new Dutch-derived words, phrases, and expressions alone was not enough to erode KhoeKhoen²⁰. According to Stell (2017: 7), "... there is no evidence that Khoikhoi had nativized Dutch before the early 17th century smallpox epidemics that saw most of them retreat into the interior". Conversely, the complete language shift from Khoikhoi languages into Afrikaans (Cape Dutch) occurred after 1652 and was encouraged by legalised Acts and racial classifications. That is, linguistic assimilation only took place once the Dutch had settled in the Cape, and everyone living there had to abide by the 'Dutch only' law.

Subsequently, I postulate that people of colour primarily created and used the creole form of Afrikaans (Sparks, 1990: 77; Kriel, 2018: 144–145; Davids, 2011, 45). These people include slaves from the East (including Malaysia, Bengal, Indonesia and India), Angola and Mozambique (who had different tongues but were fluent in communicative Portuguese), and the local Khoikhoi pastoralists. As Sparks (1990) puts it, slaves and

²⁰ According to Nienaber (1990: 43), "over three centuries 'Hottentot' was the ethnonym for the yellow-skinned people of Southern Africa. In the course of time, it acquired connotatively derogatory meanings and became a term of abuse. 'KhoeKhoen', the people's own national name, was substituted for 'Hottentot'. The substitution was generally welcomed, but not its spelling and form. The spelling was according to the standard orthography, as officially introduced in 1977. The traditionalists preferred the short 'Khoi', or, if it must be, the symmetrical 'Khoikhoi' to 'KhoeKhoen'". Also see du Plessis (2019).

the Khoikhoi, out of the need to communicate with one another, considering their different linguistic and cultural backgrounds (Sparks 1990: 77), unwittingly created Afrikaans. It was a recreation of the Dutch language, primarily as a second language in the mouths of the less sophisticated and illiterate enslaved community. Moreover, the slaves' linguistic errors and borrowing of words from their native languages led to a creolised variety of Dutch only spoken by the least sophisticated citizens of the early Cape. As with any other situation, the simplified form of Dutch brought slaves from the East, other parts of Africa and the Khoikhoi together, creating a sense of linguistic uniformity and social identity.

Years later, the destabilisation of the Khoikhoi as an identifiable tribe in the hands of the Dutch led to their adoption of simplified (creolised) Dutch as their first language, perpetuating its use and growth. Although the Khoikhoi were already using Khoi Afrikaans (Khoi Dutch) before 1652, Khoekhoen was obliterated in favour of Cape Dutch (creole Dutch) only at this stage. They used this variety (Cape Dutch, later referred to as Afrikaans) as domestic servants in their employers' households to communicate with each other, slaves from the East and their employers and masters. Specifically, the broken form of Dutch comprising errors and mispronunciations was only used by people of colour, not the Dutch officials and masters (although soldiers and sailors spoke a nonstandard variety). Dutch officials insisted that only proper Dutch be spoken in the Cape to create linguistic uniformity and promote their imperialist ideologies. As Stell (2017: 17) puts it, "incentives existed for slaves to acquire Dutch, as the knowledge thereof was one of the conditions for manumission". Of significance, it must also be borne in mind that using this variety by people of colour was in no way a form of rebelling against proper Dutch but came into being out of the need to communicate with their masters and employers as second language speakers, and therefore, unwittingly creating its creole-like form.

According to Stell (2017: 6), "colour stigmas prevailed in much the same terms as in other colonial societies – were given scope for appropriating 'whiteness'". Since this variety was formed and spoken by Khoikhoi pastoralists and slaves who were degraded to the lowest social level, it was given derogatory labels, such as *kombuistaal* (kitchen language), *hotnotstaal* (the language of the Hottentots), *Hottentots-Hollands* (Hottentots Dutch), Khoikhoi-Dutch, Bastard-Jargon, *Griekwataal* (the language of the Griqua) and the language of the least sophisticated. This labelling

preceded the negative race relations that prevailed in the Cape. Since these servants were responsible for raising and looking after the children of their masters and employers, they spoke to them (the white children) in *kombuistaal/Hotnotstaal*. Since these children had not developed full proficiency in Dutch, they adopted the variety (*kombuistaal*) spoken by their nannies as their own. Over time, white children started using the variety of Cape Dutch spoken by their caregivers when interacting with their caregivers and parents. With time, the younger generation grew to speak a variety of Dutch (the recreated/creolised variety), which gradually evolved into a new language.

This creole form of Dutch from which Afrikaans emerged was a lower-class language (variety)—it was primarily spoken and used by people of the lower class, i.e., slaves and Khoikhoi serfs. According to Elffers, this is “... a language fit for daily use, though lacking in expression for modern ideas, as well as in technical terms” (1908: 5). Cape Dutch (early Afrikaans) was labelled and considered too simple with no literary future. The doubtful future of Afrikaans and its affiliations with people of colour was further articulated in a paper read at the South African Public Library on 29 April 1882 by a Dutch linguist, Dr Theophilus Hahn, who asserts that

It can hardly be expected that the descendants of the Malayo-Polynesian slaves and Hottentots servants, who originally spoke an agglutinative tongue, will have any improving influence on an inflecting tongue.

Judging by Hahn’s utterances about Afrikaans, it can be deduced that Afrikaans has been perceived as a language of the lower rank in the past, closely associated with mediocrity and only spoken by slaves and Khoikhoi natives. Kriel (2018) supported the theory of Afrikaans’ association with people of colour, indicating that Afrikaans was transmitted from a “... black nanny to a white child ... black wet nurse to a white child, black mother to white child, black child to white child in play” (Kriel 2018: 144). Therefore, the language was transmitted to white kids from slaves of colour who worked for white masters and slave owners as domestic servants and farm workers. With time, from the first arrival of VOC officials in the Cape, the Bustard-Jargon/Khoikhoi Dutch/*Kombuistaal* went through various stages of development, resulting in its standardisation.

2.1.2 Religion as a significant divider in the early Cape

Africans were not the equals of Europeans but inferior and, regarding themselves as God's own, [...Dutch men...] saw the Africans as the servants of the chosen race. This mentality, twist of mind, is at the very centre of the crucial race problem in the life and history of South Africa (Were 1974, in Wills 2011: 44).

One of the defining characteristics of early Cape Dutch settlers was religion. The concept of religion is controversial and complex, and it is challenging to decipher, with religious scholars failing to agree on a single substantial definition. However, sociologist Emile Durkheim views religion as a "... unified system of beliefs and practices relative to sacred things, that is to say, things set apart and forbidden beliefs and practices which unite into one single moral community called a church [...including mosques, synagogues, temples etc...]" (Durkheim 1925, in Kotze 2013: 30). Again, it can also be seen as the shared reverence for the supernatural, sacred, or spiritual and its associated symbols, rituals, and worship. Conversely, religion creates a sense of oneness and a morally unified community believing in a uniform supreme being(s). It could consist of mythology, superstition, and an infinite set of parables known and believed to be true by its subscribers.

According to Muller (1987), Dutch man's "attitude towards the non-whites was based on [...one...] main concept: he distinguished on religious grounds between white Christian and non-white heathen; he was very much aware of the indigenous races of Africa; he differentiated between whites and non-whites according to their respective positions in the existing social structure" (cited in Wills 2011: 44). Having said that, I wish to reiterate that Dutch slave masters and officials were Christians, members of the Dutch Reformed Church and were afforded a higher status than non-Christians (non-Europeans). They cultivated a sense of oneness and religious purity through Christianity and were not keen to convert slaves, Khoikhoi, and free natives into their religion. For the white Dutch speakers, Christianity was synonymous with whiteness, civilisation, godliness, and superiority. Ostensibly, they were God-fearing and holy but only reserved Christianity for those pure in skin tone. Initially, the Dutch Reformed Church was not keen on baptising slaves, Khoikhoi servants and the free natives and did not oppose slavery in any form. Even worse, members of the Dutch Reformed

Church and VOC (Christians) used biblical scriptures to manipulate and even justify racial divisions in the early Cape.

Christianity was embedded in the feeling of racial superiority and represented the idea of being civilised rather than barbarous. Since the early white settlers in the Cape did not share a common ancestry, emphasis was placed on Christianity and later race. Simply put, Christianity represented civilisation, prestige, and whiteness. Although some slave masters, at a later stage, were keen on converting their slaves to Christianity, the slaves were loath, labelling Christianity the slave masters' religion. Consequently, non-white residents of the early Cape turned to Islam, a religion brought with slaves from Indonesia, India and Bengal.

According to Kriel (2018), Islam grew exponentially by the end of the eighteenth century and inspired the foundation of the madrasah, a Muslim school in 1793. Several years later, after creole Afrikaans had replaced Malay as the language of instruction in the Madrasah, Cape Muslims "... devised an orthography for the Afrikaans they spoke so that it could be used in written form. It was they, too, who produced what has to be regarded as the first Afrikaans book (printed c. 1856)" (Kriel 2018: 143). This creolised form of Dutch (Afrikaans) developed alongside Islam and represented a lack of sophistication and racial impurity. Subsequently, Islam created a sense of religious and social identity among slaves and was a significant incentive in the genealogy and development of creole Afrikaans. The language (variety) would continue to grow in its number of speakers, with descendants of Khoikhoi and slaves adopting it as their first language.

2.1.3 The 1795–1825 period: British occupation and anglicisation

The VOC ruled the Cape until 1795. All the while, the Cape patriots²¹, a group of Cape town dwellers and farmers from the nearby areas who were displeased with the Dutch leadership, revolted against "VOC despotism". Their revolts were met with the initial British invasion—ships carrying Englishmen first appeared in the Cape Peninsula on 11 June 1795 (Kriel 2013: 201). Kriel further recounts that because the Netherlands was under French control at the time, Prince William V of the Netherlands, being in exile in England, suggested that the British take control of the Cape in fear that the

²¹ They were anti-VOC rebels influenced by enlightenment thinking from the literature that reached the Cape around the same period (Kriel 2013: 201).

French would also capture the Cape. The Dutch and the British signed the conciliatory treaty of surrender²², and a peaceful takeover occurred on 16 September 1795 (Kriel 2013: 203).

The British takeover of the Cape was a short-lived victory—it only lasted three years. On 25 March 1802, The Peace Treaty of Amiens propelled the British to return the Cape to the Dutch. The following year, in 1803, the British²³ returned the Cape to the Dutch, but it was not long until British ships reappeared on the scene. The British reclaimed the Cape from the Dutch on 11 January 1806, but nothing was peaceful the second time.

From then, the British imperialists were hostile towards the Dutch, and their intentions were clear—they wanted to anglicise the Cape and impose the British way of life on everyone living there. They assigned themselves a project of assimilating early Dutch (white) settlers into the British culture and language (English) and eliminating Cape Dutch. The British were language centred; therefore, they preached the gospel of British cultural and linguistic superiority, and the Cape Dutch speakers and the African natives were “privileged” to abandon their languages and cultures and adopt those of the British. To the British, “... it seemed absurd that such a small body of people should be permitted to perpetuate ideas and customs that were not English in a country that had become part of the British empire” (cited in Orman 2007: 107). Anglicisation ideologies and ambitions remained in the minds and mouths of the British imperialists for a while before their implementation. As early as 1811, John Francis Cradock²⁴ articulated his intentions to anglicise the Cape, which “were given further force by senior administrators like Henry Ellis, who helped to prepare the way for the 1820 settlers” (Dubow 2006, in Kriel 2013: 208). In the wake of Britain’s acquisition of the Cape territory in terms of the Convention of London²⁵ (Anglo-Dutch treaty) in 1814, Charles Somerset became governor of the Cape, replacing Cradock. Consequently, in 1822, Somerset “issued a proclamation which sought to replace Dutch with English as the official administrative language of the colony” (Kriel 2013: 208). From this point

²² The British took control of the Cape from the Dutch, and the Cape became a British colony in 1795.

²³ After they were confirmed as sea rulers in their victory against the Cape Garrison in the battle of Blaauwberg (also see Kriel 2013).

²⁴ He was appointed governor of the Cape colony from 1811–1814.

²⁵ The Netherlands signed off the Cape and declared it a Cape colony.

onwards, anglicisation policies were officialised, and English became the official language of the Cape colony.

Despite the hostility and subjugation²⁶, the Dutch remained in the Cape under British rule and government—at least for the time being. Cape Dutch received derogatory names, and its use as an instruction medium in schools was prohibited (Louw 2004: 44). English was further proclaimed in the courts in the late 1820s onwards and made the sole language of parliament in 1853. Within a short period, English had become the only official language of what would become South Africa.

2.1.4 The 1830–1870 period: the Great Trek, the establishment of Natalia, and British annexation

Of significance, the Dutch-speaking Cape residents had established a sense of communal identity before the initial British invasion in 1795. They were land-centred *Boers* (farmers) who shared a common language and similar views on racial superiority and religious beliefs. To the *Boers*, African natives were children of Ham, only “designed by God to labour as the white man’s slaves” (Davidson 1995: 267). In direct contrast to this belief, and as a reaction to it, the British government in the Cape abolished all forms of discrimination against the Khoikhoi, descendants of slaves and African natives under ordinance 50 of 1828. Although slavery was only formally abolished in 1834, in the Cape, the British had laws restricting or limiting the Dutch descendants from gaining free labour from the slaves and the Khoikhoi pastoralists. Consequently, tensions continued to brew until boiling point among the Dutch descendants, and life outside the Cape was seen as the only solution.

According to Loubser (2014), the *Boers’* failure to stomach the pressures exerted by the British and their hostile socioeconomic policies led to a historic movement that would change the face of what is known as South Africa today. This historic movement would come to be known as the *Great Trek*. It was the inward migration of the Dutch/Afrikaans speakers to free themselves from the British and in search of land. Note that the *Great Trek* was not linguistically based against adopting English as the language of administration but a rebellion against class exploitation, abolishment of slavery, access to land²⁷, and feelings of being disempowered among the Dutch

²⁶ Of the Dutch and their language by British imperialists

²⁷ As farmers.

descendants. The movement was triggered by fears of racial integration and the need to resolve the socioeconomic challenges faced under British rule. They rallied along racial lines in search of more land and labour.

Between 1834 and 1840, an estimated 15 000 *Voortrekkers* trekked inland from the Cape frontier into regions independent of British rule. Ostensibly, the *treks* did not occur in the same year and were not under the same leader. In Kriel's account (2021: 1201), major *treks* were spearheaded by Andries Potgieter in January 1836, Gert Maritz in September 1836, Piet Retief in February 1837, Piet Uys in April 1837 and Andries Pretorius in October of 1838. The patriarchs journeyed East of the Cape colony across the Drakensberg Mountain range, with their followers into what is known as the modern-day KwaZulu-Natal²⁸. Despite being primitive and rudimentary, the leaders of the Great Trek managed to have legal structures in place and soon formed the republic of Natalia, with Pietermaritzburg (named after Piet Retief and Gert Maritz) as her capital city.

Despite somewhat successful efforts by the *Boers* (*trekkers*) to free themselves from British rule and form their independent republic²⁹, their challenges were far from over. They had to face the native inhabitants of the land, the AmaZulu, resulting in a lot of bloodshed³⁰. Among the series of wars fought between the two groups, the AmaZulu and the *Boers* (*trekkers*), was the infamous Battle of Blood River, fought on Sunday, 16 December 1838, where the *trekkers* emerged victorious. However, the *trekkers'* victory over the AmaZulu was short-lived, and so was their independence in the Natalia republic. The British continued to be a menace and an excruciating headache in their lives. In 1843, British forces reappeared and annexed Natalia from the *Boers* to form the British republic of Natal. Consequently, members of the defunct *Boer* republic trekked³¹ back across the Drakensberg mountains into the interior of what would come to be known as South Africa. The by-product of the second Great Trek

²⁸ Portuguese explorers first named this coastal area Natalia in 1497 on Christmas day. The word Natal means Christmas in Portuguese.

²⁹ Natal

³⁰ Violent encounters include the execution of Piet Retief's delegation at King Dingane's uMgungundlovu homestead, the murders of trekkers by Zulu warriors, and the retaliation expedition against the Zulu by the trekkers (which resulted in the killing of Uys).

³¹ The trekking back of the Boers would come to be known as "the second Great Trek".

was the establishment of the two Boer republics: ZAR (or Transvaal) and Orange Free State, formed in 1852 and 1854, respectively.

The second Great Trek and later establishment of the two Boer republics³² became a turning point for the *Trekkers* in terms of language in the late nineteenth century. Both republics recognised Dutch as their official language and language of administration. Also, the discovery of diamonds in 1867 in Griqualand West and gold in Witwatersrand encouraged and accelerated economic freedom for the Boers (Kriel 2013: 17)—it boosted their confidence for economic³³ and social upliftment³⁴.

2.1.5 The 1870–1910 period: Activism for recognising Afrikaans as an independent language and establishing the *Genootskap fan Regte Afrikaners* (GRA)

In the early 1870s, almost a century after the initial British invasion, activism for recognising Afrikaans as an independent language gained momentum from the Cape Dutch speakers in the Cape. In August 1875, the GRA³⁵ was established under S.J. du Toit³⁶ in the town of Paarl. The sole purpose of its establishment was to standardise Afrikaans and unify the Afrikaans/Dutch-speaking Boer republics. However, the GRA did not survive its infant stages and ceased to exist in 1878 after only three years. Among other reasons for the GRA's failure was the continued use of Dutch in intimate and public spaces in the Boer republics and the Cape. Despite its futility, S.J. du Toit continued to preach words of national and linguistic uniformity among Afrikaans speakers.

Moreover, the choice to make Dutch the sole official language of the newly formed Boer republics did not go unchallenged. Tensions began between those who favoured Dutch and those who favoured Afrikaans in these republics (Broeder, Extra and

³² ZAR and OFS

³³ "Accounting for 96% of its exports by 1896, gold had transformed the state into southern Africa's wealthiest" (Kriel 2013: 18).

³⁴ They sought to develop Boer capital, social class and economic upliftment.

³⁵ Deumert (1999) further asserts that "The publication of grammar was closely linked to the GRA's national agenda and aimed at establishing Afrikaans as an autonomous language, which had its own rules and was not parasitic on the system of Dutch. Soon the type of language used by the GRA, which was highly uniform and characterised by almost complete regularisation of the verbal system, loss of gender, a pronoun system different from Dutch and specific innovative syntactic features, became known as *Patriots Taal* or *Du Toit Taal* (1999:83).

³⁶ S.J. du Toit was a church minister who later turned into a politician.

Maartens 2002: 28). After all, Cape Dutch³⁷ (later Afrikaans) had developed and started sounding different from proper Dutch (McCormick 2006: 99). Regardless of the tensions, the British's attempt to secure mineral rights (after the discovery of gold and diamonds) in the two independent Boer republics led to anti-English movements among the republicans between 1870 and 1899³⁸, awakening the need for nationalism and ethnic collective. The independent state of Transvaal won the first armed conflict between the Boers and the British, which rapidly led to the growing movement by the Netherlands in support of the Boers. In 1881, the Netherlands' growing support of the Boers saw the formation of the Netherlands South Africa Association. It was aimed at strengthening the transnational ties between the Dutch (in the Netherlands) and their Afrikaner descendants and cousins (Henkes 2016: 5). Inevitably, the outside support of the Netherlands for Afrikaans/Cape Dutch speakers increased the Afrikaners' (Boers') confidence in their quest for unity. Henceforth, the Boers saw the need to have a unique identity with their language and ethnicity that would set them apart from the British (Blaser and Van der Westhuizen 2012: 381; Moodie 1975: 2). It was against this backdrop that the Boers sought to empower white Afrikaans (Cape Dutch) speakers politically and economically.

In the wake of the Anglo-Boer war, also referred to as the South African war (1899–1901), in which the British emerged victorious, anglicisation activities continued to bite the Boers. This time around, it was Alfred Milner's mandate to "turn South Africa into a modern capitalist state with Johannesburg [...Transvaal/ZAR...] as its economic heart and begin the process of sweeping away pre-modern black and Boer pastoralism" (Louw 2004b, in Kriel 2013: 236). His language in education policy was clear: "Dutch should only be used to teach English, and English to teach everything else" (cited in Kriel 2018: 146; Davenport & Sanders 2000: 239). The anglicisation did not bear the intended fruits; it only contributed to shaping a distinct Afrikaner identity by triggering the second Afrikaans language movement within the Boer colonies (Kriel 2018: 146).

The need for recognising Afrikaans as an independent language grew immensely in the Boer republics of Transvaal and the Orange Free State. Consequently, prominent

³⁷ Also given the fact that there were movements that were in favour of it.

representatives³⁹ of these republics established *Die Afrikaanse Taalgenootskap* (ATG) or Afrikaans Language Society on 13 December 1905, followed by establishing the *Die Afrikaanse Taalvereniging* (ATV) [The Afrikaans Language Association] in November 1906.

In 1909, the *Zuidafrikaanse Akademie Voor Taal Letteren en Kunst* was founded, primarily aiming to promote Dutch languages⁴⁰ and produce serious literature—literature intended for the sophisticated who could read and write—literature covering topics of history, politics, agriculture and different respects of science. In 1914, Afrikaans was introduced in primary schools and “the academy came to the fore as the central agency of language standardisation and elaboration”, and new standard norms were gradually implemented (Deumert 1999: 86).

Over time, the *Oosgrensafrikaans* became the most used language variety of Afrikaans in the everyday interaction between the white Dutch, the African natives, and Malay slaves and formed the foundation of standard Afrikaans. The standardisation of Afrikaans was crucial in the emergence and formation of a new political identity—the Afrikaner identity.

McCormick (2006) indicates that the *Zuid Afrikaanse Akademie Voor Taal, Letteren en Kunst* (The South African Academy for Language, Letters and Arts) was founded to further the standardisation of “what could no longer be referred to as Dutch since it varied so significantly from European Dutch” (McCormick 2006: 99). After all, the academy, only comprising white Afrikaans speakers, sought to promote varieties only spoken by white Afrikaans speakers. Nevertheless, whether the intention was to exclude non-white speakers of Afrikaans, or to develop Afrikaans into an independent language from Dutch, the language standardisation led to linguistic alienation and, to a greater extent, language-internal conflicts (Webb 2002). Therefore, speakers of varieties not favoured during the standardisation process could feel unwanted, alienated and excluded and consequently resent the preferred variety.

As already revealed, the standardisation process of Afrikaans came under scrutiny and criticism because it is/was deemed an exclusion mechanism for non-white

³⁹ Among them were two prominent Afrikaner language activists: J.B.M Hertzog (later became a prime minister) and D.F. Malan (later became minister of the interior, education and public health).

⁴⁰ Afrikaans and Dutch.

Afrikaans speakers. The nonstandard Afrikaans spoken by people of colour are/were dismissed as substandard and impure. Afrikaans was then imbued with nationalist imagery and was represented as a *boerenooi*, a white farm girl representing beauty, resilience, and youth (van der Waal 2012). Furthermore, Afrikaans was labelled a Whiteman's language by an Afrikaans language activist, Langenhoven.

Language standardisation is synonymous with language activism and purification. Here, standardising one linguistic variety "... usually implies the stigmatisation, marginalisation, and exclusion of other varieties, and the disempowerment of their speakers" (Kriel 2018: 145). Simply put, white Afrikaner nationalists standardised Afrikaans (the Eastern Cape variety; one associated with whiteness) with the primary objective of creating an Afrikaner nationalist identity and culture while excluding, stigmatising and marginalising non-white speakers of the language.

Clearly, stigmatisation and exclusion imply issues of race and class-related ideologies, such as the proper, correct and educated uses of language. These ideologies are shaped and perpetuated by the linguistic norms of the powerful group and are based on political rather than linguistic factors. In that sense, language ideologies detect and influence what is to be considered appropriately and properly using a language, and the "... status of dominant groups is often legitimised by language ideologies that link forms of language with 'typical' people and activities, portraying these language practices as more sophisticated and learned" (cited from Wortham 2008, in Cooper 2018: 30).

Standardising a language can also be viewed as an attempt to promote uniformity of circumscribed language varieties linked to a specific group of people and territories and deter speakers from deviation (Milroy 2001). Correspondingly, Hornberger (2000) and Milroy (2001) agree that the concept of standard implies a degree of attainment and that "... a standard or benchmark has been reached, endorsing particular versions of language [... varieties ...] as more prestigious than other varieties" (Cooper 2018: 31), highlighting the hierarchical, racial and class divisions resulting from standardising Afrikaans.

Additionally, Afrikaner nationalism only mobilised the Afrikaners (whites) in the speech community (while excluding coloureds), and Afrikaans was manipulated to serve the

Afrikaners' selfish needs (Odendaal 2013: 186). Similarly, Alexander (2013) remarks that

This is very clear in the case of so-called standard languages, as opposed to nonstandard varieties (dialects, sociolects). The former are invariably the preferred varieties of the ruling class or ruling strata in any given society. They prevail as the norm because of the economic, political-military, or cultural-symbolic power of the rulers, not because they are 'natural' in any meaning of the term (Alexander 2013: 55).

Therefore, the standard variety of Afrikaans is perceived as ideal, and it sits at a politically privileged position. One must speak and write in this variety to be considered knowledgeable and educated (Odendaal 2013), leaving the impression that knowledge of standard Afrikaans is not acquired through its use but by studying its grammar and lexicon. Since this variety only caters for a specific group of people, it can be understood as a gatekeeper and a cultural yardstick symbolising the social and educational standing of the speaker. Therefore, no matter how one perceives standard language varieties, "it is clear that these languages [... varieties ...] discriminate against minorities and marginalised groups" (Odendaal 2013: 186). This stands as a standardisation's social and educational implications among nonstandard Afrikaans speakers.

2.1.6 The 1910–1919 period: the formation of the Union of South Africa

Following the defeat of the Afrikaner by the British in the Anglo-Boer war of 1899–1902, a Union of South Africa was proposed and eventually formed in 1910. The Union was under the leadership of the South African Party (SAP), with Louis Botha as its prime minister and Jan Smuts as his right-hand man (Kriel 2013: 20; Giliomee 2003: 7; van der Merwe & Petrus 2009: 63). Members of this Union were primarily white and comprised English and Dutch/Afrikaans speakers (Afrikaans was still in the crawling stages of becoming a language). In the Cape colony, only "one-tenth of the voters were coloured, and one-twentieth were African" (Kriel 2013: 23). Kriel further elaborates on the demographics of the voting situation in the Cape: 80% of the voters were white men, 13% were coloured men and only 2.25% black men were allowed to vote. However, Dutch speakers (Afrikaners) were slightly more than English speakers (the British) in numbers in the Union. With the British being language-centred, the

language of administration question was inevitable. In other words, which language between English and Dutch would be used as the language of administration within the Union? The language question became a significant challenge for the Union, given the concomitant negative attitudes that the British (English speakers) held towards the variety of Dutch (Afrikaans) spoken by the Afrikaners. Even at this stage, they perceived Afrikaans as a kitchen, hotchpotch, degenerate and decaying language only fit for “peasants and up-country kraal” (Giliomee 2003: 7). Despite a franchise being reached between the two white groups, the British and the Afrikaners, it did not extend beyond racial lines. Simply put, it was only reserved for white men.

Nevertheless, General J.B.M Hertzog, a leading Afrikaner nationalist from the Orange Free State, proposed that English and Dutch be afforded equal rights, freedom and privileges and that the languages be treated equitably (Giliomee 2003: 276; Keuris 2009: 8). The initiative was further supported by the former president of the Orange Free State, Marthinus Theunis Steyn, who urged the then government to place the two languages “on a footing of absolute equality in Parliament, in the Courts, in the schools and the public service – everywhere” (cited in Giliomee 2003: 7).

With time, Hertzog’s dream of seeing English and Dutch as the official languages of the Union of South Africa was soon realised. According to Giliomee (2003), since the speech delivered by Steyn in Article 137 of the Union Constitution, the proposal for an English/Dutch language situation was accepted without rebellion, and it decreed that

Both the English and Dutch languages shall be official languages of the Union and shall be treated on a footing of equality and possess and enjoy equal freedom, rights and privileges; all records, journals and proceedings of Parliament shall be kept in both languages, and all Bills, Acts and notices of general public importance or interest issued by the Government of the Union of South Africa shall be in both languages (cited in Giliomee 2003:7).

Accordingly, English and Dutch were recognised as the only official languages of white South Africa (Giliomee 2003: 7; Kriel 2013: 35; Orman 2007: 113). However, accepting Dutch as the Union’s other official language did not come without challenges. It turned out that Dutch (Afrikaans) speakers would learn English, and most English speakers would remain monolinguals. Giliomee (2003) and van der Merwe (2009) concur that English speakers were over-represented in the civil service, the managerial levels

(positions) of the economy and the leadership positions of the trade union movement, and the English speakers vehemently opposed every effort to use Dutch in the public sphere. As Englenburgh (in Giliomee 2003), Louis Botha's biographer puts it,

It should not be forgotten that whereas the fathers of the Constitution accepted the absolute equality of both languages in all good faith, English-speaking South Africa never took the matter seriously. Bilingualism was regarded as nothing more than a polite gesture towards the other section – neither more nor less (cited in Giliomee 2003: 8).

According to van der Merwe (2009), the average English-speaking South African was inclined to regard each political recognition of the Dutch language as a menace to the interests of his group. For most English South Africans, the good Afrikaner was willing to trade his language and worldview for English and a British way of life. Afrikaners who fought British re-socialisation were labelled as radicals and reactionaries. The British accepted the functional bilingualism from the Afrikaners with the primary aim of preventing them from using their language (Dutch) as a mobilising device.

From Giliomee's (2003) account, Louis Botha, as the prime minister of the Union of South Africa, was an Afrikaner who spoke Cape Dutch (later Afrikaans) and was very proud of his language and Afrikaner heritage. He never intended to enforce the language (Afrikaans) on English speakers. He had no taste in enforcing equality in these languages in practice and stated that "the language issue would resolve itself naturally, and [...] the fittest language [...] would [...] survive" (in Giliomee 2003: 8). This automatically meant that English would continue being the dominant language of the two. English speakers (the British) would continue being the dominant ethnic group in the civil service.

Language can be used to unify a nation or an ethnic group (Chauke 2020). However, for the Afrikaner to unite, they had to have a common language that would accommodate everyone regardless of their social status, both the poor and elite Afrikaners (Begg 2011: 158; Keuris 2009: 8). Besides, the only difference between Afrikaners and the British, apart from their country of origin, was language, and language was the only fundamental aspect that would set them apart as a nation free of British rule. Although a vision of national consciousness existed in their minds, Afrikaans was still not regarded of equal status and authority with English and Dutch—

it was still deemed a language of the least sophisticated and uneducated. The British's perception of Afrikaans resulted in some Afrikaner activists calling for recognising Afrikaans as a national language (Seegers 1993: 478). As noted by Giliomee (2003), Dutch was a foreign language to most Afrikaners—they could not read, write and speak it properly. Consequently, a man by the name of Cornelis Langenhoven proposed that because Dutch was foreign to the masses, it should be replaced by Afrikaans as an official language, and Afrikaans should be used for all purposes. He insisted that Afrikaans be introduced in schools, leading to the development of its written form and encouraging adults to want to learn how to write it. He also constantly spread the gospel of Afrikaans as the language of the Afrikaners, representing their origin and forming part of their heritage (Giliomee 2003: 10–11).

Campaigns for recognising and respecting Afrikaans as an independent language by the Afrikaner elite gained momentum. In 1913, Reverent Tobie Muller decreed that:

[... The Afrikaner's ...] environment tells them slowly but surely that they are on a lower level than their English-speaking countrymen and the foreigners they encounter. This is also a result of the Afrikaner's own tendency to regard Afrikaans as a kitchen language and to scorn it because it is not Dutch. This attitude has already produced more poor whites and good-for-nothings in our country than we can imagine (cited in Begg 2011:158).

This speech encapsulated a critical element of negative self-perception among the Afrikaner and encouraged them to uplift their language to the level of functionality. In the turn of events, the following year, 1914, after the speech by Rev. Muller, saw Hertzog break away from the SAP to establish the National Party (NP) in Bloemfontein (Kriel 2013: 36; Dobosova 2009: 314; Begg 2011: 164). The former Afrikaner Boer republics strongly supported this establishment as it represented new nationalist ideologies that sought to favour them (Afrikaners). Moreover, the NP was formed with the prime intention to create an Afrikaans-speaking nationalist group—a new political white community with an own name, culture, religion, ethnicity and language. They sought to create a white republic independent of British rule—a republic with Afrikaans as its primary language of administration in parliament, court of law, science literature, newspapers, novels and even as the only instruction medium in schools (Begg 2011: 156).

Since the language issue was close to Hertzog's heart⁴¹, the NP was used as the spearhead of the Afrikaans language movement (Giliomee 2003: 11; Schuster 2016: 12). Henceforth, activists for Afrikaans used the party as a vehicle for the Afrikaans movement in the twentieth century (Giliomee 2003: 11). As concluded by van der Westhuizen (2007), the NP represented the beginning of the political organisation of Afrikaner nationalism and "... Afrikaans was standardised and became a powerful ethnic and cultural mobiliser" (van der Westhuizen 2007: 12). The promotion of Afrikaans became the National party's central mandate under Hertzog.

2.1.7 The 1919–1948 period: Afrikaners' racial capitalism and empowerment

Nevertheless, the SAP ruled the Union of South Africa for 14 years with Botha as prime minister. In 1919, Botha died, and Smuts became the automatic replacement as the Union's prime minister. As Kriel (2013:28) recounts, "this period in South African history saw the consolidation of a racially segregated state with an economy based on racial capitalism". This period marked a turning point for the Afrikaner and Afrikaans. According to van den Heever (1987),

under Dr Malan and his successors, the Nationalist Party Government enforced the policy of Apartheid with unprecedented vigour and precision. Their aim was to keep South Africa white by entrenching the privileged position of the white population and by permanently keeping Africans in an inferior position. This could only be attained by separating whites from blacks and by reserving certain jobs, particularly top jobs and skilled ones for the whites (cited in Wills 2011: 46).

Of significance, or perhaps worth mentioning, are the political events occurring among prominent Afrikaner nationalists that contributed to paving the way for the apartheid state of South Africa. In other words, events that promoted and elevated Afrikaans as the primary language of administration. In 1923, Hertzog's Afrikaner NP and the Labour Party (predominantly English), under the leadership of Colonel F.P.H Cresswell, merged to form one party, with Hertzog as prime minister. Despite being a whites-only party, as a strategy to win the upcoming 1924 elections, the merger

⁴¹ Smuts also.

recruited coloured and native⁴² (black) voters. After winning the 1924 elections, Hertzog implemented Laws and Acts catering to the needs of white South African citizens. Among the Laws introduced were the Wage Act of 1925, which protected the needs of white unskilled workers, and the Colour Bar Act of 1926, which made skilled and semi-skilled positions only for whites. The position of people of colour in Hertzog's government was never made secret. While introducing the above-mentioned laws, he decreed that "the natives cannot blame us if we look after the interests of our people first" (cited in Kriel 2013: 34). Hertzog's ascendance to power did cater to the Afrikaners' needs and language. It was under Hertzog's prime ministership that Afrikaans was recognised as an official language in 1925.

In the few years leading to the 1929 elections, Hertzog jettisoned the Labour Party. After that, the NP was overtly an Afrikaner nationalist party, with Afrikaans as its core relic. After their victory in the 1929 elections, the NP further introduced Laws and Acts segregating people of colour.

Hertzog and the NP were all well until the Great Depression and drought outbreaks. For the most part, poor white farmers and unskilled labourers became even poorer, destabilising the country. It became even more challenging for Hertzog to steer a country greatly hit by the Great Depression. Therefore, a coalition between Hertzog's NP and Smuts' SAP was necessitated to stabilise the situation. The two parties were fused to form the United South African National Party (shortened for UP) in 1934. The prime minister remained Hertzog, with Smuts as his right-hand man. According to Kriel (2013:40), members of the NP who perceived Smuts as an imperialist and a pro-big-capitalist broke away from the newly formed party to establish the GNP spearheaded by D.F Malan.

In the aftermath of the Second World War (1939), Smuts defeated Hertzog in the parliamentary vote on 4 September 1939. Nevertheless, nine years later, D.F. Malan's GNP defeated Smuts' UP at the polls, marking the beginning of the apartheid regime.

Apartheid was an offspring of racial segregation introduced in South Africa by Dutch-speaking descendants (some of German and French descent) of the earlier colonisers, the Boers or Afrikaners. The gradual construction of the Afrikaner identity in the late

⁴² Despite being permitted to vote, coloureds and natives could only vote for white candidates (Kriel 2013: 33).

nineteenth century meant a political unity distinguishing white Afrikaans speakers from others based on ethnicity and race. This basis saw whites perceiving themselves as superior and preferential treatment based on physical appearance. This view was further accentuated by the government's policy, which laid the foundation of a racially stratified society where whites received exclusive benefits and privileges, whereas non-white groups (including coloureds and Indians) were regarded as minions.

The envisaged consolidation of the Afrikaners and the marginalisation of African natives were soon realised. When the NP shockingly won the elections by a small margin in May 1948, they declared Afrikaans as the primary official language of South Africa (Beukes 2007; Kriel 2013: 63; Orman 2007:113; Giliomee 2003: 15; Schuster 2016: 13; Begg 2011; Welsh 2009: 146). The NP's victory also meant a victory for Afrikaner Nationalism and the ascendance to political power of a combination of white workers, bourgeoisie and farmers bound by an Afrikaner nationalist ideology (Christie & Collins 1982: 66; Maylam 1995: 28). In other words, Afrikaner nationalism was effectively built by employing their language, Afrikaans, and the state power was used to use the language situation to implement their divide and rule policy.

In the same year, the NP introduced a racial segregationist ideology known as apartheid, classifying people according to race, i.e., skin colour became the critical fault line of social division and all South Africans were registered by race (black, white (English and Afrikaans-speaking), coloured (mixed race/ancestry) and Indian). Racial differentiation was implemented and institutionalised through the population registration Act of 1950. According to Beinart and Dubow (1995), segregation is more than a panoply of restrictive legislation, "it refers as well to a composite ideology and set of practices seeking to legitimise social difference, and economic inequality in every aspect of life" (Beinart & Dubow 1995: 4). The ideology of social difference and equality excluded blacks from skilled work and was determined by custom and legislative bars.

Racial differentiation represented different things for different groups. (i) Africans/blacks became the pool of cheap unskilled and semi-skilled (very few) labour on which the economy was built and primarily worked in the mines or industries in the cities i.e., Pretoria and Johannesburg. Few were afforded the privilege of entering law, liberal studies, engineering and medical studies. Those who remained in the rural

areas worked on white-owned farms. (ii) Coloureds were primarily semi-skilled or foremen, and held junior managerial positions in industry, particularly in the Cape area. (iii) Indians were the descendants of indentured Indian labour recruited for the sugar plantations. Some free immigrants were traders and shopkeepers. (iv) Many Afrikaners were still farmers, but some had become urbanised because of the world economic depression in the 1930s. The economy was in the hands of the Afrikaners and the English-speaking South Africans (whites). (vi) English-speaking South Africans were white South Africans of British descent, were mostly urbanised and wealthier than the Afrikaners, and held managerial positions in the civil service. The primary aspects distinguishing the British (English-speaking whites) from the Afrikaner were their descent, settlement area, history, and language. Racial differentiation was designed to protect the white control of other races and enforce segregationist laws and policies that would subjugate and discriminate against people of colour. According to Beinart and Dubow (1995), Afrikaners (whites) saw a permanent black urban proletariat living in poverty as a crucible for trade unionism because it represented a dangerous threat to social order. In that way, skilled jobs were strictly allocated to whites, and they were granted special political concessions. Racial oppression and economic exploitation worked hand in hand, and the idea behind the policy of apartheid was not justice or equality for Africans, but rigid control over them to keep them in perpetual subjection and serfdom.

Apartheid has always been a challenging phenomenon to define since it has always been used to refer to all the colonial practices that came into being since the arrival of whites in the Cape. Nevertheless, Borstelmann (1993) sees apartheid as a more rigorous system of segregation, which accelerated the country's racial polarisation. Beinart and Dubow (1995) view apartheid as "... an attempt at labour differentiation: the control of African urbanisation and redistribution of labour between different sectors of the economy, rather than a wholesale extension of migrant labour" (Beinart & Dubow 1995: 14). Racial segregation was not a novel practice in 1948; there had been Acts and Laws passed by the Union of South Africa depriving black people of equal human rights because their white counterparts prohibited them (blacks) from land ownership. Apartheid was a mere elaboration of earlier segregationist measures and policies.

Correspondingly, the period between 1910–1948, generally referred to as the “segregation era/segregation period” in South Africa, paved the way for and set a scene for later policies of apartheid (Wolpe 1972). The word segregation came into common use after forming the Union of South Africa in 1910, and the South African Labour Party was the first to use it in its manifesto in 1910. In 1911, blacks were relegated to cheap labour, which became the cornerstone of job reservations in railways and mines. In 1913, blacks and whites acquired and occupied land in separate designated areas, followed by the promulgation of the pass laws inhibiting the free movement of blacks in urban areas. In 1923, the Urban Areas Act extended the principle of segregation to urban Areas. In 1924, the earnings and position of skilled white workers were safeguarded on racial grounds (Will 2011: 23). Additional land for blacks was allocated to promote the government’s principle of separate homelands. In 1913, the Native Laws Amendment Act extended and strengthened urban segregation and influx control of blacks. In 1948, the Labour Party policy advocated for social and residential separation of the European (English and Afrikaners) and non-European races (Wills 2011: 24; Norval 1996).

Therefore, white domination and depriving equal rights for Africans had already been in operation long before 1948. This systemised racial discrimination in South Africa dates to the colonial rule of the first Dutch settlers at the Cape and the establishment of Table Bay. According to Mhlawuli, Salani and Mokotedi (2015), establishing a fort at Table Bay was the beginning of racial segregation against the local inhabitants of the early Cape pastoralists, as they were denied access to grazing meadows and water resources. In some situations, settler commandos stole their animals. Welsh (2009: 146) provides an interesting claim by indicating that Governor Jan van Riebeeck, after declaring the Cape as a white colony, had ordered that a fence separating blacks and whites be built in Cape Town. Racial differentiation and exclusion were fundamental for Jan van Riebeeck and his employer (VOC) In 1655, he claimed,

Only last night it happened that fifty of these natives wanted to put up their huts close to the banks of the moat of our fortress, and when we told them in a friendly way by our men to go a little further away they declared boldly that this was not our land but theirs and that they would place their huts wherever they chose (cited in Marais et al.1990:2).

Building on Van Riebeeck's mandate of racial separation and exclusion, the upcoming generation of white Afrikaans speakers systematically curtailed black's freedom of movement during the last part of the eighteenth to the early nineteenth century (Wills 2011: 21). Accordingly, Cecil John Rhodes proclaimed,

We are to be lords over them. Treat the natives as a subject people as long as they continue in a state of barbarism and communal tenure; be the lords over them and let them be a subject race (cited in Wills 2011: 22).

The works of Beinart and Dubouw (1995) and Wills (2011) suggest that apartheid became the slogan bringing Afrikaner nationalism to power and became a thorough form of racial segregation that built upon previous and customary discrimination. The system was primarily put in place to implement policies that would exclude and subjugate blacks, Indians and people of colour while favouring the white race, particularly those who speak Afrikaans. Thus, apartheid built on but substantially modified the existing problems of segregation, and new patterns of urban and rural segregation were generated, changing the political scene and defining the landscape of South Africa. At the same time, they further instituted new regimes of urban regional planning.

As highlighted, the NP did not invent nor introduce racial segregation, but the state's comprehensive racialised segregation became institutionalised when the party took office in 1948 (Welsh 2009: 146; Worden 1994). Therefore, the already long-standing segregation and white domination were increasingly legitimised, codified and enforced. This codification of racial segregation was influenced by the emergence of Afrikaner nationalism, an ideology that sought to promote Afrikaner (white) supremacy while opposing British invasion and anglicisation and the threat from blacks resisting subordination. During this period, the Afrikaner nation endured harsh treatment ⁴³by the British, who ruled them throughout the nineteenth century. They maintained their identity by maintaining their language (Afrikaans) and religion, and in this way,

⁴³ Despite the British victory over the Boers in the Second World War, the Boer forces refused to surrender. Consequently, the British, under the stewardship of Lord Kitchener, adopted the Scorched Earth policy that destroyed Boer farms (including farmhouses) and executed Boer rebels and prisoners. Furthermore, the policy led to the construction of concentration camps that separated civilians from guerrilla fighters.

cultivating a sense of oneness (Afrikaner Nationalism) (Moodie 2020; Worden 1994 in Mhlawuli, Salani & Mokotedi 2015: 205).

This meant that winning the elections would enable them to steer the country how they wished. Their goal was to take over the country from the British (English speaking) and implement policies promoting Afrikaner Nationalism and their language, Afrikaans. They would be able to control the country's economy and enforce Afrikaans as a lingua franca among black, Indian, and people of colour. Therefore, there had to be a system elevating the Afrikaners (whites) over the other racial groupings through economic and political deprivation.

Racial segregation was systematised and developed during the early 1950s through a series of Laws and Acts that called for the management of blacks in urban areas through what they considered proper urban planning (Kriel 2013: 71). The NP's proper urban planning pointed to keeping the urban areas of the country white, and blacks would only visit when necessary. Within the country's white areas, the activities of black people were highly controlled and restricted. They were not allowed to reside in their work areas but only in their designated homelands and townships. According to Krantz (2008: 291), similar but less strict restrictions were applied to coloured and Indian populations. Although this idea partly worked, total segregation was impracticable, and the government sought to introduce new laws and policies that would completely wipe out Africans from the urban areas. Henceforth, the NP devised strategies and policies that would restrict, limit and control the movement of blacks, coloureds and Indians in urban areas—it sought to segregate blacks from areas of government, residency and the labour market (Mhlawuli, Salani & Mokotedi 2015: 205–7).

2.2 The apartheid policies, Acts and legalised framework

In order to control the economic, social, and political structures of the country, the National Party had to implement policies and a legalised framework. That is, a series of legislative Acts and laws that sought to remove and restrict the rights of non-whites in every possible sphere was put in place (Miller 2015:5–8; Beinart and Dubow 1995: 3). The fact that apartheid lasted for nearly a half of a century (1948–1994) led to the

introduction, revision and implementation of different laws. To better understand what each phase of apartheid stood for and represented, Welsh (2009) divides the apartheid period (era) into three stages:

- (i) When the National Party increased its power and set about strengthening the already existing segregation (these include the 1911 Mines and Works Act, (which was segregation in employment), the 1913 Native Land Act (segregation in the countryside and the prohibitions on African land purchase), the 1923 Natives urban areas Act (urban residential segregation), the 1936 Representation of Natives Act (abolition of the remnant African franchise) and the 1936 Native Trust and Land Act (an elaboration of the 1913 Land Act) and extending it to nearly all areas of life between 1948–1950.
- (ii) 1959–1956 when ‘Bantustans’ were established, and Africans were encouraged to ‘develop along their own lines’(self-govern).
- (iii) (iii) 1966–1994, a period of intensified measures created to support the government, which was followed by the gradual erosion of apartheid.

When the segregationist policy of apartheid was proposed, J.C Smuts welcomed it with both hands. He asserted that:

We have always stood, and we stand for social and residential separation in this country, and for the avoidance of all racial mixture (J.C Smuts, cited in Marais et al., 1990: 4).

As a result of Smuts’ vision of a non-racial mixture, and social residential separation, the initial step that the apartheid government took was to institutionalise a clear-cut racial differentiation. Once this was in place, they introduced the (1) Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act of 1949. This act outlawed marriages and sexual intercourses between whites and other races i.e., blacks, coloureds and Indians. To borrow the words of Pienaar (2016: 93), “[i]n the first half of the twentieth century, concepts of marriage were directly affected by new legislation that sought to regulate sexual conduct in manifold ways, including outlawing sexual contact between people of different races and sex between men”. This was supplemented by the (2) Immorality Amendment Act of 1950 which prohibited sexual relationships between black and

white people and carried a punishment of 6 months hard labour. The immorality Act was:

The fear of being overrun, the fear of losing the purity that was supposed to guarantee their superior position, the fear of cultural genocide through intermingling-these anxieties were always present [...] Whiteness in South Africa has always, at least in some part, been constellated around discourses of resistance against a constant threat; it was a bulwark against what at some level was sensed to be the inevitable (Keuris 2009: 9).

The (3) Population Registration Act of 1950 classified the population into racial categories. In other words, every South African was categorised into one of the groups (Black, White, Coloured and Indian) and every person was recorded on the national register as per their race. This law was further emphasised in August 1966 and made it compulsory for all citizens over the age of 16 to carry identity books everywhere, and to show these when asked to do so by authorised personnel. Race became one of the entries on the identity book. The Group Areas Act (4) of 1950 was a revision of the Native Land Act of 1913 and Native Urban Areas Act of 1923. These Acts built upon the history of colonial intervention and dispossession of African land as a means of reducing Africans to mere labourers for the colonial economy (Feinberg 1993 in Mphambukeli 2009: 2). Still on the Group Areas Act, it stipulated that each group must live in specifically demarcated areas. This Act permitted the government to designate some areas for 'whites only'. The Suppression of Communism Act (5) of 1950 prohibited any forms of communism, and any political groups wanting to 'bring about political change by disturbing the peace' (Welsh 2009: 146). The Native Laws Amendment Act (6) of 1952 tightened the rules regarding the movements of black people in and out of the urban areas(cities). In this Act, blacks could not remain in an urban area for longer than 72 hours without a special permit stating that they were legally employed. The Act indicated that "...no African, male or female, who had not been born in an urban area could live there unless he/she had lived there continuously for 15 years or worked for the same employer for 10 years" (Clark and Worger 2011: 50).

Accordingly, the Abolition of passes and Co-ordination of documents Act (7) of 1952 meant that black people living in urban areas, areas designated for whites, would carry passbooks (dompas) everywhere they went. These passbooks would include the citizen's photograph, address, marital status, employment record, list of taxes paid, influx control endorsements, and rural district where the citizen resides (Clark and Worger 2011:50). Any black person found not in possession of their 'dompas' would be sentenced and charged. The Reservation of Separate Amenities Act (8) of 1953 enforced segregation in the use of public facilities and ensured that both black and white knew where they should go and where not to. 'No blacks permitted,' 'whites only,' and 'non-Europeans only' signs were posted everywhere in public locations. These signs were put up in train stations, parks, shopping malls, post offices, cinemas, restaurants, sport facilities and beaches. The best facilities were reserved for white people only.

Following the Separate Amenities Act was the Bantu Education Act whose apparatus functioned to reproduce the relations of production necessary for the continued exploitation of black people in South Africa (Enslin 1984: 140–141; Wills 2011:1). Because the government perceived Africans as 'childish' and belonging to a 'cultural infancy', they sought to provide them with guidance of the superior white culture (Wills 2011: 2). This ideology was to be taught in schools, and this education system contributed towards "the reproduction of unskilled or semi-skilled black labour power in schools, appropriate to the division of labour in South Africa and to the accompanying exploitation of black workers" (Wills 2011: 2). The Bantu Education Act is significant in this thesis in that it was under this Act that Afrikaans was enforced on black students, which subsequently led to the Soweto uprising of 1976. For that reason, this Act is discussed in detail in the section below.

2.3 The Bantu education Act

The Bantu Education Act was implanted in state funded black schools (run by missionaries). According to Moore (2015) these English missionary schools were seen as being responsible for producing "worrying", "capable", well-spoken, and intelligent

black political and consciousness leaders who had permeated South African society. This was seen by the apartheid government as a threat to their job security of the white labourers who were not as educated as their black counterparts. To destabilise and put a stop to this, the Bantu education Act (9) was introduced (amended in 1954, 1956, 1959, and 1961) at the second session of the 1953 parliament, aimed at positioning black people at the periphery of the educational structure, which would implant Afrikaner hegemony. During the course of this parliament sitting, the minister of Native Affairs, Hendrik Verwoerd made it clear that:

When [...he has...] control of Native education [he] will reform it so that natives will be taught from childhood to realise that equality with Europeans is not for them...people who believe in equality are not desirable teachers for Natives...When [his] department controls native education it will know for what class of higher education a Native is fitted, and whether he will have a chance in life to use his knowledge (Marais et al., 1990:3).

Because education was a crucial role player of apartheid, the government controlled what black people should and should not be taught by providing them very limited and practical education (Welsh 2009: 147; Christie and Collins 1982: 69). This limited education meant that Africans would be unskilled (few were semi-skilled), would only do hard manual labour, and advanced education was deemed unnecessary for them (Wills 2011: 2; Worden 1994 in Mhlawuli, Salani and Mokotedi 2015: 205; Welsh 2009: 147–148). As the great architect of the Bantu Education Act, Hendrik Verwoerd openly put it:

There is no place for the African in the European community above the level of certain forms of labour. It is of no avail for him to receive a training which has its aim, absorption in the European community (Senate Debates June 7, 1954, cited in Wills 2011: 3).

Judging by the sentiments above, for Verwoerd (minister of Native Affairs) and his government (NP), Bantu education was instigated to only provide basic training for manual, low status, and low-income jobs. That is, the Bantu education policy was enacted to solve the high demand for labour, and to control blacks in urban areas. The

industrial growth led to the demand of semi-skilled machine operators, and this meant that more black people had to be somewhat educated. Even before Bantu Education Act was implemented, Verwoerd made it clear before the Eiselen Commission that:

We should not give the natives an academic education, as some people are too prone to do. If we do this we shall later be burdened with a number of academically trained Europeans and non-Europeans, and who is going to do the manual labour in the country?...I am in thorough agreement with the view that we should so conduct our schools that the native who attends those schools will know that to a great extent he must be the labourer in the country (cited in Christi and Collins 1982: 70; Moore 2015:33).

Not only does the above quote reveal the attitudes of the ruling party towards blacks, it also demonstrates the party's plan and intentions to give blacks the lowest quality education, and prepare them only for their positions as workers on the colour caste lines. It was also made clear by the Christian National Policy that "black pupils should not be prepared for a life of equal opportunities with whites; the preservation of cultural identity should be maintained; and this policy should be administered and organised by whites" (cited in Moore 2015: 33).

Although harsh and segregationist, this system (Bantu education) managed to produce, for the first time, more black students and semi-skilled citizens (Bonner 1993: 401). Regardless of being heavily skewed racially and socially flawed, Bantu education signalled a system of mass primary education for blacks. Thus, "there was an undeniable link between industry and the new educational system" (Phillips 1999: 25). This saw a major increase in the number of black pupils from 800 000 in 1953 to 2, 750 000 in 1970 and the number of black children in secondary school increased from 54 598 to 66 568, and the number of matriculating students also grew from 717 to 1608 (Giliomee 2012: 79; Phillips 1999: 25). It must be understood, however, that the aim of the Bantu education Act, and the increment of the number of black pupils/students was not for the betterment of blacks, but to train them enough to become mere semi-skilled workers who would work in factories, mines and railway stations.

Bantu education was apartheid's strategy to normalise racial differences in a docile form, by stressing cultural differences between blacks and whites, while preparing blacks to accept differences as part of the unchallenged order. Furthermore, Verwoerd used cultural differences to promote and perpetuate a hegemonic design that favoured his own (Christie and Collins 1982). To emphasise the need for separation, he states that:

The Bantu child comes to school with a basic physical and psychological endowment which differs so slightly, if at all, from that of the European child, that no special provision has to be made in educational theory or basic aims ...but education practice must recognise that it has to deal with a Bantu child, i.e. a child trained and conditioned in Bantu culture, endowed with a knowledge of a Bantu and imbued with values, interests and behaviour patterns learned at the knee of a Bantu mother. These facts must dictate to a very large extent the content and methods of his early education (cited in Christi and Collins 1982: 69).

Verwoerd never minced his words regarding the position of educated blacks in society. He unequivocally states that "better blacks would not be able to get higher-level jobs in the so-called white areas" (Giliomee 2012: 85). Through these sentiments, he was expressing his view of black minds as being inferior and its inability to be on the same level as that of whites. Therefore, by implementing Bantu education, the government was looking to expand its workforce, by getting black students through school.

Moreover, this policy of separate schooling and curriculum on the basis of race introduced a curriculum which emphasised 'Bantu culture'. According to Verwoerd during the senate debates of 7 June 1975, "...education should stand in both feet in the reserves and have its roots in the spirit of and being of Bantu society" (cited in Wills 2011: 3). Verwoerd's intentions with black education were clear: to preserve the general status quo and to prevent black agitation. Africans were encouraged to self-educate; a myth of self-development created for the black majority in the townships and rural areas, to make them have a myopic view within the broader context of South Africa (Worden 1994). Henceforth, mother-tongue education was implemented in black schools, and they (blacks) were taught in their own languages; not in English

and/or Afrikaans. Africans started receiving their primary education in their mother tongue (L1) (Wills 2011: 3).

Although the greatest deception given to black people through the introduction of Bantu education was that they would 'develop along their own lines', the reality is that Bantu education only provided them with limited scientific knowledge. By using their languages as media of instruction in schools, while they lack scientific terminology, they would not be able to capture some of the key scientific terminologies and concepts due to their lack of standard orthography. Thus, the main aim of the Bantu Education policy was to subjugate black people and inflict an economic, political and social inferiority complex. The manipulation of black students by the apartheid government, through the use of Bantu education did not go unchallenged. Different organisation and black consciousness movements began opposing the system, which at a later stage led to protests and riots.

2.4. Black resistance

Bantu education was vehemently opposed by different political organisations, various public forums and the South African Press from its inception (Dlamini 1990: 53). Various meetings of parents, church and mission leaders, and the English press were summoned to oppose this system. The African National Congress, and its associate organisations such as The South African Indian Congress, South African Coloured People's Organisation and the Congress of Democrats (white) were the first to campaign against the Bantu education. They named their campaign "resist apartheid campaign" (Mathonsi 1988: 12). The principal objective of the congress was to eradicate the Bantu education Act, and to protest against the Resettlement Act which sought to remove over 60 000 Africans from the black township of Sophiatown and neighbouring regions and transfer them to Soweto. Furthermore, the resistance against Bantu education escalated in 1954 when students started a boycott in the Witwatersrand on 21 April, an estimated number of 10 000 students from different centres were out. This was later followed by the congress' attempt to form 'cultural clubs', which were suppressed by the government (Dlamini 1990: 54).

The South African Communist Party attempted to work underground by opening night school centres as a counter action against the Bantu education Act, but their initiatives were suppressed by the government. As per Dlamini (1990)'s account, the Cape African Teachers Association (CATA) and the Non-European Unity Movement announced that they were planning on hosting a conference that would implement ways to oppose the Bantu education. The government responded to these plans and oppositions by withdrawing recognition of CATA and bestowing it on Cape African Teachers' Union. Consciousness movements started emerging, amongst those was SASO led by Steve Biko. SASO became influential and encouraged the formation of different groups that sought to oppose Bantu education and the enforcement of Afrikaans in black schools. These were: Black Women's Federation, Black Parents' Association and the Black Priests' Solidarity Group (Hirson 1979: 82). Their mandate was clear: Afrikaans should be removed as a medium of instruction in schools, and only English should be used as the only medium of instruction. In June 1975, *The World*, a newspaper with largest circulation in Soweto supported the opposition of Afrikaans in schools. They wrote:

Why should we in the urban areas have Afrikaans—a language spoken nowhere else in the world, and which is still in a raw state of development, in any case - pushed down our throats? The implications of this new directive are too serious to leave now. We urge parents to join forces with teachers all over the country and fight the directive. The government must be left in no doubt at all about how seriously we view their highhanded action...The situation can only deteriorate further unless the new regulations are scrapped (cited in Ndlovu 2006: 332).

The government vehemently opposed such protests by making it clear that they were not prepared to accede to the request of the Bantu, and they were not planning on having English as the only medium of instruction in schools. In fact, when asked by opposition members of parliament whether they had consulted with the parents, Punt Janson (Deputy minister of Bantu education) had this to say:

Between 60% and 65% of the White population are Afrikaans-speaking. However, we agree to give full recognition to the two official languages. A Black man may be trained to work on a farm or in a factory. He may work for an employer who is either English-speaking or Afrikaans-speaking. Why should

we now start quarrelling about the medium of instruction among the black people as well? ...No, I have not consulted them, and I am not going to consult them. I have consulted the constitution of the Republic of South Africa (cited in Ndlovu 2006: 332).

Punt's disregard of the Bantu's language choices led to the growth and solidarity of black consciousness movements, and the dissatisfaction with Bantu education culminated into what would be dubbed "the 1976 Soweto uprising".

2.5 Pre–1976 plans to enforce Afrikaans on blacks

The development of Afrikaans itself has revealed the unequal power relations between blacks, coloureds, and whites. Wilkins and Strydom (in Ndlovu 2006) reveal in their seminal book about the Broederbond⁴⁴, the secret society behind the promotion and elevation of Afrikaans and Afrikaner nationalism and identity, that there was a secret policy drafted in September 1968, of enforcing Afrikaans on African natives. This secret policy was titled 'Afrikaans as a second language for the Bantu'. It must also be borne in mind that the minister of education at the time, M.C Botha and the minister of Bantu Affairs and Development and his deputies, Janson and A. Treurnicht were prominent members of the Broederbond. According to Ndlovu (2006), the Broederbond "...discussed the importance of imposing Afrikaans on Africans... [...and they...] ...drew attention of [...their...] members to the importance of using Afrikaans to Bantu..." (Ndlovu 2006: 324). One of the Broederbond's documents claimed the following with regards to using Afrikaans as a language of instruction and political economy (as cited in Ndlovu 2006: 325):

- By far, the majority of people in the Republic of South Africa speak Afrikaans, 2.2 million Whites plus 1.5 million coloureds...against 1.2 million English speakers.
- Bantu workers make far more contact with Afrikaans speakers, for example in the mines, industry, farming, commerce, etc.

⁴⁴ Broederbond literally means 'brotherhood' in English. It was an Afrikaner secret society of the intellectual elite that sought to promote Afrikaans and the Afrikaner nationalism.

- Bantu officials and teachers mainly come into contact with Afrikaans-speaking officials and principals.
- Experience has shown that Bantu find it much easier to learn Afrikaans than English and that they succeed in speaking the language purely, faultlessly and without accent. There are even a few Afrikaans-speaking Bantu communities.
- Both lecturing and administrative personnel at the Bantu universities are almost 100 percent Afrikaans-speaking.
- Afrikaans is a language true to South Africa which for many reasons can serve the peculiar requirements of this country.
- White hospital personnel are mainly Afrikaans-speaking.
- The police, with whom Bantu make a lot of contact, are almost all Afrikaans-speaking.
- The white personnel of the Railways are predominantly Afrikaans-speaking.

Thus, the Broederbond identified areas of exploitation with the Bantu and came up with strategies on how to enforce Afrikaans on blacks. They also identified Black schools as a site where Afrikaner hegemony could be implanted by enforcing Afrikaans as a medium of instruction. In their 1968 secret policy (in Ndlovu 2006), it is stipulated that:

- About 3.5 million blacks live on white-owned farms where Afrikaans is the commonly spoken and understood language, and English is seldom used.
- By then (1968) there were 38 000 black teachers employed by the Bantu education department. Of this number, it was estimated that all of them could read and write Afrikaans and they could also teach it as a school subject in primary schools.
- Over 2 million Bantu students were taking Afrikaans as a subject from sub-A to standard 5.
- In all primary schools, black students learn two subjects through the medium of Afrikaans.

The success rate of blacks who use Afrikaans either as a subject at school or as a second language encouraged the government to enforce it. This enforcement accelerated in the early 1970s (Dlamini 1990: 57; Ndlovu 2006: 326).

2.6 The 1976 Soweto uprising

The Bantu education schooling structure introduced and encouraged mother-tongue education in black schools. This meant that black pupils would be taught in their native languages in lower primary schools (grade 1–4) and higher primary schools (grade 5–8) (Christi and Collins 1982: 70). Higher primary was designed to continue the work of lower primary, but with more subjects to be studied (Gardening and Agriculture) and extend some proficiency in English and Afrikaans. According to Wills (2011) English and Afrikaans would gradually be introduced and the media of instruction on the 8th grade (standard 6).

Wills (2011) goes on to indicate that, in 1974, the requirement of the Bantu education Act was that rather than teaching entirely in English, Afrikaans and English should share equal benefits. This imposition meant that education would be divided equally between English and Afrikaans, and they would take the 50-50 approach. This did not only become a challenge for the students, but for teachers too as schools lacked textbooks in Afrikaans to meet the requirement (Dlamini 1990). The available textbooks as observed by Lynn Maree, a lecturer in Education in London (quoted in Moore 2015) depicted black people as useful labourers, dishonest bargainers, foolish farmers, and homeland citizens. On the 16th of June 1976, over 20 000 students from different black consciousness movements in Soweto gathered and began peaceful protests against the use of Afrikaans as the medium of instruction in schools. As the number of protesters escalated, unannounced, police arrived and opened fire at the protesters. This act precipitated a massive flood of violence that led to the protesters burning nearby government buildings (Wills 2011:4; Dlamini 1990: 57). The unwarranted killing of students by the police set off more violent actions by black South Africans in response to the apartheid government (Gorodnov 1988). In other words, what began as a protest against Afrikaans, became a revolt against the Afrikaner government as a whole.

2.7 Status of Afrikaans post-apartheid

Once at the center of South African identity, the Afrikaners now find themselves on the scrapheap, and prone to the same old identity crisis that used to haunt them throughout

the 19th century under British rule, and which was only resolved by the suffering of the Anglo-Boer war (Davies 2009: 87 in Kotze 2013: 27).

The status of Afrikaans in South Africa has changed significantly since the demise of apartheid and the declaration of the new national language policy in 1996 as part of the new democratic dispensation. This demise posed a challenge for the Afrikaners and their language: they had to come to terms with the new state of politics of language (Boersema 2013:25). Many Afrikaans speakers from different races distanced themselves from the language in favour of English as early as 1993 (a year before the democratic government took over). Speakers (non-extremists) did not want to be associated with a language that represented pain, segregation and suffering. To use the words of De Klerk and Barkhuizen (2002: 2) the officialisation of other African languages has had a "...profound effect on the way Afrikaans speakers see themselves and their language, as well as on the status and usage patterns of Afrikaans". The dismantling of apartheid inevitably weakened the Afrikaners, which automatically led to the decline of their language—Afrikaans. Because of the language's close links with Afrikaner nationalism and its government, it has become synonymous with racism in the eyes of the black masses. In other words, Afrikaans carries the responsibility for apartheid in post-apartheid South Africa. The decline of Afrikaans was advocated by the new ruling elite, black South Africans who deployed English as the language of state—administration and lingua franca.

It is usually the case that when a language loses its status and political privilege, negative attitudes towards it follow. This is reinforced by Neethling's (1998) observations that 'Coloured' Afrikaans-speaking "...informants generally expressed positive attitudes towards English and negative ones towards Afrikaans" in the period between 1994–1998 (Neethling 1998: 21). Notably, these data were collected on the onset of the recognition of the other indigenous languages. However, Afrikaans was still deemed necessary for instrumental reasons such as its usage as a medium of instruction in schools and universities, language of the court of law and media. The study conducted by Verwey and Quayle (2012) reveals negative attitudes towards Afrikaner nationalism and culture (including language) by adult Afrikaans speakers. To them, the Afrikaner cultural heritage and language have become synonymous with

racism, hence distancing themselves from it. Above all, they downplay the role of Afrikaans and its importance in the current political dispensation.

A “profound dislocation in Afrikaner identifications” followed the end of apartheid (Loubser 2014: 2), which resulted in Afrikaans once again becoming a site of struggle. It was also dropped as a language of state’s bureaucracy. To put it more simply, provincial and local government dropped Afrikaans completely, and virtually operated in English (Louw 2004: 46). Furthermore, the government pressured companies that previously operated in Afrikaans to switch to English; to accommodate non-Afrikaans citizens. The educational fraternity was no exception in this case; previously Afrikaans-medium universities have been ‘Anglofied’ (Lewis 2002) through enforced mergers with the English medium ones. Admittedly, “...Afrikaners not only have to come to terms with a loss of state patronage, but also face a degree of state hostility directed at their language and cultural forms” (Louw 2004: 46). Evidently, the language suffers from ‘linguistic trauma’ which can be attributed to systems that have been put in place to disempower it.

With the same token, De Klerk and Barkhuizen (2002) assert that the “...loss of status and functional viability can lead to a weakening of language loyalties” (De Klerk and Barkhuizen 2002: 2). A number of scholars have indicated that negative attitudes towards Afrikaans have developed since 1994 (Blaser 2012; Verveij and Quayle 2012 among others). Emphasising this, De Klerk and Barkhuizen (2002:3) write that:

“Recently, however, things have changed radically for Afrikaans, which now finds itself beleaguered and associated with a host of negative connotations...”

Within the continuous evolution of the Afrikaner, new identities are being formed. Kennelly (2005) acknowledges that these new identities can be formed based on the history of the Afrikaans-speaking people and the prestige and hegemony that this language carried. Of particular interest to this thesis, According to Parker (2015) “...collective identity claims of other-than-White speakers of Afrikaans...” also exist (Parker 2015: 18). Moreover, Kotze (2014) states that:

“Afrikaans is a non-racial inclusive language. Large numbers of South Africans speak Afrikaans as a first or second language-regardless of their race” (Kotze 2014: 1).

The Census 2012 findings affirms this in that 1, 5 % (about 600 000) of black South Africans use Afrikaans as their first language. With that being said, it is safe to say that an Afrikaans-speaking identity is not solely race dependant.

2.8 Conclusion

This chapter focused on the historical overview of Afrikaans, and the different stages that the language went through ⁴⁵until its current status and political standing. Although the birth of Afrikaans can be attributed to the language contact situation of the early Cape, its original speakers (people who used it as a creolised form of Dutch to communicate amongst themselves) were people of colour, which makes the language blacker⁴⁶ than it is white. In this chapter, I have outlined how the imposed British imperialism, and its anglicisation policies called for the need for an Afrikaans-speaking nationality, which subsequently led to the formation of the Afrikaner nationalism. It was under the nationalist government of apartheid (from 1948–1994) that policies that sought to promote standard Afrikaans ⁴⁷as the language(variety) of government administration were put in place.

⁴⁵ It went from being the language of power, hegemony and instrumental value to sharing national resources with the other 9 indigenous languages of South Africa.

⁴⁶ Black in this instance includes every non-white person of the early Cape.

⁴⁷ The variety spoken associated with whiteness. It implies issues of exclusion and race.

CHAPTER THREE: LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

3.1 Introduction

The theoretical framework and review of this thesis are rooted in identity as a social construct. Not only are linguistic identities (which are the focal point of this thesis) non-static and fluid, but flexible too. Residents of a particular speech community may transcend beyond their cultural and linguistic confines to reach their communicative goals, which in turn creates new forms of linguistic identities. Of note, linguistic identities are formed in speech communities that use a particular language for both communicative purposes and as a distinguishing factor. For example, the use of Afrikaans as a communicative tool in Levubu. As already indicated, the aim of this study is to investigate the language attitudes of black Afrikaans speakers of Levubu towards Afrikaans in post-apartheid South Africa. Therefore, this chapter discusses and reviews literature relating to language and identity, black Afrikaans identity, and language attitudes. I then provide a chronological order (review) of studies about Afrikaans that have been conducted in both during and post-apartheid South Africa to identify the place for black Afrikaans ⁴⁸speaking identity in the field of sociolinguistics.

Identity theory has always provided a reliable framework for language attitude studies. With that being said, this thesis uses social identity theories formulated by Tajfel and Turner (1978). These theories were further substantially developed by Giles and Sebastian (1982); Tabouret-Keller (1998); Kennelly (2005); Norton (2010); Edwards (2009) among others. Therefore, this study adopts a postmodern approach by investigating the role of language in identity formations. Below, language and identity, as well as language attitudes are discussed as key theoretical tools for this research.

3.2 What is identity?

Prior to discussing the identity concept and the different factors contributing to its construction and relationship with language, it is necessary to begin by defining what identity is, from the viewpoints of different scholars. Although different scholars provide

⁴⁸ I investigate their language attitudes and perceptions towards Afrikaans in post-apartheid, which is a subject that has not been explored and documented.

differing definitions, sometimes antagonistic, this thesis uses definitions that define and discuss identity as a social construct⁴⁹, as performative, non-static, imposed and fluid, and its pivotal relationship with language.

A lot of studies have been conducted on identity (white Afrikaans-speaking identity, 'coloured' Afrikaans identity and Indian Afrikaans-speaking identity) as social constructs and their relationship with language, but only a handful of studies discuss the identity construction as pertaining to black Afrikaans speakers. Of the handful, studies acknowledge the existence of blacks who use Afrikaans as their L1, and how the language is seen as a distinguishing factor, but no recorded studies focus on the attitudes and perceptions of these black Afrikaans speakers towards the language, Afrikaans. Significantly, it is pivotal to delve deeper into the perceptions and feelings of black Afrikaans speakers in post-apartheid South Africa because of the language's diminishing status. Recorded studies on the attitudes and perceptions of coloured, Indian and white Afrikaans speakers point towards the development of negative attitudes towards Afrikaans in post-apartheid South Africa. Again, while this is the case, the focus seems to be on speakers of Afrikaans from other races but black. With that said, in this thesis, I discuss the black Afrikaans-speaking identity, and how language, Afrikaans, is not only used as a medium of communication but also used as both an identity marker and a distinguishing factor of black Levubu residents. Admittedly, if Afrikaans is to be perceived as the non-racialised language (Steyn 2016; Beukes and Pienaar 2014; Webb 2010) that it is, Afrikaans-based studies should include black Afrikaans-speaking identities in South Africa. While there is clear neglect or snub of the black Afrikaans-speaking identity⁵⁰ in scholarship, this study looks deeper into the feelings and perceptions of black Afrikaans speakers of Levubu towards Afrikaans in post-apartheid South Africa. Levubu residents give a holistic picture of their feelings and views towards the language, and how they use it, Afrikaans, to negotiate their identities on a daily basis. Because there is no other recorded study that investigates the language attitudes of black Afrikaans speakers towards Afrikaans, findings in this thesis close the knowledge gap by providing a comprehensive answer with regards to the language attitudes of black Afrikaans speakers of Levubu towards Afrikaans in post-apartheid South Africa. This was

⁴⁹ Constructed in a multilingual setting of Levubu.

⁵⁰ Particularly regarding their attitudes towards Afrikaans post-apartheid South Africa.

achieved by interviewing the selected participants until saturation was reached; allowing for the responses provided to be both reliable and verifiable. It also reveals whether there is a language growth or a language shift among the black Afrikaans speakers of Levubu, considering the fact that there is a change in the status of Afrikaans, in the new political dispensation.

The concept of identity stems from the Latin word *idem* which translates to *sameness*. This concept is widely used in the social sciences, and language attitudes studies to refer to the instinctive perception of the self or a *marker* indicating group membership. While we identify ourselves as individually unique, based on our preferences, individual features, and temperaments, we at some level, identify ourselves with others who share the same values and attributes. In other words, we are because they are, and they are because we are. That said, humans are identified as belonging to, or as being the same as. It is in the societies and speech communities we were born into that we find our sense of belonging and collective identities. For example, members of the same community who speak the same language or language variety.

While this may be the case, identities keep changing and shifting from one place to another with the passage of time. This may include among others our clothing, way of speaking, or even the languages that we speak and identify with. More often than not, people tend to change the languages of their ancestors when they move to another country or region. Even if they retain their L1, the variety they speak will be heavily affected by the predominant language of the area (environment). Issues of language contact and language crossing become inevitable whenever two or more different languages come into contact. One may be born into an environment that uses language A and adopt language B at a later stage due to social and environmental changes.

According to Tabouret-Keller (2007:2) "Identity is endlessly created a new, according to various social constraints (historical, institutional, economic, etc.), social interactions, encounters, and wishes that may happen to be very subjective and unique". Moreover, the term *identity* has connotations of an individual's own subjective sense of self "to personal classification markers that appear as important, both to oneself and to others, and also to those markers that delineate group memberships" (Edwards 2009: 16). These markers may take the form of one's personal way of

speaking, social and linguistic behavior and a way of dress. Of note, identity is not reflected in what one has, but what they do. For example, a black Afrikaans-speaking identity may be reflected in the use of Afrikaans on a daily basis. To put it more simply, one's language choices, idiolect, linguistic variety, and accent may impart their identity in society.

3.3 Defining identity

Every person exploits different layers of identities, forming more or less intricate and encased networks, some parts of which are loose and prone to frequent change and replacement, others being more or less permanent throughout the life span and across social and cultural space. We are identified, and identify ourselves, within the large space of the society of our time, within the different groups – institutional, professional, friends, etc. – we belong to, within the surroundings of our home, our office, our car, our out-of-door outfits, our in-door outfits, etc. A good deal of our overt and covert identities blend symbolic and nonverbal means, certain identifications seem to isolate scopical behavioural elements as if in a postural imitation (cited Tabouret-Keller 2007: 2).

Mendoza-Denton defines identity as “the active negotiation of an individual's relationship with larger social constructs, in so far as this negotiation is signalled through language and other semiotic means. Identity [...] is neither attribute nor possession, but an individual and collective-level process of semiosis” (2001: 475). Bucholtz and Hall (2010), view identity as “...a social positioning of the self and the other...it is socially constructed, self-conscious, ongoing narrative as an individual performs, interprets, and projects in dress, bodily movement, actions, and language”. (Bucholtz and Hall 2010 in Gervasio and Karuri 2019: 43). In simple terms, the definition by Bucholtz and Hall (2010) points to identity as being who an individual is, or the qualities of an individual or group which make them different from others⁵¹; through their linguistic choices. Of note, linguistic choices and preferences are a distinguishing factor of one's identity. Therefore, linguistic identities are revealed through language choices and use.

⁵¹ Those belonging to other groups who speak a different language.

Still on that note, the idea of identity as being what we see ourselves as is also shared by Wu (2011) who asserts that “identity is the way we view ourselves and are viewed by others and it is inextricably tied to the social contexts out of which it arises. It is, furthermore, constructed through a mixture of social practices in which individuals are involved in their daily lives” (Wu 2011 in Kouhpaenejad and Gholaminejad 2014:199). Identity is basically a reflection of how people view themselves, in relation to, or in opposition to others. In light of that, Kim (2003) sees identity as: “...the individual’s concept of the self, as well as the individual’s interpretation of the social definition of the self, within his/her inner group and larger society” (Kim 2003: 3). Clearly, identities are formed unconsciously in social contexts, rather than consciously – identities are unwittingly constructed in a particular social setting (Des Vos 1992).

3.4 Social constructionism as relating to the black Afrikaans-speaking identity

The concept of minority by reference to language groups does not refer to empirical measures, but rather, to issues of power. That is, they are language groups, conceived of social groups, marked by a specific language or culture, that exist within wider societies and states, but which lack the political, institutional and ideological structures which can guarantee the relevance of these languages for the everyday life of members of such groups (Nelde et al. 1996: 1).

As already pointed out, social and personal identities do not exist in a vacuum. They are constructed and re-constructed in social contexts and environments. In constructivist terms, identities are contingent and are subject to change with time. Human beings are subjects of the social environments they belong to or from which they were raised. The social nature of identity does not have a single point or moment of origin but is always being constructed and is not given and fixed but rather is constantly (re)produced in and as performance. Similarly, the black Afrikaans-speaking identity (the minority of the Afrikaans-speaking identity) is also constructed in a social setting, in this case Levubu, which is influenced by both social and political factors. Dekker (2011) and Dyers (2008) aver that the social settings that one is born into consist of already existing categories amongst which language forms an integral part. Our societies are formed by the interplay between our actions and the already

existing social structures (including the language variety already spoken in that particular society), and structures are produced and re-produced.

In fact, human beings are born into already existing structures which form their social and personal identities and “it is through our individual abilities to speak a particular language that we show agency” (Billington, et al, 1998: 246). The idea of agency being reflected by language in a society is also shared by Dekker (2011: 47) who argues that “it is through language that we have the ability to reflect on our lives and social structures into which we were born”. It would be almost impossible to have agency without language, and human beings would not be able to make decisions that inform their identities. Conversely, language enables people to communicate not only their feelings but their identity, too. We know who we are because we know who we are not, and we identify ourselves as this because we are not that. Language is used as an identifier of who we are because our language is different from that of others. Also, we tell people who we are the moment we utter a word in a particular language. Along the same lines, Weedon (1997:28) sees language as an instrument that is used in the construction of identities in society. She also believes that the conscious and the unconscious thoughts, emotions and the sense of self are express through language.

This is also pertinent to the black Afrikaans speakers of Levubu, whom Afrikaans informs their identities. This is to say that their identity is informed by the language that they use in their day-to-day activities, Afrikaans. Therefore, this identity, like any other form of identity, is not linear and straightforward and is constantly changing with time. In other words, I hypothesise that what it was during apartheid and what it is post-apartheid differ significantly due to the changes in the status and the current political standing of Afrikaans. As the pivot of this thesis, I discuss the black Afrikaans identity and how language, Afrikaans, forms its basis.

3.5 Social identity vs. self-identity

Just because we can each say ‘I’ and have separate bodies does not mean that thoughts and emotions are located solely within individuals. Rather, these exist between individuals. Humans are part of shared collective aims, values and experiences (Owen 1995: 3).

Following the aspect of language and identity as a social construct, this section diverts to the aspect of social identity versus self-identity. Although these entities are discussed separately in this thesis, one cannot exist without the other. Having said that, topics of identity are always complex, slippery, non-static, multifaceted and multiple in that, there is no one size fits all approach to them. Identities vary, and they are formed through different factors under different circumstances. Before diving into discussing the differences between social identity and self-identity, I will begin by distinguishing the two as done so in Rummens (2001). The main distinguishing factor(s) is that:

... personal identity may be used to refer to the result of an identification of self, by self, with respect to other...a self-identification on the part of the individual. ... “social identity” may be used to refer to the outcome of an identification of self by other; it is an identification accorded or assigned an individual by another social actor ... Both concepts are clearly distinct from the notion of “self-identity,” which may be defined as the “individual self as reflexively understood by the individual in terms of his/her life history (Rummens 2001:3).

The social identity theory introduced by Tajfel and Turner (1978) claims that individuals classify themselves as belonging to numerous groups such as to a professional group, a fan base of a particular football team or a social club, a book club, a cycling club etc. In other words, when people interact in groups, they think of themselves as part of the groups and conduct themselves as members of that particular group.

Alongside self-categorization, individuals appraise the social groups they feel they belong to (in-groups) and somewhat alienate (distance themselves from) groups they do not consider themselves a member of (out-groups). In that sense, social categorisation, group evaluation, and the value of group memberships for the self-concept constitute an individual's social identity (Trepe and Loy 2017). In essence, social identity depends on an individual's group memberships, and it enables group members to create their place in society as belonging to particular groups.

According to Trepe and Loy (2017) social identity and self-identity are intertwined and cannot be divorced from one another. With that being said, social identity refers to self-descriptions and affiliations regarding group memberships or self-categorisations. In

addition to self-descriptions, social identity can also be imposed by others. What people may identify themselves as or identify with may be different from what others think of them. You may see yourself as this, while others see you as that. For example, in South Africa, there is a 'yellow-bone' identity that is imposed on light-skinned women⁵²(this labelling of light-skinned women is also widespread throughout the African continent). In Zimbabwe they are considered *muroora*, *Mzungu* in Kenya and *tshoko* and *metisés* in the Democratic Republic of Congo). In this imposed form of identity, the light skin⁵³tone is a symbol of beauty and "plays a pivotal role in the social value attributed to women" (Makobela 2019: 1). This is to insinuate that a woman's beauty is socially defined by her skin tone in black communities. Therefore, light-skinned women are generally considered more beautiful than the dark-skinned ones (Collins 2004; Charles 2003; Davis 2015; Hunter 2011; Makobela 2019). Accordingly, children of middle- and upper-class families in black townships and villages are dubbed "*cheeseboy/cheesegirl*". These terms are used to denote their social status and that of their parents who can afford to buy 'cheese'⁵⁴. In like manner, an African, or anyone of African descent, who has culturally shifted from African traditions and practices of their people is termed a '*choc-ice*'. The term is generally understood to mean 'black on the outside, and white on the inside. It denotes the act of 'trying to be white' while the skin tone remains black.

In sociolinguistic terms, black English speakers who are products of former model C schools, with a somewhat white South African English accent are referred to as 'coconuts'⁵⁵by fellow blacks who attended black township and village schools. Again, together with '*choc-ice*' a coconut skin has to be cut out to reveal the white layers inside. The cover is brown, but the contents (juices) are white. Furthermore, in Zimbabwe, the South African version of 'coconuts' is referred to as 'nose brigades'. This is because they speak through "their noses" while others speak through their mouths (Ngcobo 2001). The speaking through one's nose is an imitation of how speakers of English with a 'twang' sound like. It is considered a distinguishing factor

⁵² It is also used to refer to light-skinned men, but it is predominantly used to refer to women with a lighter skin tone.

⁵³ Among black women.

⁵⁴ Cheese is used as a symbol of class because not every household in the black communities can afford to buy it.

⁵⁵ Although similar to a '*choc-ice*', coconut is commonly used in linguistic terms. It implies that someone is brown(black) but they speak like a white person.

of English users among black people in their communities. On that note, Ochs (1993) considers social identity as a cover term for a range of social personae including social status, institutional and other community identities and references by others.

On the other hand, self-identity refers to self-descriptions regarding personal attributes (Trepe and Loy 2017: 6). As Giddens (1991: 53 in Dekker 2011) puts it: Self-identity, then, is not a set of traits or observable characteristics. It is an individual's own reflective understanding of their own life. Self-identity has continuity, in the sense that it cannot be readily changed at a whim, but that continuity is just a result of the person's reflexive ideas about their own biography. A solid self-identity is founded on an account of a person's life, activities, and influences that makes sense to them and can be easily communicated to others. It 'explains' the past and is oriented towards an anticipated future. This claim feeds into Tajfel and Turner's (1978) view that personal identity comprises of the cognitive, emotional and evaluative aspects of an individual's self-concept which derive from their awareness of themselves as a unique human being (Tajfel and Turner 1978: 40). An individual's self-awareness is closely connected with the language that they speak (among other things). Thus, speakers attempt to create their self-identity (ties) and that of others through verbal acts. The emotional aspect of self-identity has been traditionally correlated with the two types of prestige – covert and overt language prestige. Covert language prestige expresses the not so obvious feelings and language attitudes of an individual within a society and comprise of hidden values that are not overtly expressed but are shared. In this prestige, language use or lack of, may be reflective of one's emotional feelings and attachment to that particular language. Overt language attitudes, in turn, are openly expressed e.g. "Afrikaans is a beautiful language". Nevertheless, a combination of both allows researchers into the deeper emotional feelings of the subjects under investigation.

Dyers (2008) points out how location reflects a sense of individual, collective and national identity through language and "in this context, language is raised from a marker to *the* marker of groupness" (Dyers 2008: 2). Therefore, it is worth stressing that a language is spoken in a particular society, by a particular speech community, and therefore, it plays an important role in the 'oneness' of a speech community.

3.6 Language and identity

In language there is life, in language there is death—Ancient Hawaiian proverb

According to Coulmas (2005) language and identity are often viewed as dynamic, continuously shifting, and being renegotiated and co-constructed in response to the fluid and ever-changing circumstances of our interactions and lives. Although there is no single factor that constructs and reconstructs identity, language plays a pivotal role in the formation of one's identity. These two elements are intertwined, and they are "...shaped by the context and at the same time shape the context" (Van Lier's 2002: 158). It is through language that people are able to generate their imagined communities and form solidarities amongst themselves. After all, we negotiate the concept of 'We' vs 'Them' through language. It is through language that we distinguish ourselves from other ethnic and social groupings. In fact, we reveal who we are to others by the languages that we speak, and these languages bind us to both our individual and social identities (Tabouret-Keller 2007:3). Identity is brought into existence through language. Significantly, Kumar (2008 in Bichani 2015: 39) points out that "If a group considers language a core value, it will hold language central to its identity". Correspondingly, Crystal and Crystal (2000) see language as the chief index and register of identity because it expresses distinctiveness. Linguistic identities unmask who is different from who. Along the same lines, Warschauer (2001) reinforces the notion of language as the principal symbol of identity by stating that:

Language has always played an important role in the formation and expression of identity. The role of language and dialect in identity construction is becoming even more central in the postmodern era, as other traditional markers of identity, including race, are being destabilized (cited in Warschauer 2000: 1).

With that being said, identity cannot be separated from language. We identify ourselves with certain languages, and those languages are in turn identified with us⁵⁶. Gumperz (1982) claims that language differences serve chiefly to mark social identity and are perpetuated in accordance with established norms. Similarly, Bailey (2002)

⁵⁶ By others who speak a different tongue.

concur with Gumperz by claiming that language is directly related to identity, and language defines it in the sense that people's first language is the channel that categorises them. This insinuates that people are more likely to have very strong emotions towards the language(s) they identify as their L1. These languages are used as both an identity marker and a distinguishing factor. Regarding language being a distinguishing factor, Tajfel and Turner (1978) make a bold claim by positing that “the laboratory analog of real-world ethnocentrism is in-group bias - that is, the tendency to favour the ingroup over the outgroup in evaluations and behaviour” (Tajfel and Turner 1978: 38). In that case, language plays a fundamental role in establishing ingroup/outgroup membership. Again, Barth and Bailey (1983 in Heller 2007: 5)’s definition also accentuates the notion of ingroup vs. outgroup bias which is connected to the social identity theory. In all this, language plays a central role in identifying who belongs to which group, and who does not. Speech communities use their languages to indicate their sense of belonging in the community that uses that particular language.

Furthermore, Barth and Bailey (cited in Heller 2007:5) emphasise identity as being performative and fluid. In their view, identity is “...a boundary that groups construct between themselves, rather than the characteristics of group members. (...) This formulation foregrounds the subjective, social reality of individual actors, in that it is their judgments and activities, rather than static characteristics of individuals that serve to constitute categories”.

In post-modern terms, identity is conceptualised as fluid, non-static and multiple. This means that identities are always constructed and reconstructed, and the act of creating an identity is a never-ending one (Baker 2021; Coulmas 2005; Pavlenko and Blackledge 2004; Tabouret-Keller 2007:2). The ‘fluidity’ of identity is further accentuated by Baker (2001: 125) who indicates that people are composed of not one, but several, sometimes contradictory identities, enabling individuals to adopt a variety of ever-changing identities at different times and places. However, contrary to Baker, Spears (et al.2010) bring forth the possibilities of the notion of optimal distinctiveness and cases of language crossing. They affirm that people differentiate to enhance their social identity which then allows them to be different from others. Taking the contestations into consideration, language is an element that distinguishes groups. Its

use or lack thereof distinguishes attitudes and the deep emotional feelings of the subjects involved. In that instance, identities are not solely about language⁵⁷, but language plays a significant role in the formation of one's identity both on an individual and social level. With that being said, a linguistic identity is automatically social because language is the most common medium used in social interaction. Tabouret-Keller (1998) views identity as both a social construct characterised by objective figures such as language, and a personal subjective construct characterised by individual choices. Joseph (2006: 39) posits that "we read the identity of people with whom we come into contact based on very subtle features of behaviour, among which those of language are particularly central".

Of note, language is emotionally and symbolically esteemed as a central feature of the ethnic group that uses it. An ethnic identity is a necessary combination of the collective (group membership) and individual experiences including language. According to O'Rourke (2015):

The 'integrative'/ 'solidarity' dimension of language attitudes stems from the idea that language binds, or integrates, people into a community of shared understandings and hence identity. Subsequently, the strength of a minority or lesser-used language can be predicted by the degree to which speakers value their language as a symbol of group or ethnic identity. The language and identity perspective as an attitudinal dimension is based on the well-established premise that language plays an important role in defining or symbolising a sense of 'ethnic' or group identity and thus making it a valuable resource to be protected (cited in O'Rourke 2015: 27).

Therefore, "...language is often presented as the most fundamental aspect of ethnic identity [...] and it is easily identified, and a frequently referenced aspect of ethnic identity" (Mendoza-Denton 2014: 7). In light of that, even ethnicity is subjective and changeable and can be negotiated through language. For example, language shifting from Venda into Afrikaans during apartheid.

⁵⁷ There are other strong identifiers such as religion, ethnicity, and territory. E.g. English-speaking Muslims, Tamil, and Hindi in South Africa. These cultural and religious identities exist in terms of their rituals, practices and beliefs not language(s).

3.7 Language attitudes

Language activists who believe that people's attitude towards languages can be changed through e.g. public awareness campaigns or state policies, must realize that changing language attitude is no simple task. An individual might change his/her attitudes, but unless such changes are supported either by societal changes in attitudes or by state intervention through enforced language policies which carry the approval of the majority of the population, the individual would find it extremely difficult to sustain such changes (Dyers 2000 in Abongdia 2009: 35).

According to Maluleke (2017) beliefs, attitudes, knowledge, and practices are reflected in the society's linguistic choices and practices. Allport (1935) sees an attitude as a "... mental and neural state of readiness, organized through experience, exerting a directive and dynamic influence upon the individual's response to all objects with which it is related" (Allport 1935: 810 in Ianos 2014: 96). In a more focused definition, Oppenheim (1982) finds language attitudes to be:

...a construct, an abstraction which cannot be directly apprehended. It is an inner component of mental life which expresses itself, directly or indirectly, through much more obvious processes as stereotypes, beliefs, verbal statements or reactions, ideas and opinions, selective recall, anger or satisfaction or some other emotion and in various other aspects of behaviour (cited in Ianos 2014:97)

The definitions by Allport (1935) and Oppenheim (1982) give the impression that language attitudes are both internal and a psychological construct. Oppenheim (1982: 39) goes further to indicate that language attitudes are "an abstraction which cannot be directly apprehended". Baker (1992) follows the footsteps of Oppenheim and posits that an attitude is "a hypothetical construct used to explain the direction and persistence of human behaviour"(Baker1992:10). In essence, attitudes are both psychological and mental and a state of mind; not only can they not be seen or felt, but they also only come into existence with people's actions. People reveal their attitudes towards a particular subject by saying or doing something to it. Baker further avers that attitudes are:

[...] a mental or neural state of readiness, organised through experience, exerting a directive or dynamic influence upon the individual's response to all objects and situations with which it is related (cited in Baker 1992: 11).

Conversely, attitudes are as a reaction to a particular stimulus or action. They are a direct response subjects, actions, and situations. One of the most used definitions of language attitudes is that of Fishbein and Ajzen (1975: 6) who see attitude as a "learned predisposition to respond in a consistently favourable or unfavourable manner with respect to a given object". In this case the object refers to language. Not only are language attitudes learnt but can be unanimous. To put it more simply, members of the same speech community may share the same attitudes and perception towards a particular language. For example, black Afrikaans speakers of Levubu sharing the same views and opinions towards Afrikaans. Although these are not always overtly stated, the preference for the language over other available languages speaks volumes. Moreover, Fishbein and Ajzen (1975) definition of attitudes implies that attitudes are not something one is born with but learnt. This is to say that societies influence the attitudes of individuals that are born in them through socialisation. Furthermore, this gives the impression that attitudes are not static, but constantly fluctuate depending on the social context of the group or individual in question. To be more precise, Ryan, Giles and Sebastian (1982) in Neethling (1998), define language attitudes as: "any affective, cognitive or behavioural index of evaluative reactions toward different language varieties or their speakers" (Neethling 1988: 58). Even more precisely, Crystal (1997) considers language attitudes as the reflection of how people feel about their own language or the language of others. At social level, and even more so in multilingual environments, language attitudes and language biases are thus the result of attaching certain social features to a particular language variety.

Socially constructed language ideologies influence individual language attitudes Govender (2010). People are born in societies where particular linguistic ideologies are already existent and in turn develop their own. According to Triandis (1971) the attitudes that individuals hold towards a particular language can be revealed by the way in which speakers rank the different languages they are exposed to. E.g., where Levubu residents rank Afrikaans in terms of use, preference and choice. These

attitudes may be either positive or negative based on its (the language's) standing in society. On that note, the most prestigious and preferred language is usually ranked first and used the most, while the least prestigious one is used the least and ranked last.

Fasold (1987) contends that language attitudes are “an intervening variable between a stimulus affecting a person and that person's response”. On the other hand, Rudwick (2006) indicates that language attitudes generally reveal a multitude of information about individuals' perceptions towards themselves and towards languages and are thus inextricably linked to perceptions of identity.

Language attitudes can be expressed by individuals in a variety of ways. Baker (1992) identifies these ways as: overt and covert attitudes. This is to say that people can express their attitudes by explicitly stating their feelings towards a particular language or do so implicitly. Overt language attitudes are expressed directly; the individual would express how they feel about a particular language. For example, ‘I love Afrikaans’ or ‘I believe Afrikaans to be a very beautiful language’. Covert attitudes are not directly expressed by the attitudes in this case would be expressed by how an individual uses a particular language.

Although studies have been done on language attitudes towards Afrikaans in post-apartheid South Africa i.e., Beukes and Pienaar (2014); Rudwick (2006); Watermeyer (1996); Raidt (1997); De Klerk and Bosch (1998); Webb (2010); Kotze (2004); De Klerk and Barkhuizen (2004); Barkhuizen (2015) Parker (2015) and Louw (2004); no studies have been conducted on the language attitudes of black Afrikaans speakers.

3.8 Language attitudes as an influence of language behaviour

“attitudes may be better predictors of future behaviour than observation of current behaviour” (Baker 1992: 16).

Fishman (1972; 2006; Ianos 2014; Baker 1992; Oppenheim 1982; Baker 2021; Fishbein and Ajzen 1975; O'Rourke 2015) theorise that language attitudes influence

language behaviour and practices in a given society. Particularly, language attitudes are expressed through language use or lack thereof. It is common knowledge and understanding that when one speaks a particular language, they are expressing their linguistic choices, which may in turn reveal their attitudes towards that particular language. Nevertheless, gauging this behaviour has posed many challenges for decades in language attitude studies due to lack of a reliable instrument⁵⁸.

Although studies have been conducted that sought to experiment how attitudes influence language behaviour, the outcomes are far from being uniform. On one hand, Cohen (1964) believes that in most work on attitude-behaviour matters, "...attitudes are always seen as precursors of behaviour, as determinants of how a person will actually behave in [...their...] daily affairs" (Cohen 1964: 138 in O'Rourke 2015: 19). In fact, attitudes are behavioural dispositions (Ianos 2014: 99; Campbell 1963; Rosenberg and Hovland 1960). This is to say that people's attitudes are revealed by how they behave or conduct themselves in a given society, particularly when it comes to issues of language. For an example, the use of Afrikaans by black Afrikaans speakers in Levubu somewhat covertly reveals their attitudes towards the language. Practice reveals attitudes. After all, the use of Afrikaans comes as a choice to them, considering the multilingual nature of the area. Their linguistic choices (behaviour) inform us that they hold a particular view, and attitude towards the language, Afrikaans, regardless of its current political standing and stigma attached to it. Thus, their linguistic behaviour is triggered (Fasold 1984) by the language attitudes that they hold towards the language, Afrikaans.

On the contrary, (Wicker 1969; Bohner and Dickel, 2011) strongly oppose Cohen. Wicker (1969:65) is of the view that "...it is considerably more likely that attitudes will be unrelated or only slightly related to overt behaviours than that [...language...] attitudes will be closely related to actions". In other words, he contends that language attitudes do not influence language behaviour and use among speakers of a particular language.

Indeed, the study of language attitudes and language behaviour has proven to be a difficult one to determine. Regardless of the many studies that have been conducted

⁵⁸ Participant responses may not always reveal their attitudes. They may 'cook' responses to appease the researcher.

to solve this problem (Ladegaard 2000; Bourhis 1997; Fishman 1969; Kristiansen; Giles et al. 1992; Bohner and Dickel 2011) conclusions are far from being unanimous. The unanimity of the studies has led to the "...growing tendency to question the ability to predict action from attitude or indeed attitudes from action" (O'Rourke 2015: 19).

The lack of consensus amongst scholars mentioned above on whether attitudes influence linguistic behaviour and choice makes for an interesting point of departure for this study. It allows the researcher to investigate whether the use of Afrikaans by Levubu residents in post-apartheid South Africa is influenced by their attitudes or not. This is because there is a claim that an understanding of attitudes can tell us a lot about the behaviour of the subjects (Arjen 1988). There is also a belief that:

Every particular instance of human action is (...) determined by a unique set of factors. Any change in circumstances, be it ever so slight, might produce a different reaction (cited in O'Rourke 2015: 19).

Baker (1992) sees human behaviour as being consistent and patterned most of the time. He also alludes that it is corresponding in terms of attitude and action (language use), so long as the same levels of generality are used. Yet, O'Rourke (2015) argues that "...a general attitude towards a language will be a poor indicator of specific behaviour such as use of that language with friends during lunchbreak at school" (O'Rourke 2015: 20). These claims present a mismatch between attitude and language behaviour. It is also claimed that there are personal factors that influence one's linguistic behaviour and choices. According to Wicker (1967), one's behaviour is influenced by their ability to speak a particular language, intellectual level, and their social ability rather than their attitude as claimed by other scholars. To put it more simply, speakers express more positive attitudes towards languages that they are in constant use of, which in turn influences their language behaviour.

It is interesting to know what the language attitudes of black Afrikaans speakers of Levubu are towards Afrikaans, given the assumption by Wicker (1967) that people reveal positive attitudes towards the languages that they use the most and associate with. Their association and attitudes towards the language (Afrikaans) feeds into and forms the basis of this thesis. Afterall, Afrikaans has been closely linked with, and

served as one of the relics of the apartheid regime for 40 years. This is a system that was put in place to subjugate and oppress them.⁵⁹

On the social level, Afrikaans is perceived as more than a medium of communication in farming communities; it is a prominent language that is used for transactional purposes too (Ponelis 1993). In other words, what Afrikaans stands for in other communities (including black, Indian and coloured communities) may be different from what it stands for in black farming communities. It is a language of transaction, a medium of communication and an identity marker among inhabitants of Levubu. For this reason, environment determines attitudes. The transactional nature (as the main language used in the farming communities and environments) of Afrikaans makes speakers in farming communities to want to use the language for economic purposes. According to Bourdieu (1991):

Every speech act and, more generally, every action, is a conjuncture, an encounter between independently causal series. On the one hand, there are the socially constructed dispositions of the linguistic habitus, which imply a certain propensity to speak and say determinate things and a certain capacity to speak, which involves both the linguistic capacity to generate an infinite number of grammatically correct discourses, and the social capacity to use this competence adequately in a determinate situation. On the other hand, there are the structures of the linguistic market, which impose themselves as a system of specific sanctions and censorships (cited in Bourdieu 1991: 37).

Thus, language attitudes are not only socially constructed linguistic behaviour but are at the same time determined by the broader social context of the 'linguistic market'. This market can be perceived as the broader macro-social, economic and political context impacting on language attitudes and behaviour at a more micro-level. The value of a language and how it is perceived in a particular society is determined by what it stands for in the minds of its speakers.

Subsequently, the fact that inhabitants of Levubu still use the language regardless of the negative connotations that the language carries, makes the black Afrikaans-

⁵⁹ Blacks

speaking identity a form of identity worthy to be explored. This identity is discussed in detail in the following section.

3.9 The different varieties of Afrikaans and the place for black Afrikaans in the Afrikaans-speaking identity

Afrikaans is a language that consists of different varieties that are spoken across races in South Africa, and these varieties form part of the Afrikaans-speaking identity. There are three varieties (dialects) that precede the recognition of Afrikaans as a language separate from Dutch (McCormick 2006). The recognition of these varieties correlated with the geographical movement of their speakers (Meyer 2018: 16–17). These varieties include Eastern Cape Afrikaans⁶⁰, Orange River Afrikaans and Cape Afrikaans (McCormick 2006:95). Due to the lack of contact between speakers of these varieties, they developed separately and distinctly (Le Cordeur 2011:762; McCormick 2006). Suffice to say that every variety sounded different from the other ones due to external influences and contact with other groups⁶¹. Therefore, “...the form of Afrikaans spoken by these individual groups could easily be recognised by where they resided” (Meyer 2018: 17). Brief descriptions of these varieties are outlined below.

3.9.1 Eastern Cape Afrikaans

The Eastern Cape variety is the dialect that was carried with to the eastern frontier (known as the modern-day Eastern Cape) of the Cape colony by the *trekboers* (Kriel 2008: 141). This dialect was spoken and developed by the descendants of the first Dutch (white) settlers during the process of their migration into what is now called Eastern Cape, and later into the borders of Lesotho in the North East (Meyer 2018: 17; Van Rensburg 1990: 69). As a result, the trekboers began flooding the Eastern frontier of the Cape, with some (known as Voortrekkers⁶²), as a resistance movement against British rule, moving inward into what is currently known as Johannesburg and Pretoria (Kriel 2008:141). This movement subsequently led to the exponential growth of the variety, which resulted in it becoming the biggest variety of the three in terms of

⁶⁰ This is the variety that was chosen for standardisation

⁶¹ The Xhosa language varieties

⁶² Those who moved forth

numbers. It was selected as the variety for standardisation (Kriel 2018), and was later associated with issues of exclusion, discrimination and whiteness.

3.9.2 Oranje river Afrikaans

Orange river Afrikaans developed as a result of poor second language acquisition of Dutch by the Khoikhoi (Kriel 2008: 142; Meyer 2018: 18). Albeit bilinguals, fluent in both their native languages (the Khoikhoi languages) and Dutch/Afrikaans, the majority later language shifted or assimilated to Afrikaans, which resulted in their descendants not being able to speak their native tongues i.e., Griqua and Korana (Kriel 2018). Of note, the majority of the Khoikhoi had lived in the Cape, before migrating northward, towards the Orange River (Gariiep River) and into the modern-day Namibia during the late eighteenth century (Kriel 2018: 142). This variety of Afrikaans is characterised by Khoisan language influence, consisting of click sounds.

3.9.3 Cape Afrikaans/Kaapse

Cape Afrikaans also dubbed Kaapse (some also refer to it as Malay Afrikaans because of the influence of Malay on the variety) is an offspring of second language acquisition of the Malay-Portuguese slaves. Because the slaves came from different parts of the world and spoke different tongues, they had to learn a second language ⁶³(a *lingua franca*) that would enable them to communicate with each other and their masters. After all, Dutch officials had issued a directive that "...when the first slaves were imported... [from the East and Africa] ...only Dutch was to be spoken to them" (Kriel 2018:138). This led to the growing need for L2 acquisition amongst the Dutch imported slaves (Meyer 2018). According to Kriel (2018), although the 'Dutch only' rule was enforceable towards the slaves, it was impossible for Dutch officials to enforce the variety of Dutch to be used by the slaves (Kriel 2018: 139). The form of Dutch that the slaves developed amongst themselves was significantly influenced by their L1, i.e. languages of India, Malay, Portuguese, and to some extent Arabic (Van Rensburg

⁶³ As also discussed in detail under the genesis and development of Afrikaans.

2018). To date, Malay, Portuguese and Arabic are still detectable in the vocabulary and the phonetic features of Cape Afrikaans (Kriel 2018; Hendricks 2016: 5).

In this contribution, I choose to focus on the variety of Afrikaans that is spoken by black people⁶⁴. This is "...another part of Afrikaans of which the contribution to Afrikaans has not been described comprehensively, and which will most probably remain 'undescribed' because the descendants of these groups are not as Afrikaans as their predecessors were" (du Plessis 1994: 127 in Beukes and Pienaar 2014: 127). Precisely, I focus on the part and history of Afrikaans that has not only been overlooked but neglected too.

3.10 The notion of Black Afrikaans speakers

Black Afrikaans is the variety of Afrikaans spoken by black⁶⁵ people. It must be noted, however, that *black Afrikaans* and *black Afrikaans speakers* refer to different things. Beukes and Pienaar (2014) draw the distinction between the two terms by stating that:

Black Afrikaans speakers refer to mother-tongue speakers of Afrikaans who happen to have been classified as black under the apartheid system, whereas the designation *Black Afrikaans* is used to indicate a variety of Afrikaans spoken by black non-mother tongue speakers of Afrikaans and may be regarded as a learner variety (cited in Beukes and Pienaar 2014: 127).

Furthermore, Maritz (2016) carries over by distinguishing between black Afrikaans and pidginised Afrikaans. She sees black Afrikaans as "a non-standard variety of Afrikaans and is considered as the Afrikaans an African language mother-tongue speaker speaks and *pidginised Afrikaans* is "Black Afrikaans as an Afrikaans mother-tongue speaker would imitate it, in combination with the adjustment or simplification of his or her mother-tongue" (Maritz 2016: 2). Consequently, the definitions provided reveal the high level of Afrikaans usage by black people. Some use it as their L1, while others use it as their L2. With that taken into consideration, this thesis focuses on *Black Afrikaans speakers*⁶⁶; those who speak Afrikaans as their L1, not random speakers of Afrikaans. In essence, it investigates the attitudes of those who consider Afrikaans their first language.

⁶⁴ People of African descent also known as the Bantu.

⁶⁵ People of African descent or natives

⁶⁶ Also see Beukes and Pienaar (2014).

The development of Afrikaans as a first language for black Africans can be attributed to imposture, language shift, acculturation and assimilation into the Afrikaans language family by black Africans (Davey and Van Rensburg 1993: 28; De Wet 1993:171). Interestingly, issues of language shift, assimilation and acculturation to Afrikaans from people of African descent (blacks) are not novel in South Africa. There is some literature that suggests that the phenomenon has been taking place for a long time. Before delving deeper into the discussion, I wish to provide a brief discussion on the language shift notion. Language shift occurs when one language is gradually, either on a micro level or macro level, replaced by another language (the most powerful and prestigious). The works of Fishman (1991) and Holmes and Wilson (2017) suggest that language shift occurs due to political, social and economic changes. Whenever languages come into contact, the language that is spoken by those considered powerful will most likely be maintained, while the ones spoken by the least powerful are dropped and decline gradually.

According to Beukes and Pienaar (2014), there are reports of black families (of Zulu and Tswana descent) that language shifted from their native languages and assimilated into Afrikaans and acquired Afrikaans as their L1 as early as the nineteenth century (Beukes and Pienaar 2014:127). These subjects began code-mixing between their L1⁶⁷ and Afrikaans, which subsequently led them to language shift to Afrikaans. Code mixing is the linguistic behaviour in which speakers mix between two languages while conversing (Harley 2008 in Govender 2010). It is also described by Wei and Wu (2009) as "...the most distinctive behaviour of the bilingual speaker; there is no better behavioural indicator to show that a speaker is bilingual than when s/he is using two languages simultaneously in social interaction" (cited in Bichani 2015: 18). Nevertheless, speakers who code-mix are seen as producing 'flawed' speech because "of their asymmetrical language proficiency or language deficiency and/or their memory recall limitations" (Bhatia and Ritchie 2013:388). Misconception or not, Myers-Scotton (2006) and Wei (1994) are in favour of code-mixing and suggest that code-mixing aids speakers fill in pragmatic gaps, and speakers may know one word in one language, and know another word in another

⁶⁷ Tsonga and Venda in the case of Levubu

language. Regardless of the contestations, code-mixing helps speakers transcend their linguistic and cultural boundaries to achieve their linguistic goals.

Because the Tswana and Zulu speakers from Beukes and Pienaar (2014) were in the presence of, and in constant contact with the Voortrekkers, they began to “speak only one language, which was Afrikaans; their children were born in this milieu and played with the Afrikaner children and also started to learn Afrikaans and it became stronger and stronger” (Beukes and Pienaar 2014: 130). This practice has seen a shift to Afrikaans in the language use in pre-apartheid South Africa. Ponelis (1993) generally refers to this shift as “Black *oorlamse* (blacks who [...have...] language-shifted to Afrikaans)” (Ponelis 1993: 61). An Oorlam is a member of an indigenous group of South Africa who is familiar with the customs, standards and language of the Dutch colonists(<https://www.lexico.com/en/definition/oorlam>).

Afrikaans is a non-racialised language because of the nature of its origin. Albeit it remains a symbol of apartheid, pain, ugly past and exclusion, it is still spoken across races in South Africa Webb (2010); Steyn (2016: 484–485); Parker (2015); Beukes and Pienaar (2014). Davey and Van Rensburg (1993: 29); Ponelis (1993); Dirven (1987: 155) indicate that in the 1980 census, there were 80 000 blacks who claimed to be L1 users of Afrikaans. The more recent census statistics from post-apartheid (2001 and 2012), when compared to the one from 1980, reveal a growth in the percentage of black L1 speakers of Afrikaans. The number of black L1 speakers seems to have increased by 522 166 (Beukes and Pienaar 2014: 123) from 80 000 in 1980 to 602 166 in 2012 (Statistics South Africa 2012: 26; Steyn 2016: 484).

Regardless of the large number (as discussed in the previous paragraph) of black Afrikaans speakers, as revealed by statistics South Africa (1980 and 2012), the history of the language remains one-sided. There seems to be a deliberate marginalisation and neglect of black Afrikaans speakers, or at least a recognition of their Afrikaans-speaking identity. This could be attributed to the fact that during apartheid, race took precedence over language (Kriel 2018). In other words, if you were black, you could not be Afrikaans and if you were Afrikaans, you could not be black (also see Beukes and Pienaar 2014). In their study, Davey and van Rensburg (1993 in Beukes and

Pienaar 2014) quote one black Afrikaans speaker of Tlhabane near Rustenburg as saying:

What I somewhat regret is the fact that ... we did not get any support from the Afrikaner. There are many (so I think), there are many Afrikaans speaking blacks that are seen as aliens by black people. We are pushed away by the other blacks because we speak Afrikaans. And then we are also rejected by the Afrikaners who speak Afrikaans. They cast us away. We are therefore in the middle. We don't belong to the Afrikaners. We don't belong to the blacks, but we use Afrikaans as a language, and I think if one has to talk about culture, all these Afrikaans speaking people are ninety per cent aware of the culture of the Afrikaner. They grew up in this culture. They know what to do with their meals, what they drink, their clothing, their faith ... everything. It belongs to Afrikaans, the Afrikaner ninety per cent. We are in the middle. Where to, I don't know. I think it is high time that the Afrikaner realises that there are people who use Afrikaans as a language and who has Afrikaans as mother tongue, that this Afrikaans is also their language, that the door should be opened for these people to be part of the Afrikaans speaking community (Davey and Van Rensburg 1993: 32).

This reveals not only the marginalisation of black Afrikaans speakers during apartheid, but their alienation too. The burning question of this thesis is whether black Afrikaans speakers of Levubu share the same sentiments or not, given the isolation and marginalisation of other black Afrikaans-speaking groups in the early 90s (on the verge of the dismantling of apartheid). The extensive study by Davey and Van Rensburg (1993) focused on the neglected history of Afrikaans; the black history, and it sought to provide data that would oppose the one-sided nature of Afrikaans and the Afrikaans-speaking identity (Davey and Van Rensburg 1993: 28). Albeit somewhat similar, this study (by Davey and van Rensburg), it is not an attitudinal investigative study. In other words, it does not investigate the language attitudes of the black Afrikaans speakers of Tlhabane⁶⁸, but only focuses on their genealogy and the relationship between

⁶⁸ Tlhabane is an area that consists of black people near Rustenburg.

language and identity as pertaining the black Afrikaans identity. It also exposes the marginalisation, alienation and neglect of black Afrikaans history and identity.

Furthermore, the study was conducted 29 years ago in a different political dispensation (1993) before South Africa became a democratic country. Because this study was conducted in 1993, one year before South Africa became a democratic country, it is needless to say that it does not provide us with information about Afrikaans (the variety spoken by black speakers) after the recognition of the 9 other languages as official languages of the country. For this reason, the following section provides a chronological order (review) of studies that have been conducted on the language attitudes towards Afrikaans in both pre-and post-apartheid South Africa. This aids in the understanding of the attitudes towards Afrikaans in pre-apartheid, when it was the only official language alongside English, and in post-apartheid when it shares its official status and resources with 9 other indigenous languages. In other words, the following section surveys the findings of other studies on the language attitudes towards Afrikaans in both pre (before 1994) and post-apartheid (after 1994) South Africa.

3.11 Out with Afrikaans, in with English? A review of language attitudes studies on Afrikaans conducted in both pre-and post-apartheid South Africa in chronological order

... one cannot understand the development of a language change apart from the social life of the community in which it occurs. Or to put it in another way, social pressures are continually operating upon language, not from some remote point in the past, but as an imminent social force acting in the living present (Labov 1972:3)

In 1902 Abdullah Abdurahman, president of the African People's Organisation, exhorted the black and coloured population to:

endeavor to perfect themselves in English – the language which inspires the noblest thoughts of freedom and liberty, the language that has the finest literature on earth and is the most universally useful of all languages. Let everyone drop the habit as far as possible, of expressing themselves in the barbarous Cape Dutch [...Afrikaans...] that is too often heard (cited in Orman 2007: 147).

Evidently, Abdurahman discouraged black, Indian and coloured people from using and associating themselves with Afrikaans. He encourages them to adopt and use English because of its hegemony and instrumental value. The statement was made in 1902, 8 years before the formation of the Union of South Africa and 44 years before the enactment of the apartheid regime. This reveals the earliest encouragement for black and coloured people to move away from Afrikaans. Suffice to say that negative attitudes and perceptions towards Afrikaans by blacks, Indians and coloureds precede the National Party's implementation of apartheid.

Fast forward to 1976, the study by Vorster and Proctor (1976) became one of the earliest studies to use the matched guise technique on the perceptions of blacks towards Afrikaans and English during apartheid years. In this study, the match guise technique was used with first year students at the University of Fort Hare. Results showed that the black students regarded white Afrikaans speakers as strict, authoritarian and unsympathetic whereas speakers of English were perceived as friendly and sympathetic. The growing trend in this study is that black students snubbed Afrikaans and preferred English instead of indigenous South African languages during apartheid. English is associated with power and prestige while Afrikaans is entangled with racial divisions and oppression. Nevertheless, although this study focuses on the attitudes of black South Africans towards Afrikaans, the study was conducted in 1976 (46 years ago) in a different political and social period in South Africa and did not focus on black South Africans who speak Afrikaans on a daily basis⁶⁹. Furthermore, contrary to Vorster and Proctor, this thesis uses a multiplicity of data collection methods and instruments in a form of interviews, language portrait and questionnaires.

Following the study conducted by Vorster and Proctor (1975) on how black students perceive Afrikaans in contrast to English, Scheffer (1979) evaluates how English, and Afrikaans were used in a 'Coloured' community and established patterns of language preference. Questionnaires were used as a method of data collection, and they were distributed to 1507(number) adult respondents from all over South Africa. Coloured field workers were used to conduct interviews which consisted of a questionnaire containing 91 items and the recording of the participants on tape. Results from the

⁶⁹ Who identify themselves as Afrikaans speakers.

study indicate that a trend towards the adoption of English in urban areas can be deduced from the statistics. English speakers were shown to be generally better educated than Afrikaans speakers. Therefore, English was perceived to be the language of prestige while Afrikaans remained the dominant language for poor 'Coloured' people. Consequently, coloured Afrikaans speakers in urban areas adopted English as their language while jettisoning Afrikaans.

Hauptfleisch (1977) conducted a study with the aim to determine the attitudes of White urban adults towards English and Afrikaans as official languages, and to bilingualism in these languages. In his study, imminent changes in overall attitudes are strongly suggested by three aspects of his report: the differentiated needs, applications, and motivations among speakers from the two language groups. He reported that 49 of the 52 cases of language shift from Afrikaans to English had occurred amongst the participants. In line with the previous results but with a different target group Schuring et al. (1983) conducted a comprehensive study using 3000 black field workers as informants. Questionnaires and interviews were used as methods of data collection, and data was analysed using descriptive analysis method. Results show that informants preferred English ahead of Afrikaans for speaking, reading and listening to radio. As revealed by the studies reviewed thus far, the 1970s and 1980s era has seen a shift away from Afrikaans by black, coloured and white people. This makes for an interesting point of departure for this thesis since the shift away from the language is not race-based. In other words, it is not only blacks and coloureds who are shifting away from Afrikaans; white Afrikaans⁷⁰ speakers too. This language shift comes as a result of the functional loss of the language, Afrikaans.

In the same year (1994) apartheid was dismantled, and South Africa became a democratic country, another study that shows negative attitudes towards Afrikaans was conducted. Cachalia (1994) conducted a study that sought to investigate the reasons behind the increased failure rate of Afrikaans in a Johannesburg multi-racial school. The school consisted of approximately 1000 pupils, and it is/was an English medium school with Afrikaans as a second language. Second language Afrikaans lessons are offered from grade 1–12, and pupils from grade 10 have to pass Afrikaans in order to be promoted to the next grade. As indicated in the study, statistics show

⁷⁰ White Afrikaans speakers associate with the language more than speakers of other races.

that there has been a consistent failure rate amongst the grade 8 and 9 pupils. In 1991 there was a 40 percent failure rate in grade 8 and a 48 percent failure rate in grade 9. In the following year, 1992, there was a 38 percent failure rate amongst the grade 8 pupils and a 42 percent failure rate among the grade 9 ones. As reported by the “Komitee Van Onderwys hoofde” (1981), statistics at university have shown that students who have passed Afrikaans as a second language on Higher grade cannot express themselves fully in Afrikaans. This happens even after Eleven years of secondary language instruction. The data collection method in this study is a qualitative one, and data collection instruments took the form of a questionnaire and focus group interviews. Results of this study point to developing negative attitudes towards Afrikaans and a growing trend for pupils to associate themselves with English, even those whose parents are Afrikaners, and speak Afrikaans at home. When asked how they feel about Afrikaans, pupils claim that the language is difficult to learn, and there is no necessity for it to be taught as a second language, pointing to English along being sufficient. Thus, the study reveals growing negative attitudes towards Afrikaans, and positive ones towards English.

Furthermore, Watermeyer (1996) reports rapid changes in recent years in the general attitude of Afrikaans speakers towards English, with a growth of positive attitudes and a covert prestige attached to the ability to speak English. This study focused on white first language speakers of Afrikaans in the Western Cape. The study took a qualitative approach and only used tape-recorded interviews (without questionnaires). The interviews were conducted at the homes and workplaces of the participants. It is generally believed that Afrikaans speakers are more bilingual than English speakers or are at least more prepared to use their second language to accommodate the listener.

De Klerk and Bosch (1998) conducted a study titled “Afrikaans to English: a case study of language shift”. In this study, they report on a qualitative longitudinal study over one year of the experiences of a 10-year-old white Afrikaans-speaking boy who was moved from an Afrikaans-medium school to an English-medium private school, while his home language remained exclusively Afrikaans. He was interviewed and tape-recorded one week after he changed schools, and again at the start of his second year at the new school. The study aimed to monitor phonological, syntactic and lexical shifts in the speech (and writing) of the informant; to assess the psychosocial effects of the

move and to monitor changing language attitudes; to observe any evidence of a shift from dominance in Afrikaans to dominance in English. Data provide evidence of a rapid shift from dominance in Afrikaans to dominance in English in the informant, and a concomitant change in his language attitudes. This study reveals a context where parents, while maintaining their own Afrikaans identity and cultural practices, have supported the development of Anglicised language behaviour of their child. Thus, exposure and the dominance of English are some of the contributing factors towards a shift away from Afrikaans.

Neethling's (1998) research focused on Afrikaans language views in a 'coloured' neighborhood in Kensington/Factreton, Western Cape. The study aimed to record language attitudes towards Afrikaans and the influence of societal changes on attitudes and how they impact the use and the role of the language (Afrikaans). In addition, she also investigated the significance of identity formation, class and gender. Questionnaires were distributed to 60 participants for this study and the questionnaires consisted of both closed-ended and open-ended questions. The study's individual findings were summarised in terms of eight connected questions, and they demonstrated "a more favourable attitude toward English than Afrikaans for both the middle - and working classes." (Neethling 1998:5). Furthermore, respondents emphasised in their comments that English should continue to be the medium of teaching in schools, particularly in higher education. Thus, the trend unveiled by this research project is that there is a language shift away from Afrikaans, and English is increasingly becoming the preferred language in previously Afrikaans-dominated domains among the working class.

Slabbert (2000) used surveys to investigate linguistic attitudes regarding Afrikaans. According to the poll, many middle-class 'Coloured' and black parents in South Africa send their children to English language schools, reflecting a more favourable attitude toward English. Slabbert goes on to say that an increasing percentage of Afrikaans-speaking parents in the higher socioeconomic bracket send their children to English schools. Slabbert's (2000) findings are consistent with those of the earlier studies cited.

Dyers (2007) explored the significance of Afrikaans in indexing the individual and collective self among certain Cape Town township adolescents. Her research focuses

on the ways in which the Afrikaans language shapes the individual and social identities of mixed-race 'coloured' school pupils who are marginalised by poverty, geography, and race. The qualitative technique of data collecting was used in the study, using a questionnaire on their usage of Afrikaans in various areas, written replies on the value of the language in their life, focus groups, and individual interviews. This research included 70 grade 8 students, 34 grade 9 students, and 12 grade 10 students as participants. According to the findings, Afrikaans remains a prominent aspect of the students' individual and societal identities. It was also noticed that the instrumental value of English continues to improve as students advance through high school, despite some students expressing difficulty with the language.

The language shift from Afrikaans to English has also been documented by Anthonissen (2009). She used qualitative methods of data collection with 'coloured' participants in the Western Cape. Her findings suggest that among Coloured communities in the Western Cape, a shift has taken place from Afrikaans first language across three generations, to English first language(L1).

Along with Anthonissen (2009), Thutloa and Huddlestone (2011) also conducted their study on the apparent language shift from Afrikaans to English. They investigated this language shift in two semi-urban Western Cape coloured communities. More specifically, they examined what patterns of language shift/maintenance can be observed and investigated sociolinguistic factors such as age, language of schooling, socio-economic status and language attitudes to which the observed patterns can be ascribed. They aimed at ascertaining whether language shift from Afrikaans to English has occurred, and which factors appear to encourage or discourage language shift in the two communities. They employed the qualitative research method of using questionnaires as an instrument of data collection in their study. 50 questionnaires were distributed to 50 households, 25 in each of the communities. The collected and analysed data of this study point to no evidence of a language shift from Afrikaans to English. However, there seems to be an increased use of English in the public domains such as church and workplace with Afrikaans used exclusively in the private domains in both the research sites. Therefore, it can be concluded that Afrikaans remains a strong marker of identity in the two semi-urban Western Cape 'coloured' communities, despite English largely regarded as the language of upward socio-economic mobility.

Language shift issues piqued the interest of Fortuin (2009), who investigated probable language shift from Afrikaans to English among 'coloured' households in Port Elizabeth. Her research concentrated on the traditionally "coloured" and Afrikaans-speaking communities in the city's northern outskirts. In terms of socioeconomic position, the residents of the area are diverse. In this study, the qualitative technique in the form of structured interviews was used. Three families' three generations (grandparent, parent, and grandchild) were questioned about their usage of English and Afrikaans in various areas. The findings of this survey allude to a shift in the younger generation's preference towards English. In several situations, the move took the form of Afrikaans-English bilingualism rather than being totally from Afrikaans.

Johannes Beukes (2015) conducted a comprehensive study where he investigated possible language shifts from Afrikaans to English in the middle-class community of Paarl, in the Western Cape. The emphasis was on whether Afrikaans-speaking parents chose to raise their children in English or not. The research was qualitative in nature and used questionnaires as data collecting tools. 50 questionnaires were distributed to 50 households, and only parents were allowed to complete them. The outcome of this study revealed a growing language shift from Afrikaans to English: Afrikaans L1 parents are indeed raising English L1 children, which means that a language shift is taking place in the middle-class 'coloured' community of Paarl.

Sweetnam Evans (2015) looked at the language use and language attitudes in multilingual and multicultural South Africa. She reported on some preliminary findings from data collected in thirty focus groups. These focus groups discussions were held in major cities, namely Johannesburg, Pretoria, Cape Town, Bloemfontein, Kimberley, East London and Upington as well as small farming communities such as Saalskop (near Groblershoop) and Heritage (near Warden). After screening the language attitudes of Afrikaans-speaking communities in the afore mentioned cities, she discovered that most participants used at least two languages on a daily basis, and frequently use different languages for different activities. It is further reported that the elite (educated) group of Afrikaans speakers frequently watch news in both English and Afrikaans, read English newspapers, listen to English radio stations and read English novels and magazines. This language shift from Afrikaans to English is perpetuated by the fact that Afrikaans speakers are "...portrayed as crass and common and uneducated" (Sweetnam Evans 2015: 3).

Among one of the studies recently conducted on the attitudes towards Afrikaans, Cooper (2018) focused on ideologies surrounding the 'proper' and 'educated' use of language. In this study titled "You Can't Write in Kaapse Afrikaans in Your Question Paper. . . The Terms Must Be Right": Race- and Class-Infused Language Ideologies in Educational Places on the Cape Flats" he explored how language ideologies operated in three educational sites on the Cape Flats. Multisite ethnography was used to research language ideologies in classrooms, amongst a hip-hop group, and at a youth radio show. Participants in the study spoke a variety of Afrikaans known as Kaapse Afrikaans, which differs from the standard Afrikaans inscribed in the school curriculum. Results of this study show that ideologies were perpetuated through semiotic processes known as 'iconicity', recursiveness and erasure. He further indicates that, through iconicity, Rosemary Gardens youths' language was inextricably linked to 'colouredness' and with a low status. Standard Afrikaans was described as "pure, high, proper, and real," Kaapse Afrikaans was recursively depicted as "low, deficient and slang." (Cooper 2018: 30). As revealed by the studies reviewed above, there has been a significant language shift from Afrikaans to English in post-apartheid South Africa.

According to Fishman (1991) language shift takes place in "speech communities whose native languages are threatened because their intergenerational continuity is proceeding negatively, with fewer and fewer users (speakers, readers, writers and even understanders) or uses every generation" (Fishman 1991: 1). Smith (2010) sees language shift as the cumulative effect of a group of individuals increasingly using one language over another (Smith 2010 in Beukes 2015: 2). In other words, language shift occurs when a language (minority or inferior) of a speech community is threatened and overpowered by another language of a hegemonic status. In the case of Afrikaans and English, language shift is when Afrikaans speakers abandon Afrikaans and adopt English as their language and use it in their day-to-day activities. This happens "whether or not at the same time they also gave up a language or variety that they had previously used" (Fishman 1991: 1). Thus, the abandoned language is gradually replaced by the dominant one.

Suffice to say that the dismantling of apartheid has had a negative effect on Afrikaans (de Klerk and Bosch 1998; van der Westhuizen 2016). Even on a social level, along with the language shift from Afrikaans to English, there have been social demands for

the removal of Afrikaans in educational institutions (Webb 2010). In spite of that, the University of Pretoria tried its best to hold on to both Afrikaans and English as the languages of teaching and learning. To do so, they implemented a policy that seeks to protect both English and Afrikaans (Language policy of the University of Pretoria 2016, clause 2; 3.3). This resulted in student protests at the University against the use of Afrikaans as a medium of instruction under the #Afrikaansmustfall movement in 2016. The protesters demanded that Afrikaans be removed as a language of tuition. The demands for the removal of Afrikaans as the language of teaching and learning in higher education was an execution of a plan that had been put in place by students prior to the #Afrikaansmustfall movement (Tait 2007).

In light of more recent studies conducted about Afrikaans, Knoetze (2018) indicates that Afrikaans is still politically and ideologically “connected to whiteness owing to apartheid and its concomitant language policies” (Knoetze 2018: 25). The protests saw the language being removed from the university as a medium of instruction. Of all the country’s 26 universities, Stellenbosch and North West University remain the only universities that still uses Afrikaans as a language of teaching and learning (Mkhize 2018). In an unprecedented event, in an article published in News 24 ⁷¹dated 11 July 2020, it was revealed that Afriforum ⁷²took the University of South Africa to court demanding the restoration of the language as a language of teaching and learning. The Supreme Court of Appeal (SCA) ruled in favour of the language, indicating that its removal as the language of teaching and learning was unconstitutional and unlawful, and must be reinstated as a LOLT at the university. According to News 24, the university was also ordered to publish their notices in at least 3 Afrikaans newspapers, and to use the language on its website to “bring the ruling to the attention of students and the public” (www.news24.com). Evidently, this act reveals the different feelings of people of different races towards the language-some in favour of the language and some⁷³ against it. However, of the studies reviewed that indicate a shift away from Afrikaans, none of them focused on the attitudes and perceptions of black Afrikaans speakers. To put it more simply, their views and perceptions (whether their

⁷¹ Media publishing house.

⁷² Afriforum is an Afrikaner non-governmental Organisation that focuses and cater for the needs of the Afrikaners and their language-Afrikaans.

⁷³ University students who protested against the language as a language of teaching and learning.

perceptions are in favour of, or against the language) towards what the language is going through have not been investigated and documented.

3.12 Conclusion

In conclusion, this chapter reviewed and discussed literature on language and identity, language attitudes, the different varieties of Afrikaans and the place for black Afrikaans in the Afrikaans-speaking identity and the notion of black Afrikaans speakers. It also explored the relationship between language and identity as pertaining the black Afrikaans-speaking identity. Theories on how identities and attitudes are formed have been outlined and discussed in this section. Furthermore, the introduction of the current language policy which saw the language, Afrikaans, being reduced to sharing the same status with the other official languages led to its minimal use in the government. Because Afrikaans is beleaguered and has been associated with the apartheid regime, many of its speakers have distanced themselves from it.

CHAPTER FOUR: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY AND DESIGN

“When people talk to each other, the world gets constructed...” (Burr, 1995 in Verwey 2008: 34).

4.1 Introduction

This chapter outlines the research methodology employed in the data collection process, which was intended at providing answers to the research question. The chapter is outlined as follows: section 4.2 outlines the research paradigm that informed this study. In 4.3 I focus on the study approach and design i.e., the three different data collection instruments used in this research: the language portrait method (4.3.1), the questionnaire method (4.3.2) and the interview method (4.3.3). In 4.4 I discuss the data analysis method employed in this research. Subsequently, 4.5 provides the ethical considerations of this research.

4.2 Research paradigm

Human beings are complex creatures, and so is the study of their attitudes. Conversely, the aim of sociolinguistic research is to understand the complex nature of human behaviour and their linguistic practices. With that being said, the research paradigm for this study is qualitative. Punch (2009: 112) defines a research paradigm as the:

...basic plan for executing the research project which incorporates four paramount concepts; namely, the strategy, the conceptual framework, the question of who or what will be studied as well as the tools and procedures to be utilised in data analysis (cited in Shinga 2019: 84).

This approach was chosen because it allows for the observation of participants' responses by giving meaning and explanation of the data rather than proving a theory correct. Omona (2013) observes qualitative research as a way of uncovering people's values, interpretative schemes, mind maps and belief systems, and rules of living which allow for the understanding of respondents' realities. It is a study paradigm that is concerned with the selected participants' social practices and behaviour. In other words, a qualitative research paradigm allows researchers to obtain a deeper insight

into the realities of the participants. As Patton (2005:133) puts it, human beings “create shared meanings through their interactions, and those meanings become their reality”. The qualitative research paradigm is also a multifaceted research method involving an interpretative, naturalistic approach to subject matters. To further illustrate this point, Omona indicates that:

Qualitative research often attempts to make comprehensive observations at the onset and then attempt to winnow out any elements that originated in their own world view rather than in the worldview of people being observed or interviewed. The aim, for instance, is to discover the subject’s experiences and how they make sense of those experiences (Omona 2013: 171).

On the contrary, the difficulty that comes with defining qualitative research is highlighted by Ritchie, Lewis, Nicholls, and Ormston (2013) when they indicate that there is a challenge associated with defining this concept clearly since it does not have its theory or paradigm nor an obvious set of methods or practices that are merely of its own. However, Strauss and Corbin (1990: 11) give a distinctive definition by stating that:

By the term ‘qualitative research’, we mean any type of research that produces findings not arrived at by statistical procedures or other means of quantification. It can refer to research about persons’ lives, lived experiences, behaviours, emotions, and feelings as well as about organisational functioning, social movements, cultural phenomena, and interactions between nations.

Considering the above definition, Lincoln and Guba (1985) are in full favour of qualitative research because it is “responsive, adaptable, holistic in approach, has an ability to expand an existing knowledge base that adds depth and richness to understanding, lends processual immediacy, is able to clarify and summarize, and can explore atypical and idiosyncratic responses ” (Lincoln and Guba 1985: 102). When using the qualitative approach, the researcher is interested in analysing the subjective meaning or the social production of issues, events, or practices by collecting non-standardised data and analysing texts and images rather than numbers and statistics (Flick 2014).

Clearly, qualitative research is descriptive rather than statistical. In accentuating the descriptive nature of qualitative research, Kumar (2011) asserts that:

The strength of qualitative research is its ability to provide complex textual descriptions of how people experience a given research issue. It provides information about the 'human' side of an issue - that is, the often-contradictory behaviour, beliefs, opinions, emotions, and relationships of individuals. Qualitative methods are also effective in identifying intangible factors, such as social norms, socioeconomic status, gender roles, ethnicity, religion, and language attitudes, whose role in the research issue may not be readily apparent...qualitative research can help us to interpret and better understand the complex reality of a given situation (cited from Adams 2014: 61).

With that said, qualitative research involves an interpretive, naturalistic approach to its subject matter and an array of interpretive techniques which seek to describe, decode, translate, and otherwise come to terms with the meaning, not the frequency, of certain naturally occurring phenomena in the social world.

By delineating the provided definitions of qualitative research, we learn that the approach is multi-faceted. The multifaceted nature of qualitative research enables researchers to develop a holistic picture of the phenomenon in question by focusing on creating an understanding of the social setting (Denzin and Lincoln 2005). The method generates a thorough account of the participants' thoughts, feelings, and lived experiences. Thus, a qualitative approach is employed to achieve deeper insights into issues related to designing, administering, and interpreting language assessments. This kind of in-depth investigation was required for understanding the language practices and attitudes of black Afrikaans speakers in Levubu.

4.3 Study approach and design

A research approach and design are a summary of how the researcher plans to approach the study. These are the steps that the researchers take to achieve their research goals. Silverman (2020: 34) sees research design as "a general approach to studying a research topic. It establishes how one will go about studying any phenomenon". Similarly, Dew (2007: 433) understands the research paradigm as "the

principles underlying particular research approaches". In other words, these are specific research techniques employed to answer a research question. However, Dew (2007) further warns that social sciences researchers should not confuse a research design with a research method. Contrary to the definitions of research design provided above, research methods are seen as a way of collecting data. Thus, the research approach and design determine the kind of method and approach to be employed in a research project (Flick 2017).

Accordingly, this thesis employs three complementary methods and instruments of data collection i.e., a questionnaire, a language portrait as well as individual interviews which allowed the researcher to gain insight into the deeper feelings of the participants. This method of data collection is called triangulation. According to Olsen (2004 in Abongdia 2009: 50) triangulation is the most reliable form of data checking from multiple sources, which allows the researcher to know of any regularities during the data collection process. Gilliam (2000) postulates that "...the multimethod approach to real-life questions is important because one approach is rarely adequate; and if the results of different methods coverage (agree or fit together) then we can have greater confidence in the findings" (Gilliam 2000 in Adams 2014: 61). The aim of this method is not only to use multiple modes of data collection, but to gain different perspectives about the same topic in discussion. That is, it allows the researcher to validate the collected data by evaluating whether one mode of data collection matches the other in its outcome. E.g., if what the participant says about their use of Afrikaans in the questionnaire correlates with their painting of the portrait. Moreover, triangulation also allows the researcher to deepen their understanding and have a clear insight on the subject.

According to Angbodia (2010) triangulation validates and adds an element of reliability to data. This is further emphasised by Denzin (1989) who asserts that:

Triangulation, or the use of multiple methods, is a plan of action that will raise sociologists (and other social science researchers) above the personal biases that stem from single methodologies. By combining methods and investigators in the same study, observers can partially overcome the deficiencies that flow from one investigator or method (Denzin 1989: 236).

This “more is better than one” approach allows the researcher to have multiple differing perspectives on a topic, which would be impossible with a single mode of data collection. For this reason, the outcome of the data analysis can be considered reliable and valid, and a holistic conclusion can be drawn from the data.

In conclusion, these methods were used to gain insight and explore in-depth the language attitudes of the participants. Using the multisemiotic approach, this study considers how the modes such as colour (in the language portraits), as well as discourses and language use (in various modalities), interact to construct the identities of the participants. Researchers must justify their chosen methodologies (methods of data collection) for their research projects, to help the reader understand their choices. In other words, qualitative researchers should provide theoretical context and methodological framework. Therefore, it is the responsibility of the qualitative researcher to see to it that they “provide methodologically convincing stories” (Miller and Crabtree 2005: 626). These data collection methods/instruments are discussed in detail below.

4.3.1 The language portrait method

Busch (2012: 12) defines a language portrait as: “a mode of meaning-making in its own right, which follows another logic than the verbal mode”. Language portraits are employed by researchers to represent language attitudes and the emotional aspects of the subjects. Along the same lines, Prasad (2014 in Bam 2016: 34) finds language portraits a useful tool in collecting data related to language attitudes. In his view, a language portrait provides participants with a greater platform to reveal their linguistic repertoires both orally and visually. In echoing Prasad’s sentiments, Busch (2018) refers to the works of Busch (2012; 2017) and writes:

The language portrait is interested in subjective evaluations, it elicits a visual and narrative first-person account, and suggests exploring the linguistic repertoire from a subject perspective. From this point of view the linguistic repertoire cannot be understood as a toolbox out of which one may extract, according to need, different languages, or registers in which one is more or less

competent. Instead, work with language portraits is implicitly or explicitly based on conceptions of the repertoire, according to which we are dealing with a chronotopically layered disposition, adopted, and modified in interactions with significant others. It is thus seen as embodied, as part of our corporal being with which we relate to the environment, and as forming a kind of script into which discourses and ideologies that tell us who we are or what we are able to think, feel and desire are enregistered (cited in Busch 2018: 5).

With that being mentioned, participants are asked to complete a 'language portrait' by colouring a body silhouette, using different colours to represent different features of their linguistic dispositions. In other words, different colours might represent different languages, varieties, or linguistic resources that the language user has varying levels of expertise and emotional attachment to. Via extent, position, choice of colour, use of symbols and the accompanying written comments, the speaker can therefore give very subjective and complicated information on the language user's perspective of their linguistic repertoires – and sometimes also difficult to assess – insights into lived language experiences (Wolf 2014: 3). Since silhouettes provide a reference to a body, they evoke the bodily-emotional dimensions of language (Busch 2018). Scholars such as: Bajt (2019); Blommaert (2010); Botsis and Bradbury (2018); Bristowe, Oostendorp and Anthonissen (2014); Busch (2006, 2008, 2010, 2018, 2021); Coffey (2015); Dressler (2014, 2015); Krumm (2005, 2013); (Kasap 2021); Melo-Pfeifer (2015, 2017, 2021); Mossakowski and Busch (2008); Prasad (2014); Singer and Harris (2016); Soares, Duarte and Gunther (2020); Wei (2011) have used this method in their studies.

Because questionnaires only show what people say not what they do, the language portrait has proven to be very productive in dealing with questions that foreground a perspective of the lived experience of language (Busch 2018). Notably, it elicits a visual and narrative first-person account and explores the linguistic repertoire from a subject perspective. It is also seen as part of our corporal being with which we relate to the environment, and as forming a kind of script into which discourses and ideologies that tell us who we are or what we are able to think, feel, and desire are enregistered (Busch 2018: 4). In reiterating this, she views the body as an interface where the biographical and the discursive intersect, therefore bodily and emotionally

lived experiences can contribute to the confirming or shifting of discourses (Busch 2018: 5).

As a result, the language portrait assists in acquiring insight into conversants' day-to-day linguistic behaviour. This method is usually followed by a one-on-one open-ended or closed-ended interview with the participants.

4.3.2 The questionnaire method

A questionnaire is defined as "...a document containing questions and other types of items designed to solicit information appropriate for analysis" (Babbie and Mouton 2001:377). In this study, a questionnaire is used to capture general background information of the participants such as their age, linguistic background, place of birth, level of education, language profile, and period of stay in the Levubu area.

Questionnaires are one of the key sources of data in research, according to Richards and Schmidt (2002/2013). They should be carefully developed to avoid becoming unclear and confusing. In light of questionnaires being one of the primary research tools of data collection, Nunan (1999:143) points out that it is precisely the nature of open-ended questions that draws out responses that "reflect what the respondent wants to say". Accordingly, instead of the Likert scale, the questionnaire used for the purposes of this research (attached in the addendum) consists of open-ended questions that sought to elicit as much information about the language attitudes of the participants towards Afrikaans. After all, the Likert scale uses a system that allows participants to indicate whether they 'Agree', 'Disagree', 'Strongly Agree', or 'Strongly Disagree' and in some cases to rate a language on a scale of 1–5. Although this system may be effective in determining language ideologies and attitudes, its shortcoming is that it does not allow the participants to fully express their perceptions and attitudes. Furthermore, questions asked in a Likert scale questionnaire may limit participants' responses, and also channel participants into having a single way of answering questions. In other words, it forces participants to choose between given options and may include events that may have never happened to them (without being provided with an opportunity to clear them). Therefore, employing this type of

approach would have limited participant responses and even the outcome of this research.

4.2.3 The interview method

The study of humans is not the study of ‘real’ or concrete events in the external world. Symbolic interaction research studies human interaction and emphasises the need to keep in mind that human interaction is not based solely on the way the external world really is. The interaction is based, instead, on how humans interpret their world. It is thus symbolic meaning rather than concrete meaning that is most important in symbolic interaction studies (Willis 2007:177).

The interview is a common data collection approach that involves the researcher and the subject communicating verbally. Cohen, Manion, and Morison (2007: 29) define interviewing as a “valuable method for exploring the construction and negotiation of meanings in a natural setting”. Additionally, Berg (2007) encourages the interview method because it allows interviewees to speak in their own voice and to express their own feelings and thoughts.

For the purposes of this research, following the language portrait method, data were also collected using open-ended one-on-one (recorded) individual interviews. Seidman (2006) believes that the root motivation for interviewing is an interest in understanding the lived experience of other people and the meaning they make of this experience. In Potter’s view, (1996) interviews are valuable tools when it comes to collecting data in qualitative research and they combat reluctance on the part of the interviewee, give clearer responses, and offer a greater scope of responses than do questionnaires. As it was the case in this research, interviews proved to be a very effective method of data collection. It allowed the participants to give as much information as possible. Furthermore, the face-to-face interview approach allows the researcher to establish a rapport with the participants and to pay attention to nonverbal clues supplied by the participants, which may be useful in establishing the participants’ overt attitudes. For example, a participant who responds positively to a question about Afrikaans with a happy face would be perceived as having a positive attitude towards the language contrary to one who responds negatively with a somber tone.

Correspondingly, Fox (2009: 9) corresponds that “face-to-face interviews are preferable when the subject matter is sensitive, if the questions are very complex or if the interview is likely to be lengthy”. Thus, the sensitivity that comes with Afrikaans as a subject of discussion in South Africa encouraged the researcher to opt for face-to-face interviews rather than phone call interviews.

Of note, the use of interviews in qualitative research is also encouraged by Knox and Burkard (2009). They believe that interviews are critical research tools because they tap into the deep experiences of individuals within contexts. They are especially useful when targeting specific individuals whose experiences or narratives provide insights into the subject of study. As previously stated, this approach came after the language portrait method and was the final data collecting method. Although the methods of data collection that are employed in this research were semi-structured, there were cases where participants would ‘overlap’ and say more than is required and asked. As a result, this called for follow-up questions that sought to elicit more information and gain insight into the deeper feelings and perceptions of the participants; particularly as relating to the questions asked in the questionnaire and the painting of the language portrait. Furthermore, as already alluded to, interviews allow for the researcher to tap into the living experiences and attitudes of the participants. In that case, the interviewer allows the self, to express their feelings and attitudes towards a particular subject without interruption and limitations. This results in a situation where the interviewee’s mind, in most cases, gets aroused and they express their feelings towards a particular language (Afrikaans in this case).

After all, the purpose of the interview data collection method is to grant interviewees an opportunity to openly express their feelings without being limited. Additionally, the purpose of the interview method of data collection in research is not merely to ask a rigid set of questions to the participants, and expect them to answer, but to get the participants engaged in the research. That instance, if the participants are not given the opportunity to completely express themselves, the results of the study will be banal and consist mainly of one-word responses. However, consequently, the researcher cannot determine how much information each participant will give during the interview process. As was the case during the interviewing process in this research, some participants would push the envelope(overlap) and give more than asked, resulting in

interviews taking longer than expected while others stuck with one-word answers even when asked to elaborate.

Jones (1985) and Fox (2009) warn that researchers should be able to make choices 'on the hoof' during the interviewing process to make sure that participants' overlap is still related to the research topic (research question also). In other words, every piece of the data collected from participants should be related to the research topic regardless of their overlap. They also advise that interviewers should allow sufficient flexibility in structure to the interviewees, which will in turn give the respondents the liberty to thoroughly express themselves (without being limited by the type of questions asked). In this way, researchers should ask prompting questions based on what they hear from the participant, rather than what is written on their questionnaire or brief sheet. Thus, the outcome of the research is channeled by participants' responses rather than the researcher's already set questions.

As it is also reported in the data presentation and analysis sections, participants over the age of 60, who expressed positive attitudes towards Afrikaans took longer with their answers when compared with their younger (below the age of 60) counterparts. After all, topics involving Afrikaans in both pre- and post-apartheid South Africa evoke emotions (both positive and negative emotions). Similarly, Levubu was no exception; participants would answer the question asked, and then proceed to give a detailed discussion of their lived experiences in Levubu with Afrikaans as the main language of interaction amongst themselves (blacks). For example, a big percentage of the participants would explain how Afrikaans came to be their language (learned from white kids in play and parents in their households), and the role that the language has played in their lives. Evidently, discourse and narrative perspectives form an integral part of this research. It was through the interviewing technique that the researcher (all the interviews were conducted by the researcher) managed to elicit enough data from the participant until no new themes and meanings emerged.

Furthermore, this research is concerned with the deeper feelings and expressions of the participants towards Afrikaans, not reporting on the number of people who participated in it. In other words, for the research to achieve its goal, the researcher

had to ask logical and seamless questions that the participants would answer with more than a 'Yes' or 'No'.

Levubu is a very small farming community. Therefore, getting a holistic understanding of the language attitudes of its inhabitants required more than determining how many participants ticked on 'Agree', 'Strongly Agree', 'Disagree', or 'Strongly Disagree' from the questionnaire. Specifically, the researcher asked questions that prompted the participants to speak about their linguistic experiences and preferences. This act allowed the researcher to also explore the link between language and identity in Levubu. That is, the relationship between their identities(s) as blacks and the language that they use - Afrikaans. Therefore, the use of a descriptive narrative approach made it possible for the researcher to know how Afrikaans, a language associated with issues of apartheid and exclusion, came to be used as a first language by the black Afrikaans speakers of Levubu. In this comprehensive study, we learn of how Afrikaans came into being in Levubu, how it was introduced to blacks and how it was passed on from generation to generation for almost a century. We also learn of how the language is used as an identity marker and a distinguishing factor among Levubu ⁷⁴inhabitants.

Additionally, asking open-ended questions to participants allows for rapport to be built, and for participants to express themselves freely. Because no studies on the black Afrikaans identity in Levubu have been conducted and reported, the use of open-ended questions allowed the participants to offer a variety of responses. This unique case of blacks who use Afrikaans on a daily basis requires a variety of answers to feed into the research question. The stories were reported, analysed, and concluded.

According to Taylor and Bogdan (1984: 83), the interview process can only be deemed complete once the widest range of narratives and meanings held by the participants have been uncovered. In other words, enough data for a thesis is measured by saturation (when no new themes and meaning emerge) rather than the number of participants interviewed, particularly in case studies and research sites that consist of

⁷⁴ Their use of Afrikaans is mainly limited to their community and among one another. This in itself reveals the multiple linguistic identities of Levubu inhabitants. Therefore, their location determines their language choices and even the multiplicity of their cultural and linguistic identity.

a small number of inhabitants⁷⁵. Whenever semi-structured interviews are involved in language attitude studies, descriptive narratives are inevitable and tend to provide more themes and information about the inner deep feelings of the participants. In fact, it is through these narratives that researchers analyse and draw conclusions from their data.

Participants were interviewed at their homes and the interview consisted of open-ended questions that were based on the language portrait. That is, they were asked about their mapping of the body silhouette-what encouraged them to use a particular colour on a particular body part and what inspired them to place a particular language on a specific body part, etc. Each interview with every participant took between 45 minutes to 60 minutes. This encourages participants to express themselves openly without worrying about time limitations (also considering the fact that not every Levubu participant would be keen to participate in this research. This part is discussed in detail under the challenges and limitations section).

Bamberg (2006: 69) also advises that the interviewer must begin the interview with a general question which will place the interviewees at ease and facilitate spontaneous input. Interviews were conducted after the language portrait to avoid bias in participant responses. Due to the researcher's limited competence and use of Afrikaans, the interviews were conducted in Tsonga or Venda depending on the preference of the participant – these are some of the languages spoken in the area and the researcher can speak them very well. The researcher also obtained assistance from an Afrikaans interpreter to facilitate the interviews where needed. This translator was briefed on all the aspects of the research and was informed about all the ethical considerations pertaining to the research (confidentiality, not causing any harm to participants etc.) They (participants) were advised that they can respond in Afrikaans if they wish, and their responses would be translated and transcribed to English. These interviews were recorded, and permission to do so was requested from the participants.

⁷⁵ As it is the case with Levubu that only consists of 207 inhabitants (Census 2011).

4.4 Data analysis method

“Of course, if our data are transcripts of audiotapes, then we come face to face with how talk organises the world” (Silvermann, 2000, p. 821 in Verwey 2008).

According to Marshall and Rossman (1999:111) “data analysis is the process of bringing order, structure, and meaning to the mass of collected data. It is a messy, ambiguous, time-consuming, creative, and fascinating process. It does not proceed in a linear fashion; it is not neat. Qualitative data analysis is a search for general statements about relationships among categories of data”. Hitchcock and Hughes (1995: 295) drag this further by indicating that it is the ways in which the researcher moves from a description of what is the case to an explanation of why what is the case is the case. A multisemiotic approach is used to analyse data in this thesis. A multi-semiotic approach is a combination of theme-based discourse analysis and narrative analysis (Pavlenko 2012). This approach did not only consider the multiple modes that are in play when identities are being constructed, it also looks at how the various modes interact with each other in the construction of identities. I analysed data from the distributed questionnaires, which were distributed to the participants by the researcher himself. I then analysed the data collected from the semi-structured open-ended interviews which was followed by an analysis of the data from the language portraits. In total, data collected for the purposes of this thesis were collected through the already mentioned data collection instruments i.e., questionnaire, interviews, and the language portrait method. According to Creswell (2003), data collected from different data collection instruments (a variety of means) for the purposes of answering one research question is best analysed through Descriptive narrative analysis. In this approach, participants are asked questions that propel them to tell stories about their lives or lived experiences. These narratives were therefore classified as themes, and a thematic analysis was conducted by making notes of repeated expressions, words, and phrases during the interview process. Similarity checks on the stories was done and was taken as a reflection of the narrator’s attitudes towards Afrikaans.

Abongdia (2009), Adams (2014), Bajt (2019), Bam (2016), Bamberg (2007), Barkhuizen(2003), Busch (2006, 2008, 2018), Govender (2010), Jacobsen (2011),

Krumm (2005), Lundell (2010), Molate (2019), Mossakowski and Busch (2008), Ndukwani (2016), Parker (2015), Pavlenko (2003,2007), Ulcalgary (2019), Verwey (2008), Verwey and Quayle (2012), We i(2011) and Wimalasiri (2021) have all found narrative biographies to be an effective way of collecting data in language attitudes studies. This is because biographies reveal the narrator's inner feelings of the self, while covertly revealing their attitudes towards a particular subject(language). In that way, the researcher taps into the participant's private world, thereby eliciting information about their inner self. By so doing, the researcher is automatically making a narrative enquiry about the subjects' lives. As defined by Connelly and Clandinin (2006 in Parker 2015: 43) narrative inquiry is "the study of experience as story".

In the same way, stories occur in a particular environment, time and space which must be taken into consideration when researchers conduct their interviews. In reinforcing this, Barkhuizen (2003) indicates that narrative "stories do not fall from the sky; they are composed and received in contexts-interactional, historical, institutional, and discursive" (in Parker 2015: 43). Therefore, Pavlenko (2012: 176) advises that language attitudes researchers who take the narrative analysis approach must consider the "...larger historical, political, social and economic circumstances that shape the narratives and are reflected in them, language ideologies and discourses that have currency in narrator's communities and with regard to which they position themselves, and last but not least the setting where particular versions of narrative experience are produced and the audience they are produced for". Of particular importance to this research is that all participants were born and raised in the same farming community and environment. They share similar life experiences in terms of their location, poor social status, and linguistic backgrounds. For this reason, their narrative experiences reveal more similarities than differences because they are influenced by similar linguistic and environmental factors. In other words, what makes Levubu residents what they are, and different from other communities is their history and relationship with their language – Afrikaans. Again, in this thesis, the use of autobiographical and linguistic biographies (repertoires) proved to be very effective in eliciting intimate information about the participants. This is information that reveals their attitudes towards Afrikaans, their acquisition of the language and what it means

for them to be part of the Levubu community that uses Afrikaans as a language of interaction on a daily basis.

For the most part, descriptive narrative analysis as an approach to data analysis provides us with an answer on how, when and what a language like Afrikaans is used by the participants in Levubu and the relationship among various variables. Correspondingly, more can be revealed by looking at how participants position themselves within “particular discourses including where they find themselves in relation to broader discourses” (Parker 2015: 45). It is through descriptive narrative analysis that language attitudes researchers gain insight into their collected data. To further emphasise this, Dew (2007) asserts that:

The methods that researchers select and what they expect to get out of those methods is strongly formed by their ‘methodological position’. It is crucial for qualitative researchers to have a good understanding of the methodology so that they can interpret data sensibly and with insight, and not simply interpret data in the light of misconceptions and prejudice - and so potentially perpetuate unsatisfactory or inappropriate understandings of the phenomenon of interest (Dew 2007: 433).

Narratives reveal our deeper thoughts and feelings. It is in the stories we tell (during an interview session) about our lived experiences that we reveal our covert attitudes towards a particular subject. Cohen and Manion (1994 in Ngcobo 2001:42) inform us that descriptive narratives are key when describing the nature of already existing conditions like language attitudes. This means that participants reveal their deepest attitudes towards a language through descriptive narratives in open ended interviews. Thus, it can be concluded that when researchers ask open-ended questions, or encourage descriptive narratives, they automatically secure the interests of the participants which then leads to more information being given.

4.5 The research population

There are two types of population, the accessible population, which is the population the researcher has access to because it meets the criteria for inclusion in the study and the target population, which is the population within the accessible population from

whom a sample is selected to contextualize the research findings (Burns and Grove 2009 in Ndukwani 2016: 51).

The purpose of scientific research is to investigate a particular subject (case study), and subsequently generate knowledge and draw conclusions about that phenomenon. With that being said, there are different approaches that researchers take to achieve their research objectives and goals. When some researchers aim for standardised and systematic comparisons in their studies, the current study is exploratory and investigates a sociolinguistic phenomenon in detail. Perhaps to state the obvious, sociolinguistics is concerned with the study of how language is utilised in multilingual speaking groups, as well as the link between language and society. Sociolinguists are concerned with understanding the social purposes of language and the manner in which it is utilised to express social meaning, as well as explaining why humans talk differently in different social circumstances. Examining how individuals use language in various social circumstances may reveal a lot about how language functions, as well as about social ties in society and how people use language to transmit and develop parts of their social identity. Consequently, this approach requires the use of interaction whether in a form of questionnaires, interviews or even a language portrait to gather information from the participants.

It should be borne in mind that the aim of this thesis is to investigate the holistic language attitudes of black Afrikaans speakers of Levubu towards Afrikaans. Because no recorded studies in this subject area have been identified, the researcher was also prompted to investigate the use of Afrikaans as an identity marker among inhabitants of Levubu, which would in turn feed this research with comprehensive data. The answers to the latter statement came out in the descriptive narratives (stories) that were given by the participants. In other words, to what extent does Afrikaans represent their collective linguistic identity and how it is used as a distinguishing factor? Clearly, as a consequence of their use of Afrikaans in a common area over the years (dating back as far as 1930), a new identity consisting of a common race, living conditions, location, and language was formed. This formation created a sense of community, belonging and 'oneness' among Levubu inhabitants over the years. Needless to say, identities are created by people with common practices amongst which language is central. This concurs with Cumming (2013) who avers that there is a correlation

between language and identity, with language used in a larger way to maintain identity. Also, worth mentioning is the fact that the language is also used by white speakers when communicating with their farm workers and vice-versa. This explains the continuity in the use of Afrikaans in Levubu over the years to date. Thus, Levubu was selected as a research site because of its sense of community, which would provide an accurate collective set of attitudes.

Although scholars (Beukes and Pienaar 2014; Parker 2015; Steyn 2016; Webb 2010; Ntsandeni 1999) indicate that there are L1 black speakers ⁷⁶of Afrikaans in post-apartheid South Africa, what makes the ones from Levubu to stand out is their sense of community. In other words, they are not scattered individuals who happen to use Afrikaans as their L1, but a community that is bound together by their location and most importantly language – Afrikaans. Therefore, their sense of community and oneness made it easy for the researcher to locate the research site, establish rapport and subsequently interview them. It is much easier for sociolinguistic case studies researchers to sample subjects in an identifiable location (community) than random individuals (strangers) in the streets, shebeens etc.

Because every research project's aim is to answer a given research question, finding participants in an identifiable community enables researchers to draw holistic conclusions from their study. In other words, conclusions that are reached may be deemed as a clear representation of the whole community/every member of that community rather than being individual views and perspectives. To elaborate this point further, individuals represent a community, and a community represents individuals. According to Fishman (1994):

...language is thought, and can be learnt only in a community, it follows that each community has its own mode of thought. Furthermore, to go on to argue that languages are unique could lead to the conclusion that each language is not simply a particular way of expressing universal values. Rather it is the manifestation of unique values and ideas (cited in Kriel 2006: 58).

⁷⁶Statistics South Africa (2011) indicate that about 1,5 % (over 600 000) of Africans use Afrikaans as their L1 on a daily basis. This statistic debunks the myth that Afrikaans is the language of the Afrikaner and the Coloured race. It remains to be found out through research if the number of black Afrikaans L1 speakers has either increased or decreased given the fact that this statistic was provided in 2011(10 years ago).

Therefore, data gathered from the participants in this research is deemed as a representation of the language attitudes of the black Afrikaans speakers of Levubu towards Afrikaans in post-apartheid South Africa.

Random sampling allows individuals from different households to contribute to the outcome of the research/makes researchers avoid bias that may come from interviewing family members of the same household.

To answer the research question, a selection of participants was made which aided in providing an overview of the language attitudes and perceptions of the Levubu inhabitants towards Afrikaans in post-apartheid South Africa. Furthermore, not only did this research provide an answer to the question of the language attitudes of black Afrikaans speakers of Levubu towards Afrikaans, but also revealed the neglected and overlooked black side of Afrikaans or the black Afrikaans-speaking identity as a whole. To better understand participant recruitment, the following section discusses the sampling procedure used for the purposes of this thesis.

4.6 Sampling

The goal of a language attitude study can only be achieved through the collection of information from individual participants and focus groups. In this regard, researchers are required to collect information from a sample⁷⁷, which is later analysed and draw research conclusions from. The selected sample is deemed as a representation of the entire population group or community. In other words, a sample is often selected to embody the characteristics of a given research population. It is necessary to define sampling in order to properly comprehend it. Although there may be different definitions of sampling, it can simply be defined as a process of selecting a subset of items from a defined population for inclusion in a research project. White (2005: 114) posits that “sampling means to make a selection from the sampling frame... [and a] ...sampling frame refers to a specific list that closely approximates all the elements that make up the population and the key concept in sampling is representativity”.

⁷⁷ A group of people who are selected to participate in a research project either on the basis of their age, place of birth, sex, religious affiliation, linguistic background etc.

Although sampling in qualitative research does not always involve human participants, they are the most common sampling unit in qualitative and social sciences. Moreover, the representativeness and generalisability of the sample depend on how the researcher selected their sample. Simply put, why, what and how the sample size was selected. Because the research outcome is influenced by how the sampling was handled, “if the key informants selected for a study are not very knowledgeable about the topic being investigated, the resulting data will not be particularly informative” (Guest, Namey and Mitchell 2017: 2). Notwithstandingly, it is almost impossible to interview, or even interact with every member of a community when conducting research; particularly when interviewing people on a sensitive subject matter such as Afrikaans⁷⁸ in post-apartheid South Africa. It is also improbable that every research questionnaire distributed to the participants will be returned to the researcher. In some instances, during the selection stages in qualitative research, subjects will agree to participate in the proposed research project, and later change their minds when confronted with the questionnaire. This is due to the fact that conflict of interests often arise from a thorough engagement with the given questionnaire – they may find some questions to be very personal and sensitive. Similarly, despite Levubu being a small farming community, it was not viable to interview every inhabitant of the area. The researcher had to employ a sampling technique that sought to select participants who would participate in this thesis.

4.6.1 Sampling technique

Qualitative research relies heavily on subjects to provide rich accounts of their lives and lived experiences. To achieve this, qualitative researchers must select a small sample of the target population and interview them. To reiterate this claim, Morse (2006: 530) asserts that “qualitative researchers [...must...] sample for meaning rather than frequency”. This means that researchers must aim for a smaller sample that is rich in narratives (information and stories) rather than a bigger one in terms of subjects interviewed. To put it more simply, researchers should not be concerned with the “how

⁷⁸ Given its historical links with apartheid and ‘whiteness’.

many”, but the ‘what’. Because qualitative research requires that subjects must create meaning out of their social interactions and situations, it is almost impossible to generalise findings as positivist science (Liamputtong 2013; Flick 2017).

With that being said, researchers must select the sample to be surveyed/interviewed in their research. This means that every participant selected for the purposes of the given research project must be in possession of the relevant information that will answer the research question. Accordingly, participants to be sampled must be part of the target population.

4.6.2 Type of sampling employed

The present study focuses on a particular group (black Afrikaans speakers of Levubu) of people with common traits amongst which language is central. Participants are chosen with the purpose of answering the research question on Afrikaans, which would not be answered by other people from other areas. Conversely, that qualifies the sampling type used in this thesis as purposive sampling. According to Bernard (2000) researchers must “...decide the purpose [...they...] want their informants (or communities) to serve, and [...they...] must go out and find some” (Bernard 2002: 176). Liamputtong (2013) argues that purposive sampling is the most reliable sampling method in social science research because the researcher can pinpoint who they would like to form part of their research. He further goes on to define it as “...the deliberate selection of specific individuals, events, or setting because of the crucial information they provide that cannot be obtained so well through other channels” (Liamputtong 2013: 17). Operationally, this means that researchers must select participants that directly form part of the research population. For example, in the current study, the researcher selected participants who were born and bred in the Levubu farms (community), who identify Afrikaans as their L1 rather than someone who happened to be visiting a relative or friend on the days interviews took place. Furthermore, Liamputtong (2013) unequivocally claims that the logic and power of purposeful sampling lie in selecting information-rich participants for the purpose of answering a research question in depth.

Although purposeful sampling is the main sampling technique used in the current study, it is worth mentioning that the researcher also employed some level of snowball sampling with the purpose of recruiting the right participants. Given the challenge that came with identifying who was born and bred ⁷⁹in the Levubu farms⁸⁰, the researcher had to rely heavily on other Levubu inhabitants to pinpoint ‘compounds’ ⁸¹of potential candidates for interviews. This method of sampling is unequivocally supported by (Babbie 2020; Patton 2015; Liamputtong 2007/2010/2013; Carpenter and Suto 2008; Cresswell and Poth 2018) who find it effective in that it allows the researcher to first select participants that would be willing to participate in their research, and then request the already interviewed participants to help locate and identify other participants who meet the criteria and share similar life experiences. Also, once the first group of participants has been identified, researchers are able to build rapport, which may lead to participants convincing other participants to take part in the research; more especially in subjects that may be sensitive to the participants. Snowball sampling is employed in research where participants are not willing to form part of the research without a referral from others in their circle of network or are difficult to locate.

4.6.3 Number of participants and ages

There are still ongoing debates on the number of participants to be selected for an extensive case study. Regardless of these debates, one needs to bear in mind that the purpose of a qualitative study is to select the participants strategically to thoroughly answer the research question. In other words, researchers must meaningfully create new information that stems from their collected data, rather than making statistical comparisons or “to create a representative sample” (Carpenter and Suto 2008: 80;

⁷⁹It was of paramount importance to identify those who were born in Levubu in order to thoroughly answer the research question that is mainly concerned about the language attitudes of Levubu inhabitants in particular.

⁸⁰ Compounds and farms. One cannot be born and bred in a ‘farm’ but a compound that is situated/built within a farm.

⁸¹ Compounds are houses/ shelter homes built in farms and serve as accommodations and later homes for farm workers. They are usually of poor infrastructure and built by white farmers to accommodate their farm workers who are originally from far away from the farms they work for. According to the verbal reports given by the participants during the data collection process, all the compounds in Levubu were built by white farmers in the 1930s (except for those that were built or developed in later years as the number of farms and people increased in the area).

Shinga 2019: 87; Langkos (2014). The works of Mason (2017), Hennink et al. (2019), and Patton (2015) reiterate that qualitative researchers must always gather data, using a reliable sample, to answer their research objectives without having to use a large uncontrollable number during the data collection stages. This is further accentuated by Todres (2005: 109) who warns that qualitative researchers must aim for 'quality' rather than 'quantity' in their approach. This is to say that the information or data given to the researcher/interviewer by the participants during the interviewing process is more important than the number of participants in a given study.

According to Todres (2005), the aim of sampling in qualitative research is:

[N]ot to count how many people have had a particular experience or to make quantitative comparisons between different populations of people. Rather, the aim is to understand a phenomenon more deeply through adequate exposure to the qualities of the phenomena that are given by the living of the phenomenon (Todres 2005: 110).

To further reiterate this point, (Shinga 2019: 87) follows in the footsteps of Langkos and alludes to the fact that qualitative research:

...affords the gathering of large volumes of quality data from a limited number of people without limiting the scope of the research and the nature of participants responses [...] in addition, qualitative approach is based on the premise that first-hand experience [...and account...] offers the most meaningful data.

Ostensibly, in qualitative research, there is no set number or formula to determine the sample size to be interviewed or surveyed. The number of participants to be interviewed depends on the type of research being conducted and, in some instances, the availability and the willingness of the prospects to participate. After all, the plan may be to interview or collect data from an X number of participants but end up with fewer than initially envisioned, or even more. Also, there is a lack of consensus with regards to the number of participants to be considered for a language attitude study. Creswell (2002 in Omona (2013) recommends that researchers should interview between 15 – 20 participants for a comprehensive narrative study. This is because a lot of information about the lived experiences of the subjects can be gathered from their narratives. Again, in his (1998) study Creswell recommends that qualitative

researchers must survey up to 10 people in phenomenological research and conduct interviews with 20 – 30 participants in grounded theory.

According to Krueger and Casey (2000) focus group members and groups with more than 12 participants tend to “limit each person’s opportunity to share insights and observations” (Krueger and Casey 2000: 78). On the contrary, for her doctoral thesis, Shinga (2019) only interviewed 4 schoolteachers on their attitudes and perceptions towards code-switching in 4 rural schools in KwaZulu Natal. Johnson et al. (2004) recommend that a focus group consisting of anything between 6 –12 individuals is sufficient to gather data for the purposes of answering research questions and aims. Regardless of this assertion, Omona (2013) refers to the works of Morse (1994), Kuzel (1992); Langford et. al (2002), Morgan (1997), Creswell (1998), Onwuegbuzie and Leech (2005) in claiming that focus groups containing less than 6 members make it challenging for researchers to sustain a discussion and draw conclusions, and the ones containing more than 12 members make it difficult for researchers to manage a discussion of the results. One cannot overlook the fact that a community bound together by a common origin, heritage and language cannot be represented by only 6 to 12 of its members. Doing so would lead to major limitations in data analysis, and presentation bias. Admittedly, the number of selected participants in a thesis must be enough to draw conclusions from. It is therefore recommended that focus groups must be “small enough for everyone to have their voices represented but yet large enough to capture the range of voices” (Omona 2013: 176). Albeit the qualitative research scholars mentioned above recommend a number of participants for sampling, note that there are no justifications provided on how the numbers were arrived at. However, what one can conclude from their differing suggestions is that the research sample (number of participants) should not be too small to a point where saturation cannot be achieved, and also should not be too big to a point where it becomes difficult for the moderator to manage the discussion of results. Although numbers impress, they conceal far more than they reveal. Thus, a larger sample does not guarantee quality data and precision.

In order to ensure the richness of data, and that the right number of participants has been recruited for research, researchers must interview participants until no new themes and meanings emerge. This process of gathering data until no new information emerges is called data saturation. It is a process used by qualitative researchers

during both the data collection and analysis stages, to justify the number of participants in their research. As already alluded to, sometimes, in some cases, the number of participants who will partake in a research project would be unknown to the researcher until the data collection and analysis processes have taken place. This could be attributed to the fact that not all participants who agree to take part in a research project end up doing so. Some participants will avail themselves for an interview and later change their minds when they deem the subject too sensitive to discuss with a stranger. Moreover, in projects that involve questionnaires, participants may collect the questionnaires from the researcher and not return them.

According to Liamputtong (2010) samples can be deemed enough when “the emerging themes have been efficiently and effectively saturated with optimal quality data...and sufficient data to account for all aspects of the phenomenon have been obtained” (Liamputtong 2010: 22).

Levubu is a small community, therefore a total number of 40 participants was selected to partake in this thesis. Although the initial intended number of participants was 20, the researcher was prompted to increase the number to 40 to achieve a holistic picture of the language attitudes of Levubu inhabitants towards Afrikaans in post-apartheid South Africa. This study depended heavily on the availability of the participants and their willingness to participate. Furthermore, the challenges faced (discussed in the next section) during the data collection process encouraged the researcher to dig deeper into their attitudes until saturation was reached. In other words, until no new themes emerged from the gathered data. Although the aim of the research was to have a balanced gender-based set of respondents, this was not to be since the majority of female prospects approached refused to be interviewed. However, this thesis consists of 15 female respondents and 25 male respondents. Their ages range from 19 to 88 and all respondents were born and currently reside in Levubu. Despite the different age ranges of the participants, they all share common traits: they were all born and bred in Levubu, and they have all worked (some still working) on the farms. These similar experiences aided in drawing conclusions that would represent the voice of each and every participant who took part in this study.

4.6.4 Challenges faced during data collection

Conducting qualitative research, which involves human participants is bound to have challenges. In fact, it is almost impossible not to encounter challenges when conducting interviews, particularly in relation to a sensitive subject like Afrikaans in post-apartheid South Africa. One of the greatest already highlighted challenges faced in this research is participants' refusal to participate when approached. With that being said, the researcher's first visit to the research site was an unsuccessful one. Because the researcher visited the research site alone and approached prospect participants in their homes, they refused to engage in the research pointing to suspicions of fraud and seeking their information for malicious practices as a reason for their refusal.

As a result, the following day, the researcher devised a strategy to bring along someone (known to both the researcher and some of the participants) who was born and bred in Levubu, but later moved to stay in a neighbouring village. Upon arrival the following day, the gentleman introduced the researcher to each, and every participant approached, only then did they agree to take part in the research. It is worth mentioning that the researcher is a descendent of black Afrikaans speakers himself, who were born and bred in Levubu but later moved to other places in the 1980s. To put it more simply, my grandfather was born in the Levubu area in 1919 (it was not called Levubu by then) and grew up to work on the farms as a tractor driver and a ⁸²*baasboi* when commercial farming was introduced by white farmers in 1932. For this reason, he worked very closely with the white farmers and spoke Afrikaans as the main language of communication on the farms, a phenomenon which later transferred to his children (including my father) when they were born. Afrikaans became the only language used in his household, and other households (compounds), which made Levubu to be an Afrikaans-speaking community which consists of both white farmers and black farm workers.

Without losing the plot of this section, it took a great deal of introduction and explaining myself to convince the participants to participate in this research. After introducing

⁸² Baasboi is a term used to refer to someone who works as an overseer and supervisor for his white employer(farmer). It is coined from the Afrikaans (of Dutch origin) word *baas* which means boss, and the English word *boy*. The word itself is indicative of the social hierarchies that exist in farming communities between white farmers and their black employees (farm workers), and black farm workers with their black supervisors.

myself, some of the participants complained that a lot of researchers, mostly from agriculture/farming and social work fields had visited the research site, seeking information from them regarding their living conditions on the farms in post-apartheid South Africa, which jeopardised their relationship with their white employers (farmers). In fact, upon arrival on the first visit, there were cars and people who seemed to be researchers in some of the compounds in Levubu, which may have been a major influence on participants' refusal to participate on that day. Judging by the verbal reports of the participants, none of the researchers were there to interview them about their language use and attitudes⁸³.

Another challenge encountered during the data collection process, worth mentioning, is the illiteracy of the participants. The majority never set their foot on school premises, while others only attained ⁸⁴primary school education. This meant that all the questions in the questionnaire had to be conversational which would allow for a flow in the question-and-answer process. Thus, the idea of what academic research, and what it is all about was foreign to them. Some participants could not read and write, which meant that the researcher had to read the questions in the questionnaire out loud to the participants, and record(tick) their given answers.

Moreover, a total number of 18 participants, mostly females refused to participate in this study. This dealt us a major blow given the fact that Levubu is a very small community, therefore finding ⁸⁵enough participants was a big challenge. Some of the reasons given for refusal to participate in this research are:

What if you take my information and use it for something malicious?

We are just tired of you well-off people coming here to use our living experiences and struggles for your own gain

What are you going to do with this information once I have given it to you?

What is in it for me when you are done with the interviews?

Is this a scam? I'm not going to fall for it, please try someone else.

⁸³ They were social workers and researchers in the Agricultural sector.

⁸⁴ Although there are those who claim to have reached grade 12 and matriculated.

⁸⁵ Every participant counts in studies that involve interviewing people belonging to a very small community or when interviewing subjects about a sensitive topic.

Do you expect me to take my time and allow you to interview me for free without any gain from my side?

Where are you taking this information to afterwards?

How much are you going to pay me?

Is this information not going to be used against me?

I don't want to fight with my 'baas' because of you.

Look here, can you be discreet about my participation in this research?

How is this information going to help me?

I don't trust you, what if I am selling myself away?

Are you sure that this is legal? Is it not going to get me into trouble?

I don't just give out my information to people I don't know, more specially people carrying computers (laptop) and documents with them.

I don't want my information to be spoken about all over the world.

I don't mean to be disrespectful, but I'm not interested...

Are you not one of those people with laptops who used to rob people of their belongings in the Malamulele area?

What if I'm signing my life away by signing in this document (consent form)?

Please go and interview people from that compound first and only come back to me when done with them (please note that the people we were referred to refused to be interviewed, and when we returned to the one who sent us, he told us to go away).

Nevertheless, some participants were happy to participate in this research, and were very forthcoming during the interviewing process, particularly the elderly generation. This gave the researcher courage to recruit more participants, and when the permission to interview was granted, the distribution of the questionnaire, and the interviewing began. Regardless of all this, some participants would agree to give their information in the questionnaire but would not grant the researcher permission to record them. This posed a huge challenge given the fact that data collected through questionnaires, language portraits and interviews are interlinked, and they relate to

one another. To put it more simply, this research would not be complete with only one set of data, without the other two. However, the researcher sat down with the participants and explained the situation, emphasising that the recorded interviews would only be listened to by the researcher, and a transcriber if there is a need, and no other person would listen to their voices. Subsequently, participants would agree and grant the researcher permission to interview them.

After convincing the participants that the recorded interviews would only be used for the purposes of this research, another challenge arose. Participants would agree to participate in the study, grant permission to be recorded, and begin with the interview process, but drop out when they felt that the questions were getting too sensitive and personal. A total number of 12 participants ⁸⁶agreed to participate in the study and dropped out when they were asked questions relating to Afrikaans during the interview stage. Participants who chose to discontinue this research were advised that their information would no longer be used for the purposes of the study, and the recordings of the chats with them were deleted in their presence as per their request. It is also worth noting that each time a participant dropped out of the interviewing process, their questionnaire had to be destroyed too. This was done because the aim of the interview process is to interview the same participants whose questionnaires had been collected. The information gathered in the questionnaire had to correlate (from the same individual) with the information gathered in the language portrait and interviews. In other words, as already alluded to, the questionnaire data would not function without both the language portrait and the recorded interviews.

In some instances, some residents of Levubu would disagree to ⁸⁷participate in the current study, and then also influence other residents not to. This caused a backlash and led to unsuccessful visits on some days. However, the researcher ended up visiting the research site multiple times, with rapport being built with some of the participants and managed to recruit enough participants to participate in this thesis. Participants in the current study were recruited from the following compounds (farms):

- Monet
- Koos Skerte

⁸⁶ Consisting of females and 4 males.

⁸⁷ Some participants would advise the researcher to come the following day because they were tired but still refuse to be interviewed when approached the following day. This caused a lot of back and forth considering that the interviews would only take place in the evenings because of work reasons.

- Maretz
- Nommer 3 Jan van Riebeeck
- Piet Retief
- Botha
- Marahani (the kicker)
- Jansen
- Kom-Kom
- Bornema
- Hendrik Verwoerd
- Bridelia
- Armona
- Valley farm
- Zertsberg
- Beege
- Armodelle

These are separate compounds within and surrounded by farms. The compounds and the farmers' houses form part of the Levubu community, and the community is predominantly black. This in itself explains the social hierarchies that are in place between white farmers and their black farm workers.

4.7 Ethical consideration

Creswell (2003) indicates that the researcher is obliged to respect the rights, needs, values and desires of the informants by taking appropriate steps to adhere to strict ethical guidelines, and to uphold participants' privacy, confidentiality, dignity, rights, and anonymity before, during, and after the research had been conducted. In the same vein, Strydom (1998: 27) sees ethics as:

...a set of moral principles which is suggested by an individual or group, is subsequently widely accepted and which offers rules and behavioural expectations about the most correct conduct towards experimental subjects and respondents, employees, sponsors and other researchers, assistants, and students.

Thus, the researcher thoroughly explained the nature of research to the participants, the role they would play in the research and what was required of them. The researcher also obtained consent from the participants in a form of a written consent

form. The participants were furthermore assured that the information they provided would only be used for the purposes of the research, and that all their information shall be kept confidential.

The researcher explained to participants that participation in this study is voluntary, that they were allowed to withdraw their participation during any stage of the research, and that no one was obligated to participate.

Seeing that this study would touch on topics that are sensitive to some of the participants, the researcher debriefed the participants and promised to arrange psychological support if this is needed. The researcher visited the Levubu research site multiple times to ensure that participants were not negatively affected by the research. That is, the researcher re-visited the research site after the data collection process to check for the possible aftereffects of the data collection process.

CHAPTER FIVE: DATA PRESENTATION, ANALYSIS, DISCUSSION AND INTERPRETATION

A thing is factually the same from whatever point of view you see it but seeing it from different points of view will illuminate the meaning of the forms and lines you have been looking at (Nicolaides 1941 cited in Reyes 2018: 63).

5.1 Introduction

This chapter presents, analyses and discusses the collected data from the structured questionnaire, language portrait, semi-structured one-on-one interviews and participants' observations in some instances. Conversely, the aim of the data is to answer the research question: what are black Afrikaans speakers' attitudes and perceptions towards Afrikaans in post-apartheid South Africa? To what extent is Afrikaans used as an identity marker by inhabitants of Levubu in post-apartheid South Africa? What role does Afrikaans play in constructing linguistic identities in Levubu?

5.2 Sequence of data presentation and analysis

The data analysis will follow the sequence below:

- Data gathered from the participant questionnaires
- Data gathered from the language portrait
- Data gathered from the interviews
-

5.2.1 Data gathered from the participant questionnaires

In this study, 57 questionnaires were distributed to the residents of Levubu, and only 40 were returned to the researcher. Table 5.1 summarises the data.

Table 5.1 Questionnaire distribution and participant response rate.

Participants	Questionnaires handed out	Questionnaires returned	Response rate
Male	35	25	71,4 %
Female	22	15	68,1%

Total number of questionnaires distributed = 57			
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It is not uncommon for participants to not return questionnaires after receiving them from the researcher. Some participants might be interested in partaking in the research and later change their minds when they deem the questions too personal. In other words, some questions from the questionnaires might evoke emotions, leading to withdrawal. Some participants did not return the questionnaires because of the influence of other residents who chose not to partake in this research. Understandably, it is easy for members of a small community to influence one another not to do something. After all, that is how small communities protect themselves from the outside world. Another factor that may have led to the participants' reluctance to participate could be their feelings towards being questioned. Instead of looking at this research for what it is—a research project—they might have viewed it as though their linguistic identity is being questioned.

Nevertheless, as revealed in the table above, 35 questionnaires were distributed to male participants in Levubu, and only 25 were returned; therefore, 10 male participants did not return their questionnaires, totalling a response rate of 71.4%. However, 22 questionnaires were distributed to female participants, and 15 were returned to the researcher; therefore, 7 participants did not return their questionnaires, totalling a response rate of 68.1%.

Participant observation was also used to supplement both the questionnaire and interview data. By so doing, the researcher could check for discrepancies in participants' responses, particularly regarding questions relating to their feelings towards the status of Afrikaans in South Africa. The researcher gauged whether positive responses about Afrikaans were followed by positive gestures and vice versa. Baker (1992) warned that participants in social sciences might shape their attitudes and provide responses to appease the researcher. In other words, participants' responses might not be a genuine reflection of their attitudes. Therefore, participant observation ⁸⁸without influencing the participants must always be addressed with caution.

⁸⁸ Researchers must always compare reported attitudes with observed values.

Accordingly, the data presentation process should be treated as reporting the findings rather than presenting all information gathered during the data collection process. In other words, researchers should code and compare the information participants provided and draw conclusions ⁸⁹from the information. Therefore, the data presentation process should not be too lengthy with irrelevant and repetitive information (Maree 2013 Ndukwani 2016: 39).

5.2.2 Participants' biographical information

This section provides a sociolinguistic profile of the participants of this study. It is necessary to ask for biological information at the beginning of the questionnaire, as this allows people to introduce themselves and loosen up before answering deeper questions. Furthermore, each form of communication between strangers in a formal setting begins with introducing themselves. Also, different variables, such as participants' age, gender, and birthplace, typically influence language attitudes and perceptions. Therefore, participants were requested to provide their age, gender, birthplace and where they grew up to achieve the following.

- Determine Afrikaans use by people of different age groups.
- Determine whether using Afrikaans in Levubu is a generational phenomenon or not—is Afrikaans only used by older people born and bred during the apartheid era, where the language had power and a comfortable political standing?
- Mirror the attitude differences between the older and younger generations.
- Compare female and male participants in their attitudes towards the language. Which gender displays more positive attitudes, and which one displays negative ones?
- Is Afrikaans their L1—the only language that they use? Given its multilingual setting, what other languages are used in Levubu (as revealed in Chapter 1)?
- Determine whether participants' birthplaces and upbringing determine the acquisition and use of Afrikaans.

Table 5.2 summarises participants' age, gender, and birthplace in this study.

⁸⁹ Researchers should give their participants pseudonyms for easy identification and coding without revealing the identities of their participants.

Table 5.2 Participants biographies, sex and demographics.

Gender	Ages 19–30	Ages 31–40	Ages 41–60	Ages 61–100
Male	1	3	14	7
Female	5	6	3	1
Total	6	9	17	8
Total participants = 40				

All participants indicated Levubu as their home and birthplace—40 who were given questionnaires and interviewed for this research were born and bred and still reside in Levubu (100%). Moreover, as per the data provided in Table 5.2, most participants were male (62.5%) with females at 37.5%. The imbalance in participants' genders might be attributed to the mentioned point in Section 4.6.3 that 18 female prospects refused to be interviewed during the data collection process. This study's gender statistics are contrary to other language attitude studies (Angbodia 2016; Adams 2015; Mbatha 2016; Ngcobo 2001; Parker 2015), which found that females were more willing to participate in research.

Of the 18, most were below the age of 40, limiting the number of young participants in this research. The researcher could not obtain the desired balance between younger and older participants. Furthermore, one cannot overlook the negative impact of gender-based violence and femicide on both women and children; therefore, it is understandable why many female and young prospects refused to be interviewed or partake in this study, considering that they were approached by a male stranger whom they did not know⁹⁰. Also, six participants were between ages 19–30, nine were 31–40, 17 were 41–60, and eight were 61–100. Therefore, most participants were between 40 and 60 years old, accounting for 42.5%.

Furthermore, classifying the different age groupings is used to determine differences in the perceptions and attitudes towards Afrikaans in Levubu. It also aids in understanding whether the black Afrikaans-speaking identity in Levubu is a

⁹⁰ Whom they had never seen before.

generational phenomenon. After all, Afrikaans has been experiencing a significant decline in its use in formal ⁹¹and informal domains⁹². Notwithstanding, this thesis answers whether the status of Afrikaans in a black Afrikaans-speaking community ⁹³has dropped or not. Other studies on the attitudes of Afrikaans speakers towards the language found assimilationist trends from Afrikaans to English. However, most participants in this research cannot speak English at all—only 2 (5%) participants of 40 indicated that they speak English to some extent.

Questions 7–10 from the questionnaire investigated participants’ linguistic backgrounds and language uses. It studied the language(s) that the participants know best, use daily, and closely identify with. In other words, it sought to establish the language that participants consider their L1. The questions also sought to investigate how they use Afrikaans, i.e., with whom and in what context. Table 5.3 demonstrates the linguistic background and practices of the Levubu participants.

Table 5.3 Participant linguistic background and current language behaviour.

Language	What is the language that you know best/are most comfortable speaking?	What is the language(s) that your wife/spouse/partner knows best or are most comfortable speaking?	What is or was your parents’ first language(s)?	What languages did or do your parents speak? Please indicate from list
Zulu				
Sotho				
Afrikaans	37	31	31	38
Pedi				
Tswana				
Tsonga		3		
Venda	3 (Afrikaans and Venda)	6	9	2 (Afrikaans and Venda)
English				
Ndebele				
Swati				
Xhosa				

Table 5.3 shows that 37 of 40 participants (92.5%) indicated Afrikaans as the language they know best or are most comfortable speaking. The remaining three participants

⁹¹ See Shaikjee and Milani (2013).

⁹² Particularly in state-controlled entities and companies.

⁹³ In the farming community of Levubu.

(7.5%) indicated 'Afrikaans and Venda' as the languages they are most comfortable speaking. The responses of the 7.5% raised the researcher's curiosity, which led to him prompting further. The researcher then asked why 'Afrikaans and Venda' and not Afrikaans alone or Venda alone. The participants indicated the following⁹⁴.

Participant 8:

"My father spoke Afrikaans—he was a baasboi; therefore, Afrikaans was the only language he used and that is how we also began using the language when I was still young. However, my mother spoke Venda to us most of the time when my father was away with work. Afrikaans would always take over Venda whenever my father would be around in the household".

Participant 12:

"Our parents, they spoke both Afrikaans and Venda, but it was predominantly Afrikaans when we were still young. As we got older, they started speaking Venda too... I believe it was a status thing because families would compete with one another on who speaks better Afrikaans. In fact, being able to speak Afrikaans very well would make white farmers like you very much. I believe it was their plan to make us speak Afrikaans; and only Afrikaans".

Participant 10:

"My father spoke Afrikaans and my mother spoke both Venda and Afrikaans, but predominantly Venda to us the kids ... I hold these two languages in the same regard. I have identified with the two languages since my childhood ... I can tell you that I'm a Venda man that speaks Afrikaans. I cannot separate the two and say I prefer this one and I don't prefer that one, they are both my languages".

When asked whether there was a reason for mentioning Afrikaans before Venda, participants 8 and 12 unequivocally responded with *No*. However, participant 10 had the following to say:

⁹⁴ Recordings were transcribed verbatim to avoid bias and missing crucial information. In other words, verbatim transcription enables the researcher to consider hesitations and hedges as the participants respond to the questions.

“I guess it’s the language I learnt first ... what can I say? It was Afrikaans first in my childhood, then Venda around the age of 7–10. I don’t know, somewhere around those ages ... yes, I hope you understand what I mean”.

From the three participants’ assertions, Levubu is a multilingual community comprising people whose ancestors are/were Venda and Tsonga speaking. Furthermore, the dominance of Afrikaans was/still is inevitable in the area, and the children learnt the language from their parents at home. Also, note that these participants speak in the past tense, indicating that acquiring Afrikaans by people of African descent might have ended with the older generation⁹⁵ born before and during the apartheid days. Ostensibly, the three participants point to their fathers being the ones who preferred speaking Afrikaans to them (kids) more than their mothers. This phenomenon might be because fathers worked closely with the white farmers, which might have influenced their language choices and preferences. Gumperz contended that

the choice of language may ... be influenced by factors relating to the individual speaker, to the particular languages and their associations, or to aspects of the social situation. It seems likely that a particular choice may be influenced by a number of variables, possibly of differing weights (1964: 51–52).

Due to the patriarchal system of this world, only male farmworkers were/are allowed to work as supervisors, tractor drivers and overseers, including the ones in Levubu. A woman’s job was only in the fields and as a domestic servant in the households of white farmers. Therefore, families whose parents both worked (either as domestic servants or farmworkers) strictly spoke Afrikaans to one another and their children. After all, they were in an environment that encouraged the everyday use of the language. Therefore, it can be concluded that linguistic identities are shaped by one’s surroundings—we speak the languages that we speak as our L1 because of the area we were born in. The multilingual nature of Levubu and the historical dominance of Afrikaans are the sole contributors to the black Afrikaans-speaking identity in the area.

Furthermore, Levubu inhabitants’ linguistic choices reveal the following. As indicated by participant B, speaking Afrikaans among one another in Levubu was a status

⁹⁵ The generation that was 40 years old and above when interviews were conducted.

matter—the better the Afrikaans, the better the recognition and respect. As with black English speakers (also referred to as coconuts or choc-ices) who speak and hold English highly, black Afrikaans speakers are no different. They perceive Afrikaans as a language that they know best and a language free of the negative attachments with which it has been associated. Participant B indicated that families in Levubu would “*compete on who speaks better Afrikaans...*”, indicating that Afrikaans is a language they use for communication among themselves and a language that marks their linguistic identity.

According to Ntsandeni (1999), Afrikaans is used for communication and as an identity marker in farming communities. She further stated that for the Africans (blacks)

...who stayed on farms and in towns, Afrikaans was one of the languages which was used for communication purposes. These areas, especially the urban and semi-urban, enjoyed the privileges of possessing radios, television sets and newspapers where people were exposed to Afrikaans as they could listen to broadcast programmes or read articles in Afrikaans. The fact that Afrikaans was readily available to them, simplified their learning of the language (1999: 25).

Because participants still see Afrikaans as a language worth competing about indicates positive attitudes towards the language. This explains the hegemonic influence of the white ⁹⁶man’s languages (Western Germanic languages) on black people and how these languages have found their way into the hearts of their black speakers. Participant B indicated that “*being able to speak Afrikaans very well would make white farmers like you very much, [... and he...] believes it was their plan to make [... them ...] speak Afrikaans, and only Afrikaans*”. By scrutinising and analysing this sentiment, the researcher learnt that Afrikaans was imposed on black people to make the language prosper and be on the same level as English⁹⁷.

Levubu participants speak Afrikaans and consider it the language they know best and closely associate with—it is a marker of their identity, distinguishing them from other black people who do not speak Afrikaans. Even where participants indicated speaking

⁹⁶ The reference *white man’s language* is used instead of Western languages because, to some scholars, Afrikaans cannot be classified as a Western language since it was formed in South Africa.

⁹⁷ During the days of apartheid.

another language, they place Afrikaans first and point to it as their first language and the language they know best. The following quote from Participant 8 best explains the situation:

"...I can tell you that I know Afrikaans best, I do speak Venda, but Afrikaans is the language that we were so attached to. Now things have changed, and so has Afrikaans and, as a result, the use of the language has also dropped. I currently use more Venda than Afrikaans these days because of that reason, but I can tell you I know Afrikaans best and the language is in my heart".

The participant further stated that he *"...learnt the language in the farms, Levubu, you see, when we were growing up, we grew up with white kids in play who spoke Afrikaans to us, and their parents too. Afrikaans is a Levubu language, so everyone who was born and bred in the Levubu farms speaks the language; there is no question about that ... I started working in the farms at a very young age, as I got older, my 'baas' promoted me to a tractor driver position ... I worked as a tractor driver for my baas, Louis Botha, and I worked there my whole life until retirement. Baas Louis Botha, whom I worked for over 36 years even helped me marry my wife ... He gave me money to pay lobola for her. I know no other life but farm life ... there is no other home for me but this.*

Coulmas imposed that:

people make linguistic choices for various purposes. Individuals and groups choose words, registers, styles and languages to suit their various needs concerning the communication of ideas, the association with and separation from others, the establishment or defence of dominance. Although it is obvious that people are endowed with the ability to adjust their linguistic repertoires to ever new circumstances, languages are for certain purposes constructed as if they were a matter of destiny, an autonomous power quite beyond the control of their speakers, both as individuals and groups. In this connection the notion of [...] first language plays a crucial role, as it is more often than not understood as an entity which exists in its own right rather than merely a first skill to be supplemented throughout one's lifetime with others according to one's needs (1997: 31).

The relationships between white farmers and their farmworkers varied significantly, and the treatment differed from one person to another. White farmers were their inspiration and models to look up to, whereas for others, they represented nothing but abuse and brutality. Participant 8's assertions indicate that black kids learnt Afrikaans (he was 88 years old when interviewed) from white kids in play who only spoke Afrikaans to them, leading them to adopt the language as theirs. Participant 10 echoed his sentiments, stating that

"...at the time when I was born, in the early 30s, that was the beginning of the dominance of Afrikaans, it was the beginning of Levubu, so when this came to be, [...] they ...] were already adults who spoke Venda. But when Levubu started, we began playing with white kids who spoke to us in Afrikaans and we gradually adopted the language and began using it on a daily basis, even amongst ourselves as black kids".

The process of learning Afrikaans was easy because the environment advocated for it. Also, their parents' good relationships with their employers (white farmers) contributed immensely towards black people adopting Afrikaans. The longevity of their stay in Levubu paved the way for a better relationship and trust, promoting Afrikaans by both blacks and whites in the area. Furthermore, being able to speak Afrikaans came with love and appreciation from their employers and was enough to encourage them to adopt the language.

Surprisingly, the Broederbond's strategy was devised in 1968, but Levubu began to exist in 1932 (Nefale 2000). Therefore, when the Broederbond's ⁹⁸strategy to enforce Afrikaans on people of colour was devised, Afrikaans was already spoken in Levubu—36 years before the Broederbond's strategy, 22 years before the Bantu education Act and 16 years before apartheid. Thus, introducing Afrikaans in Levubu was not because of any known Act or legalised framework. Furthermore, Levubu is an Afrikaans-speaking farming community under the Venda kingship; therefore, location also determines the languages used in the area⁹⁹ and its surroundings. Dyers (2008) posited that location is crucial in shaping our identities and linguistic choices. Therefore, the linguistic choices, using Afrikaans in particular in Levubu, are because

⁹⁸ Discussed in chapter 2.

⁹⁹ This explains why Afrikaans is spoken with Venda in the area—Levubu is an Afrikaans-speaking farming community surrounded by villages comprising Tshivenda and Xitsonga speakers.

of the location in which the participants find themselves. Everyone whose parents came from other places to seek employment in Levubu was assimilated into this identity. After all, Afrikaans was the predominant spoken language before, during and after the apartheid era. As is the case with each of us, we speak the language(s) spoken by parents and family members in our areas of birth and upbringing.

Participants were asked to name the language(s) that their spouses/partners know best in the following question. As depicted in Table 5.3, 77.5% (31 participants) indicated their partners/spouses speak Afrikaans, 15% (6 participants) indicated Venda and the remaining 7.5% (3 participants) indicated Tsonga. The results show that Afrikaans remains the most used language with 77.5%, meaning that some of these spouses/partners formed part of this research—a husband and a wife were interviewed and formed part of this research. When asked about his wife’s language, an 82-year-old man (Participant 10) stated that his wife had passed on and said:

“Look, we were both born in an environment where Afrikaans was the predominant language, ok, so we spoke in Afrikaans to each other. Afrikaans represented a common ground for us and enabled us to mingle with white Afrikaners, so we spoke the language. We would sometimes use Venda to communicate with each other but a shift from Venda to Afrikaans would always occur”.

According to Edwards (1994):

The concept of attitude, a cornerstone of traditional social psychology, is not one about which there has been universal agreement. At a general level, however, attitude is a disposition to react favourably or unfavourably to a class of objects. This disposition is often taken to comprise three components: feelings (affective element), thoughts (cognitive element) and, following upon these, predispositions to act in a certain way (behavioural element). That is, one knows or believes something, has some emotional reaction to it and, therefore, may be assumed to act on this basis. Two points may be made here. The first is that there often exists inconsistency between assessed attitudes and actions presumably related to them.... The second point is that there is sometimes confusion between belief and attitude; this is particularly so in the domain of language attitudes, and often shows up clearly on

questionnaires and interviews designed to tap them. *Attitude* includes *belief* as one of its components (as just noted). Thus, a mother's response to the query, 'Is a knowledge of French important for your children, yes or no?' indicates a belief. To gauge *attitude*, one would require further probing into the respondent's *feeling* about her expressed belief: for example, she might believe that French is important for her children's career success; yet, she may loathe the language. Thus, many 'attitude' questionnaires are, in fact, 'belief' questionnaires (cited in Edwards 1994: 97-98).

Although the decision to interview family members in some instances might have been convenient and time-saving, with them providing an interesting aspect on using Afrikaans in Levubu farms, they might provide answers they saw fit. In other words, participants might answer questions based on what other participants have said; therefore, providing biased answers that do not represent a true reflection of a phenomenon; particularly in issues involving language attitudes and use. Similarly, Van den Aardweg and Van den Aardweg (1993: 190), Kidder and Judd (1986: 223), and Mahlangu (1987: 84) in Mbatha (2016: 38) advised that social sciences researchers must be cognisant of participants who ask their friends and family members whether their answers are good enough; therefore, answering questions according to how others have responded. Although such acts are a possibility in social sciences research, they remain a suspicion without proof in this study.

Ostensibly, all 15 female participants indicated Afrikaans as their spouses/partners' language, and the male participants indicated both Venda (15%) and Tsonga (7.5%). Statistics on participants' genders and the researcher's observations and evaluation of Levubu point to the community being predominantly male (40–80 years old). Most farmworkers and residents of Levubu are male, making them the most prominent speakers of Afrikaans compared to their female ¹⁰⁰counterparts. Also, some Levubu residents are unmarried, while others are involved with people from outside the community.

¹⁰⁰ Note that mentioning genders and their responses is only for evaluating whether there are differences in their responses. It is not a comparison of who gave more favourable answers or which gender answered more questions than the other.

Participants were asked to indicate what their parents' first language/mother tongue is/was or the language(s) they know best. They were further requested (from the questionnaire) to indicate both parents' first language (mother and father) to establish whether the influence to acquire Afrikaans came from their father or mother. Also, the question sought to inquire whether both males and females use Afrikaans the same in Levubu. Table 5.4 describes the participants' responses.

Table 5.4: A demonstration of parents' first language/mother tongue.

Language	Mother	Father
isiXhosa		
isiNdebele		
English		
isiZulu		
Xitsonga	7	5
Setswana		
Tshivenda	13	4
isiSwati		
Sepedi		
Afrikaans	20	31
Sesotho		

Table 5.4 shows that 17.5% of participants indicated their mothers speaking Xitsonga as their first language/mother tongue, followed by 32.5% who indicated Tshivenda, and 50% pointed to Afrikaans. Regarding the first language/mother tongue spoken by fathers, 12.5% of the participants indicated Xitsonga, 10% pointed to Tshivenda, and 77.5% indicated Afrikaans. Also, note that some participants spoke in the past tense when speaking about their parents, indicating that they might have passed away.

Discrepancies exist between the language that some participants' parents use(d) and the language with which the participants identify. Some participants indicated that both parents were Tshivenda speakers, while the participants only speak Afrikaans as their first language. One wonders how they acquired Afrikaans as their first language when both parents spoke Tshivenda. However, the confusion between mother tongue vs first language, home language and preferred language should not be ignored. Participants might be confused between what a first language is and what a mother tongue is. Albeit these terms might be perceived as synonyms, they can sometimes be confusing in research.

Also, participants could be confused between linguistic identity and ethnic identity. While these might be close, ethnic identity has to do with location, practices, and

continuity, whereas linguistic identity might be solely about the language with which one identifies. Linguistic identities can exist separately from ethnic ones, but ethnic identities cannot exist without their most important ally—language.

Upon observation and analysis of the interviews, the researcher learnt that Levubu residents do not attach any title to their identity, i.e., black Afrikaners or black Afrikaans speakers—they identify as Tsonga or Venda people who speak and use Afrikaans as their first language. There is no sense of nationality among black Afrikaans speakers in Levubu—Afrikaans suffices as their unique identifier. Therefore, linguistic identities are multiple, only exist within a particular scope, are validated by their scope, and sometimes overlap, resulting in inconsistencies. Individuals tend to have several differing mini identities even within the same environment or scope. Because no form of identity is static or absolute, they are subject to scrutiny. In that way, others might reveal and conclude things about you that you might not want to reveal. Therefore, identities do not correspond with reality and can be about how others see and analyse you.

In linking this identity theory to Levubu, some participants were born of parents who spoke Tshivenda and chose to identify with Afrikaans, a language different from that of their parents. Interestingly, the 77.5% who indicated that their fathers spoke Afrikaans as their first language were between the ages of 40 and 55. Again, these numbers present the dominance of males in Levubu. In 77.5% of the reported cases from Levubu, their fathers passed the language from the older generation to the younger one. Upon answering the question of which language their fathers spoke, without being prompted, Participant 17 smiled and said:

“My father spoke Afrikaans, pure Afrikaans, not the Afrikaans spoken by black people of today, when I say Afrikaans, I mean pure Afrikaans! My father was a foreman in one of the farms here ... he lived his whole life as an Afrikaans speaker who spoke nothing but Afrikaans; to whites that he worked so hard for, and to his fellow black biological siblings, us the children and other people of this area too”.

One can deduce from the quote that Levubu residents perceive standard Afrikaans, one spoken by white Afrikaans speakers, as *pure* and prestigious compared to other varieties of the language. Also, despite the harsh conditions of working on the farms

before, during and after apartheid, Levubu residents maintain their use of Afrikaans. They identify with the language that was passed on to them by their parents. According to Alexander

...human beings are dependent on one another for the production of means of subsistence, they necessarily co-operate in the labour process and in order to do so, they have to communicate with one another. In this process of communication, [...the predominant language of the area...] plays the most important role (2003: 8).

One cannot ignore the impact of being surrounded by a historically powerful language in an environment that supports its promotion and use. After all, a language can only be promoted by imposing it on others and acquiring more speakers from different races. For blacks to model their white bosses, they had to speak their language to ease communication and subjugation, indicating positive attitudes towards Afrikaans in Levubu from more than one generation. Furthermore, out of curiosity and interest in the sentiments of Participant 17, the researcher prompted further and asked about the language used by their mother in a household where the father only spoke Afrikaans.

Researcher: *So, what language did your mother speak?*

Participant 17: *Same as my dad, my mother only spoke Afrikaans to us too. Her Afrikaans was not as deep as that of my father, but it was good Afrikaans. Afrikaans was our home language, everyone in the household spoke the language. Yes, we started acquiring Tsonga and Venda as we were growing up, in our teenage years, but the only language spoken in our household was Afrikaans when I was growing up. It was nothing new or surprising, pretty much all the households and compounds here in Levubu spoke Afrikaans; both black and white. You would not speak any other language to anyone else. Afrikaans was, back in the day, what English is today.*

Furthermore, Participant 32 stated the following when asked about the language(s) their parents spoke:

“My father only spoke Afrikaans, pure Afrikaans! To us. He was the major influence in us speaking Afrikaans. He worked as an overseer, and he was in charge of many farms here in Levubu. White men trusted him so much, they treated him as one of their

own. He was in charge of four farms. He lived his life until he died as a black Afrikaans speaker. My father never spoke any other language, but Afrikaans. I tell you ... if you spoke English to him, he would just look at you and not say a word because he did not understand a single word of English ... the only English word he knew was probably 'Hello' and he did not know anything beyond that. But Afrikaans? He spoke that language with his nose not his mouth ... he spoke very beautiful Afrikaans not the Afrikaans you learn at schools today. We never went to school, in fact, no one from my father to my four siblings went to school, but I can tell you, we can speak Afrikaans better than your Afrikaans teacher."

Levubu is a secluded farming community surrounded by the Zoutpansberg mountains and villages demarcated by the Bantustans Act (1956–1959) under the apartheid government. During apartheid, African people's movement was limited to their designated areas unless permitted by a government official stating where an individual was going, what they were there to do, and for how long. Therefore, residents of Levubu during apartheid were stuck in one area with limited movement and exposed to only one language spoken in the area—Afrikaans. This meant that contact with people who spoke other languages was limited, and they had to resort to speaking the only available one. This assimilation process might have begun with using Afrikaans as a lingua franca among people of different linguistic and cultural (including race) backgrounds into them using the language as theirs in their households with time. When people assimilate, they abandon their ways of living, cultural practices and language and adopt those of others, who are, in most cases, perceived to be superior—typically when people settle in a land that others have occupied.

According to some participants' verbal reports, some families migrated from Zimbabwe and Mozambique¹⁰¹ in the 1940s, 1950s, 1960s and 1970s¹⁰², searching for greener pastures. White farmers employed them (fieldwork on the farms), and they settled and never returned home. The men worked in the fields (farms) while their wives worked as domestic servants in their employers' households. Levubu then represented both the workplace and their new home. These people spoke different languages from those of Levubu's residents; therefore, they had to acquire Afrikaans as their lingua

¹⁰¹ Some of them were said to have been running away from civil wars and Portuguese rule.

¹⁰² During the Mozambican civil wars.

franca. The acquisition allowed them to communicate effectively with their employers and fellow blacks in the area, who spoke Tsonga and Venda. Their children have acquired Afrikaans from the white kids during play, and it had become both their first language and the language they knew best. Participant 7 accentuated this by stating that they

“... learnt Afrikaans from speaking it with white children in play, as [they] would play with them, Afrikaans would be the only language used. The language was also spoken in [their] households, [they] would leave play where [they] spoke Afrikaans to homes (parents) who spoke Afrikaans”.

When asked who the kids were he is referring to, the participant indicated that *“they were the kids of the white farmers that [their] parents worked for ... their parents spoke Afrikaans to us, black kids, and to their own kids, Afrikaans was the only language used in Levubu when we were growing up and everyone spoke the language; both black and white”.*

Participant 7 above indicated that black kids acquired Afrikaans from white kids during play and used it in their homes when communicating with their parents, who also used the language when communicating with their employers and other employees (as a lingua franca). Although the number of these immigrants is unknown, it was a handful, considering that Levubu is a small¹⁰³ farming community.

Participants were then asked to indicate the other languages their parents spoke/speak. Note that answers similar to others were omitted to save time and avoid providing answers with the same meaning and code—not all answers from the participants are quoted. The participants had the following to say when asked about the languages their parents spoke/speak.

Participant 1: *My father spoke Afrikaans and English.*

Participant 2: *My father spoke English and Venda.*

Participant 3: *My mother also spoke Venda.*

¹⁰³ Some people are said to have relocated to the neighboring villages after the forced removals in the early 1960s.

Participant 4: *Together with Afrikaans, my mother spoke Tsonga.*

Participant 5: *Tsonga and Venda.*

Participant 6: *My parents only spoke Afrikaans.*

Participant 7: *Afrikaans only.*

Participant 8: *Tsonga.*

Participant 9: *I have never heard them speak any other language(s) than Afrikaans.*

Participant 10: *My father only spoke Afrikaans, and my mother also spoke Tsonga, but predominantly Tsonga to us the kids.*

Participant 11: *Venda and Tsonga ... no one speaks English in Levubu, speaking English to a white farmer would get you in trouble. Nobody speaks that language.*

Participant 12: *My dad spoke Afrikaans only; you could not speak Afrikaans like him! No one could, he spoke better Afrikaans than an Afrikaner himself! [laughs].*

Participant 13: *My mother spoke both Afrikaans and Venda, but she insisted on speaking Venda with us. However, my father only spoke Afrikaans to us. He would sometimes code mix and code switch, but he would always have something to say in Afrikaans.*

Participant 15: *My father spoke a mix of Tsonga and Afrikaans to his speers and spoke Tsonga to us the children. But he spoke only Afrikaans to his siblings.*

Participant 16: *My parents spoke Afrikaans and Tsonga only, but it was predominantly Afrikaans when we were still young, as we got older, they started speaking Tsonga too.*

Participant 17: *Only my father spoke Afrikaans, my mother spoke Venda; she did not speak any Afrikaans to us ... it was predominantly Afrikaans, but they also spoke Venda and Tsonga.*

Participant 18: *It was Afrikaans, Venda, and a bit of Tsonga. There was no English. In fact, we were discouraged from learning English by white farmers. They did not want*

anyone to speak English in the farms and the surrounding areas, the only white man's language allowed was Afrikaans. They did not have any problem with anyone speaking any other language but English, you would be in their bad books.

Participant 19: *My father spoke Afrikaans and Tsonga, but my mother spoke to us in Tsonga.*

A further demonstration of other languages (other than Afrikaans) used by the participants' parents is provided in Table 5.5.

Table 5.5 A demonstration of other available languages in Levubu

Language	Number of participants who indicated the language
English	2
Afrikaans	
Tshivenda	21
isiSwati	
isiNdebele	
Xitsonga	16
isiZulu	
isiXhosa	
Sesotho	
Sepedi	
Setswana	
Other (Portuguese)	1

Regardless of question 10 asking participants to indicate other languages (except for Afrikaans) that their parents spoke, most pointed to Afrikaans. Therefore, (i) it reveals their attachment to the language (not wanting to leave it whenever they are asked anything about their linguistic practices) and (ii) that their parents have passed Afrikaans on to them, regardless of whether their parents could speak other languages. Therefore, the researcher prompted further by asking them to name the other languages their parents spoke *other than Afrikaans*. As reflected in Table 5.5, 52,5% of the participants indicated Venda as the other language their parents spoke, 40% indicated Tsonga, 5% pointed to English, and 2,5% indicated Portuguese. Judging by the percentages provided, it can be deduced that Venda is the second most used language in Levubu, followed by Tsonga (both following Afrikaans).

These findings align with the literature review (Section 3.8), where language use is seen as influencing language attitudes. Norton (2010, in Makwakwa 2018: 49) posited that people covertly reveal their attitudes towards a particular language by speaking it

or preferring another one. Regarding the Levubu situation, residents maintain using Afrikaans with a mixture of Tsonga and Venda daily. Also, language exposure does not mean language acquisition— although someone might be exposed to multiple languages, they can choose not to acquire them for various reasons. Various factors can influence language learning, among which attitudes are fundamental. As in Levubu, participants were exposed to Tsonga and Venda but still opted for Afrikaans as their first language and the language they know best. Because language attitudes are expressed through language use or lack thereof, their use of Afrikaans instead of Venda or Tsonga reveals positive attitudes towards the language. Thus, language attitudes influence language behaviour (Holmes 2006; Fishman 1991; Mesthrie 2009/2001; Baker 1992; Oppenheim 1982; Fishbein & Ajzen 1975, in O'Rourke 2015; Cumming 2006).

Notably, from the data provided in the table, 5% of the participants indicated that their parents also spoke English, contradicting what the same participants said about the discouragement of using English in Levubu, particularly during apartheid. It does not make sense how their parents, who were discouraged from using English, would go ahead and use the language in a secluded area that did not use English at all. As indicated, Levubu is and has always been an Afrikaans-speaking farming community without English speakers. Furthermore, one would ask to who those parents spoke English when no one, from their white employers to fellow employees, spoke English but Afrikaans. Upon realising this discrepancy, the researcher was prompted to check from those participants where their parents were born, revealing that all participants indicated Levubu farms being their parents' birthplace. This contradiction further highlights English's hegemonic and instrumental value in South Africa.

English has become a language individuals want to be associated with, proficient or not, confirming the findings of studies conducted by Adams (2014), Abongdia (2009), Makwakwa (2019), and Ndukwani (2016), who found that participants from different settings hold English in high regard. However, only two participants mentioned English (as another language spoken by their parents) in this study, revealing its minimal existence in Levubu. Moreover, on the discouragement of using English in Levubu, Participant 24 had the following to say:

“... let me tell you something, my brother, you cannot, and you would not use English with the Afrikaner here in Levubu. We were discouraged [by the Afrikaner farmers] from using English since childhood. I tell you; you can move around the whole of this area I promise you; no one speaks English. If you do find someone who speaks English, they were not born here. Afrikaans is the language of both the white farmers and their workers. They both use this language as their own, and if you try and act smart by speaking English, you would even get ostracised back in the day. If you spoke English, you would be told not to speak that ‘kak’ because there are no Englishmen here in Levubu. If you called one of them ‘sir’, you would be told that ‘ek is nie jou meneer, ek is jou baas! (I am not your sir, I am your boss!)’, do not use English words with me, I am not an Englishman”.

The participant further stated that *“... you had to say ‘goeie more baas’, not just goeie more, you also had to say ‘baas’ ...”*

These feelings were also shared by Participant 23 who indicated that:

“... In fact, you see how big Levubu is, you would never find even a single compound or household that speaks English or any other language, for that matter. Everyone here spoke Afrikaans ... I’m telling you; I was born here, I grew up here, all my life has been based here, I know everything about Levubu. In all those farms you see over there, there is no single one you would say “good morning” to, and the farmer would respond ... the moment you utter a single English word, it was over with you ... nobody would want to even listen to you”.

In echoing Participants 23 and 24’s sentiments on the discouragement of using English in Levubu, Participant 39 indicate that *“... If you spoke English in Levubu, you would be mocked and you would never get along with the Afrikaners¹⁰⁴ (Boers) ... no one was allowed to speak English in this surrounding, Never!”*

He further went on stating that *“... [they, the Afrikaners knew] very well that there is such a language as English, but they (Afrikaners) discouraged everyone from speaking English, and to speak Afrikaans instead ... Let me tell you this, and you are*

¹⁰⁴ They are often referred to as ‘Boers’ rather than Afrikaners in farming communities because of their occupations as farmers. Therefore, it is only in instances where a participant specifically refers to them as ‘Afrikaners that I use the word.

not going to believe it, from when I was born in 1959 until 1971, I did not know that there is such a language as English. It was like we were living in a secluded world where no other language but only Afrikaans exists. They made sure with their language; they made sure that everyone in this area only spoke Afrikaans. Remember, this land, is a place of birth, place of work and a place of retirement for the majority of the people you see here. There is no other home but this, the farms. Therefore, I tell you, no one speaks English here, the white people of this area included everyone in Levubu speaks Afrikaans.”

Notably, from Participants 24 and 39 assertions and the multilingualism in the Levubu area, it becomes apparent that Afrikaans represented more than a medium of communication—it was a language of opportunities.

Also, regardless of the discouragement to learning English, no reports or even suggestions exist of participants being discouraged from speaking their native/indigenous languages. Therefore, the multilingual nature of the area also contributed to the language shift from indigenous languages of the area (Tsonga and Venda) to a superior language linked with opportunities. According to Holmes (2006: 51), in a culture where knowing a second language is a need for success, rapid change happens when individuals are eager to go ahead. Without Afrikaans’ availability in the area, residents would be using an indigenous language.

Still on multilingualism, one should be careful to associate multilingualism with language. Languages cannot be multilingual, but people can. In other words, multilingualism (plurilingualism too) is using different languages and not the languages themselves. Languages are non-existent without human interaction, and they can only be brought to life by the human need to communicate. What differentiates monolinguals from multilinguals is not the languages themselves but how they are used, e.g., a white farmer in Levubu who only uses Afrikaans vs a black farmworker who uses Afrikaans, Tsonga, and Venda (but later assimilates to Afrikaans). Therefore, multilingualism refers to a situation where a particular society or environment regularly engages or uses different languages in their day-to-day activities.

Multilingualism is a socially produced phenomenon where languages are understood as collections of resources rather than fixed linguistic systems. According to King (2008), plurilingualism is a more suitable term for situations where more than one language is used daily. He further reiterated that by plurilingualism, we

...refer to the repertoire of varieties of language which many individuals use and is therefore the opposite of monolingualism; it includes the language variety referred to as 'mother tongue' or 'first language' and any number of other languages and varieties. Thus, in some multilingual areas, some individuals are monolingual, and some are plurilingual (cited in King 2008:8).

To add more flesh to the bone, Giles and Johnson (1987: 95) stated:

Stable plurilingualism is likely to be maintained when ethnic group members identify relatively strongly with their ethnic group as well as with the society of which they are a part; perceive the norms and values of their ethnic group to overlap with those of the society in significant ways, perceive their ethnic boundaries to be hard and closed; perceive the vitality of their ethnic group to be relatively high.

This leaves the impression that the availability of languages constitutes a multilingual society. However, this headcount approach is flawed because sometimes, as with Levubu, where other languages are available, participants might adopt one language (out of many) and use it in their day-to-day activities. Also, multilingualism is invincible and occurs unconsciously, making it challenging to detect if a society is indeed multilingual or not. Therefore, the availability of languages does not translate to a multilingual society.

As highlighted by Participant 24, hierarchies between white farmers and black farmworkers were established. The farmers insisted on being called *baas* (boss), not *meneer* (sir), to ensure black farmworkers knew their place in the community. This might communicate the racial divisions and demarcations among Afrikaans speakers in Levubu. Regardless of having common linguistic interests, white farmers still consider themselves superior to their farmworkers in Levubu, post-apartheid South Africa.

Questions 11, 12 and 13 asked participants to name their parents' occupation, their highest level of education and the type of school attended, respectively. This was done to (i) understand whether all their parents worked in the same environment (doing the same job on the farms), (ii) understand their education level and if it had an impact on their responses and the type of school they attended (to survey whether attitudes differ from participants who attended different types of school), and if the school system of the apartheid government had an impact on their attitudes, considering that Afrikaans was enforced as a language of learning and teaching. Table 5.6 depicts the parents' occupation.

Table 5.6 Participants parent's occupation and employment.

Occupation	Mother	Father
Farm worker	23	40
Domestic servant	11	0
Unemployed	6	0

As depicted above, 57.5% of the participants indicated that their mothers were farmworkers (fieldworkers), 27.5% indicated that their mothers were domestic servants, and the remaining 15% indicated that their mothers were unemployed. However, 100% of the participants indicated that their fathers were all employed as farmworkers—they were all employed in the same area by different farmers in Levubu. Also, as indicated by the participants, white farmers owned different farms, some of which were outside of Levubu. Ostensibly, some owned farms in the Tzaneen area, which meant that some farmworkers would be taken to work on those farms whenever the need arose. Therefore, no man in Levubu sat without a job. Without drifting away from this section's point, although the conditions were bad, employment drew people to Levubu. Both males and females found employment in the area (farms), which automatically drew them closer to Afrikaans. The availability of employment in Levubu might be seen as a major contributing factor towards adopting Afrikaans as a first language by Levubu inhabitants. A phenomenon where parents who worked (as both farmworkers and domestic workers) for white Afrikaans speakers speaking to their children in Afrikaans (who also learnt the language during play) was inevitable.

No participant indicated that their parents have worked outside of Levubu or as anything else other than a farmworker¹⁰⁵. This created a sense of oneness among Levubu inhabitants—one people bound together by one language (Afrikaans), one location and similar living conditions. In other words, language and location form the basis of the black Afrikaans-speaking identity in Levubu. Cumming (2006) strongly concurred with other sociolinguists (Smolicz 1999; Clyne and Clyne 1991; Clyne 2003; Holmes 2001; Wardhaugh 2006) and established that language is a fundamentally significant element for group continuity and survival. Although Afrikaans might not be the only factor that distinguishes one group from another, it is the most pivotal.

According to Ozolins (1996: 182), language and ethnicity have an intimate relationship¹⁰⁶, and language is raised as a salient symbol in conflicting ethnic identities. Cumming (2006:45) further reiterated Ozolins' sentiments by indicating that without "[...ethnicity...] language cannot exist". Therefore, ethnicity and linguistic identities are expressed through language, and it is through the same language that a sense of cultural and ethnic belonging can be marked and maintained. Again, although language might mark ethnic identities, ethnic identities are usually imposed by others. Speakers of a language, particularly in secluded areas consisting of small groups, might even be oblivious to the existence of their multiple and dynamic identities. Like any other form of identity, how we know ourselves might differ from how others perceive us. Using Afrikaans in Levubu can be viewed as an identity marker and a symbol of residents' solidarity.

Questions 12 and 13 asked participants about their highest educational levels and the type (name) of the school attended, respectively, to investigate whether education played a role in how Levubu residents perceive Afrikaans. In other words, mirror response differences between participants who have been to school and those who have not, helping to decipher whether the apartheid school system influenced how Levubu residents perceive Afrikaans. Table 5.7 below depicts participants' educational levels

Table 5.7 Participants level of education.

Level of education	Percentages (%)
Primary school	12.5

¹⁰⁵ Although there were different ranks, some were overseers, while others were mere farmworkers.

¹⁰⁶ This might include but is not limited to location (birthplace and residence), standard cultural practices, and race.

High school	17.5
University	0
No school attended	70

Table 5.7 shows that only 12.5% of the participants attained primary school education, 17.5% high school education, and 0% attended university, making Levubu an area of residents with no university qualifications. Interestingly, 70% of the participants never went to school—they never attained any formal education; therefore, most Levubu residents cannot read and write. Nevertheless, when asked about whether he has been to school, participant 10 (82 years old) had the following to say:

“... No ... I never set foot in a school ... I never went to school. I was busy working in the farms, at that time, school was not that important to us, all that mattered was employment. As long as you had a job in the farms, you were fine, there was never a time to think about school. As soon as you reached the age of 15 to 16, you were eligible to work in the fields, together with your parents. We did not see the importance of school, I guess were caught up in this farm life. Fortunately for me, my baas (Louis Botha) did not like illiterate people around him ... he taught me how to read and write in Afrikaans. I cannot write much because I did not go to school, but I can tell you, you cannot speak Afrikaans like me. I did not go to school, but I speak better Afrikaans than those who went to school. My baas helped me with a lot of things, he also taught me how to read road signs, and also helped me get my driver’s licence; that’s how I got my licence. We lived in harmony with baas Louis Botha, we had no problems ... he would freely give my family bags of maizemeal and food parcels ... those white people treated us very well in Levubu, there were no problems.”

Similarly, Participant 9 had the following to say when asked whether he has been to school.

“... No, I did not go to school, my life revolved around working in the farms ... you have to understand that I was born into Afrikaans, so that’s how I picked it up, and that’s how I adopted it; I did not learn it at school”.

Contrary to Participant 10, Participant 4 highlighted the unjust system of patriarchy in South Africa as the main contributing factor why she never went to school. She indicated that *“in the 1940s when I was born, women were not allowed to go to school because it was believed that women who went to school would turn out to be bad*

wives and be disobedient to their husbands. I never went to school because of that reason. I wish I had gone to school, and my life would have been better, but our fathers never allowed us to ... I cannot read and write; I cannot even read and write my own name and surname."

Her sentiments were further echoed by Participant 11 (67 years old), who exclaimed that

"... School? No! my father never allowed us to go to school ... school was deemed poisonous to the mind of young girls! We were never allowed to go to school ... the only school I know is farm life [laughs], I never went to school, I was born here in the farms, and when I was a young girl, I started working as a domestic servant for the Boloman (one of the farmers) family. Boloman later passed away, but I continued working for his family ... I am retired now, but I still maintain constant contact with his family. They treated me as one of their own, and they still do to date".

In the literature, Wills (2011) asserted that the apartheid government and white Afrikaner nationalists aimed to keep black people as academic infants. They sought to continue their subjugation by devising a system that would deprive them (blacks) of proper education beyond the rudimentary. By so doing, the Afrikaner could promote cultural and linguistic superiority. Together with this system, as revealed by Participant 4 above, patriarchy also played a role in ensuring that females do not obtain any form of formal education in Levubu. Furthermore, despite not being to school in his life, Participant 10 indicates that his employer (white farmer) taught him how to read and write in Afrikaans. Note that they were taught to read and write in Afrikaans, promoting the use of the language among black people in the area. In a country where the majority could not read and write, being able to do so was a great achievement for him. Therefore, Afrikaans was promoted in Levubu as part of the white cultural superiority.

The data provided on the participants' education levels reveal that only 30% of Levubu inhabitants received formal education (primary and high school), with only two participants of 40 claiming a matric certificate—the remaining 70% did not attend school. Afrikaans was not learnt in school, and its promotion occurred on the farms. Furthermore, Participant 10 showed pride in his use of Afrikaans by referring to his

competence in the language, revealing a positive attitude towards the language and claiming it as his identity marker. In other words, Afrikaans is not only the language he knows best but also the language in which he takes pride.

Regarding the type of school attended, those who indicated having been to school in the previous question all pointed to public schools. Table 5.8 below shows participants' type of school¹⁰⁷ attended.

Table 5.8 Participant type of school attended.

Type of school	Percentages (%)
Private school	0
Public school (village)	100
Township school	0
Public school (farms)	0
Model C school	0

Table 5.8 shows that 100% of the participants who had attended school indicated that they all attended a public village school, emphasising the division between black and white in the schooling system during and post-apartheid. Because education was used as a pivotal tool of apartheid, the Afrikaner ensured that black and white pupils did not share the same classroom. Wills (2011) highlighted that black learners were placed at the periphery of the education system, enabling them to only work as unskilled and semi-skilled labourers. Suffice to say, the current South African education system is a consequence of the apartheid education system of apartheid—black learners in the former Bantustans still attend public schools in the villages. Despite Levubu currently comprising Afrikaans medium schools (as reported by some participants), none of the Levubu residents who participated in this study indicated having achieved their education in the area. Regardless that Levubu residents, both black and white, share a common language, racial divisions are still in place. To further elaborate on this point, Participant 17 indicated that:

“... there is a situation that once happened in the late 1960, if I correctly remember, that almost got my father fired from his job as a baasboi (foreman/overseer) ... I inquired why white kids are allowed to go to school, and we are not allowed to do so. I had committed the worst mistake of my life by asking that ... there was a clear

¹⁰⁷ Percentages were calculated only on the number of participants who indicated that they had been to school, not every participant in this study.

discouragement of us blacks to go to school in those years, but I had to walk an Afrikaner child to the bus station to go to school in Louis Trichardt ... I would help him carry his school bag or case every morning to the bus stop, until the bus came and took him to school. I then inquired as to why we were not allowed to go to school, when I walk a white child every morning to the bus stop in order for him to go to school. I asked this from my father, but the white boy; the one I would always accompany to the bus station every morning. The boy then disclosed what I asked to his parents, and then his father escalated the matter to my father. My father then came to me and warned that my words nearly got him fired and removed from the compound. I later on went to school at Masia village, but because I was very old to start school at my age, I quit and went back to working in the farms”.

The sentiments above further reveal the racial divisions between blacks and whites in Levubu and how the education system was designed to favour white kids. The ideology of white supremacy and culture was taught in society and schools during apartheid and spilled into post-apartheid South Africa (Wills 2011). Participants who attended school were further asked to list the language(s) of teaching and learning in the schools they attended. Once again, percentages were only drawn from participants who have been to school, not those who did not attend school in their lives. Table 5.9 shows the languages of learning and teaching.

Table 5.9 Language of teaching and learning in schools attended by the participants.

Language	Percentages (%)
Tsonga	8.3
English	
Afrikaans	58.3
Pedi	
Sotho	
Tswana	
Ndebele	
Swati	
Xhosa	
Zulu	
Venda	33,3

Table 5.9 shows that 8.3% of participants indicated that Tsonga was the medium of instruction in their schools, 33.3% indicated Venda, and 58.3% pointed to Afrikaans¹⁰⁸. This presents an interesting statistic that, despite participants speaking Afrikaans in their homes, some were taught in an Indigenous African language, i.e., Venda or Tsonga. Also, of the 12 (30%), only five participants managed to acquire primary education, and the remaining seven indicated that they reached high school (only two have a matric certificate). Conversely, the highlighted participants grew up at different times in Levubu, and none went to a Levubu school. According to some verbal reports by the Levubu residents, there were no schools in Levubu when they were growing up. White kids had to take a bus every morning to private schools in town, in Louis Trichardt (Makhado), when most black kids remained on the farms (in their compounds). Those who attended school had to walk a long distance every morning to attend school in neighbouring villages (Vyeboom, Bosboor, Valdesia, Masia, Madobi, Mission, and Tshakhuma), which accommodated black pupils from Levubu. This explains why black Afrikaans speakers would be taught in an indigenous language. Participant 17 was very forthcoming about the language of learning and teaching at a school he attended. He indicated that

“... although the school that I attended was a village school, we were taught in Afrikaans most of the time. It was a public school, but Afrikaans was the language of learning and teaching ... I would not say I got very far with schooling, I quit school at standard 6 (grade 8) but I can tell you that most of my schooling was conducted in Afrikaans during those years. I remember, because it was known that me and my siblings were from the farms, people knew that we mainly spoke Afrikaans ... I would sometimes stand up in class and teach other black pupils Afrikaans because I was coming from an Afrikaans-speaking background. Teachers knew that me and my brother David were very good in Afrikaans, so when they were lazy to teach the subject (Afrikaans), they would let me teach other students. Those of us who came from the Levubu farms were dominant in the subject (Afrikaans) because it is our home language and the language we know best. We were very good with the subject, myself, my brother David, and my sister Anna always scored the highest in the subjects and other subjects too, because most of them were taught in the language. Afrikaans gave

¹⁰⁸ Discrepancies might be attributed to a lack of understanding of the differences between school language of learning and teaching and the predominant language in the area of their schooling.

us an advantage over other students because we always performed better although we were in different grades ... sorry to interrupt you, I nearly forgot something very important, back in the day during my school years, whenever school inspectors came to inspect our school, me and my siblings would always be chosen to represent our school when it comes to Afrikaans ... whenever there were speculations that an inspector would come to inspect our school and check the performance of the pupils, our (him and siblings) Afrikaans books would always be in the forefront to impress the inspectors. Whenever there were district and provincial school debates in Afrikaans, there were no questions as to who would represent the school; it would either be me or my brother David, or even my sister Anna. Afrikaans was our daily bread back in the day, and still is to me to this day.

From the assertions above, Afrikaans made Levubu residents stand out from the crowd. In other words, they held the language in high regard and treated it as a commodity. Afrikaans marked their identities everywhere they went and whenever they encountered fellow blacks who did not speak the language. After all, the only difference between Levubu residents and other black people of the surrounding areas is location and language. This phenomenon correlates with Sapir Worf's (1956) hypothesis that language is the pivotal component of ethnic identities and a "matrix which shapes our particular ways of feeling, thinking and acting" (cited in Cumming 2006:45). Therefore, black people represented Afrikaans everywhere they went, and Afrikaans was used as a tool that worked in their favour, particularly in an education system that sought to promote the language.

Although concomitant negative attitudes escalated towards using the language in schools during apartheid, Levubu residents showed pride and affection for Afrikaans. Therefore, people identify with languages, not the other way around. Languages shape our worlds and perceptions; therefore, when people identify with a language, they develop strong feelings of attachment towards it. They begin viewing the language as their own and allow their lives to revolve around it (through its use in a speech community). When more than two people from the same environment identify with the same language, a sense of shared identity unwittingly develops. Such identities are often characterised by a common language, way of life, location, and race. To further illustrate this point, Alidou and Mazrui (1999) asserted that

Language influences the way in which we perceive, evaluate it, and conduct ourselves with respect to it. Speakers of different languages and cultures see the universe differently, evaluate it differently, and behave towards its reality differently. Language controls thought, and action and speakers of different languages do not have the same culture or background (cited in Makwaka 2018: 61).

Again, the perceptions of black Afrikaans speakers of Levubu towards Afrikaans are influenced by their attachment to the language. Their linguistic upbringing, choices, and the opportunities the language represents shape their positive attitudes towards Afrikaans. To some, Afrikaans enabled them to do well at school and is a language of communication with other residents, both black and white.

Although identities are formed through different avenues, those created through language prove strong and shared. The literature review indicated that language and identity are inseparable where a speech community is involved. Language is an “identifier of values, which are symbolic of the group and its membership” (Smolicz 1980, in Cumming 2006: 49). People find their sense of community and unity in their language, and speakers bring languages into existence. Therefore, one cannot think of a speech community and not think of their linguistic behaviour and practices. Speech communities are identified by their language(s). In accentuating this, Pavlenko and Blackledge (2004: 47) highlighted how language and identity are intertwined by proclaiming that

On the one hand, languages, or rather particular discourses within them, supply the terms and other linguistic means with which identities are constructed and negotiated. On the other, ideologies of language and identity guide ways in which individuals use linguistic resources to index their identities and to evaluate the use of linguistic resources by others.

While the Afrikaans-speaking identity is frequently associated with Afrikanerdom, the community under investigation in this study proves otherwise. They use Afrikaans to construct and negotiate their identities, regardless of the language’s close association with whiteness. Van Lier (2002) alluded that speech communities are influenced by the language they speak, and the languages themselves are influenced by the speech

community. Regarding the Levubu residents, the availability of Afrikaans in their community influences how they think about the language, and Afrikaans is influenced by their context. Without their use of Afrikaans in their day-to-day activities, the language would not exist in their environment. Their linguistic behaviour and use of Afrikaans reveal the positive attitudes they hold towards the language. Ajzen (1975; 1988) postulated that linguistic behaviour and practice are influenced by an individual or a group's attitudes towards that language. He further stated that

The actual or symbolic presence of an object elicits a generally favourable or unfavourable evaluative reaction, the attitude towards the object. This attitude, in turn, predisposes cognitive, affective, and conative responses to the object whose evaluative tone is consistent with the overall attitude (cited in O'Rourke 2005: 14).

There is congruence between language attitudes and behavioural dimensions. Individuals' linguistic behaviour in a society elicits deep-seated feelings or linguistic attitudes. Using a specific language in a community might be associated with positive attitudes of that speech community towards that language. Holmes (2001) in Cumming (2006: 45) highlighted the integral part that location (area) plays in influencing how people feel about a language. He further argued that the environment in which a language or language variety is found influences our "perceptions, values, beliefs and attitudes". To further understand the linguistic practices and behaviour of Levubu residents, participants were asked to indicate the language(s) they use when communicating with their siblings. A thorough discussion is provided in the following section.

Question 16 asked participants to indicate the language they use when communicating with their siblings and friends. Although repetitive, it enabled the researcher to determine whether Afrikaans is used with other languages in Levubu and among siblings. In other words, if the use of Afrikaans continued¹⁰⁹ among siblings post-apartheid¹¹⁰. Other languages used in Levubu are Venda and Tsonga, and 88% of the participants indicated that Afrikaans is the language they use the most when

¹⁰⁹ To also determine whether it is a generational phenomenon.

¹¹⁰ It must be noted that participants make many references to the linguistic situations of their parents in Levubu during apartheid. This might signal a change in perspective towards the language.

communicating with their siblings, and 12% indicated that Venda is the language they use the most when communicating with their siblings. If 88% (most of the participants) speak Afrikaans the most, who do the Venda speakers speak Venda to in an Afrikaans-speaking environment? Therefore, one can speculate that there is a lot of code-mixing and code-switching among Levubu residents.

Although Afrikaans has been identified as the area's primary language, the availability of the two other languages calls for their usage (Venda and Tsonga). Gumperz (1982: 33) defined code-switching as "the juxtaposition within the same speech exchange of passages of speech belonging to two different grammatical systems of subsystems". By the same token, Gal (1988: 247) stated that code-switching "is a conversational strategy used to establish, cross, or destroy group boundaries; to create, evoke or change interpersonal relations with their rights and obligations". In contextualising this phenomenon, Richards et. al (1985: 43) asserted that

Code-switching can take place in conversation where one speaker uses one language, and another speaker answers in a different language. A person may start speaking one language and then change to another one in the middle of a sentence.

Richards' assertions proposed that code-switching occurs when a speaker in a speech community switches from one language to another based on the situation and circumstances. Because Levubu is an Afrikaans-speaking community, residents might use one language in their home and switch to the common language (Afrikaans) when in contact with other residents from different farms (compounds). The need to fit in and salvage diminishing linguistic competence in a specific language often encourages these practices. For example, a Levubu resident might use Venda to indicate their lineage and switch to Afrikaans to denote belonging to the Levubu community. In this case, situational code-switching occurs. According to Wardhaugh (1986), situational code-switching occurs when "the languages change according to the situation in which the conversants find themselves, they speak one language in one situation and another in a different one". Similarly, Hudson (1996) is of the view that

this kind of code-switching is called situational code-switching because the switches between languages always coincide with changes from one external

situation, e.g. talking to a member of a family, talking to the neighbours (cited in Baloyi 2010: 11).

Speakers might feel the need to use both languages to salvage the one slowly diminishing because of lack of use. Here, a situation calls for the language to be used when communicating. A person might use one language in intimate environments, such as the household, and use a different one when communicating with other members of the same community. Accordingly, in this code-switching, members of a speech community know which language to use, and they often anticipate the same response from the person with whom they are conversing. Furthermore, when residents communicate with members of the same speech community using two or more languages, conversational bilingualism (code-mixing) often occurs. By defining code-mixing, Wardhaugh (1986: 106) indicated that

Code-mixing occurs when conversants use both languages together to the extent that they change from one language to the other in the course of a single utterance.

Scotton (2006, in Alenezi 2010) echoed Wardhaugh's sentiments by postulating that code-mixing occurs when two languages or language varieties are used within the same speech or conversation. Fasold (1987) stated that pieces of one language can be used while a conversant is using another language. Specifically, this refers to when some of the Levubu Afrikaans speakers would communicate with one another in both Afrikaans and Venda within the same sentence of the conversation. In other words, they use both Venda and Afrikaans words within the same expression. For example, a conversation between two residents in the morning:

Participant A: *Goeie more (good morning)*

Participant B: *Goeie more [Afrikaans], vho vuwa hani [Venda]? (good morning, are you well?)*

Participant A: *Ek is baie goed, athina khakhathi! dankie (I'm very well, there are no problems thanks).*

When code-mixing is involved, two languages are used simultaneously without any problems. Baker (2006) stipulated that individuals use code-mixing and code-switching to accentuate a specific point and denote a sense of belonging in a specific speech community. In both phenomena, speakers converge between two languages, while using affixes, clauses, phrases, and expressions from two languages, within the same speech act.

Although these communication strategies prove beneficial in easing communication between people who share similar linguistic experiences, it is not without criticism. It is often associated with people of lower social status and is only applied by people with poor linguistic proficiency in two languages to compensate for their linguistic deficiency (Alenezi 2010; Lin 1996). Nevertheless, there is no clear justification for how the same participants, who indicated that Afrikaans is the language they know best (from question 7 in the questionnaire), would use Venda when communicating with their siblings and friends. Hays and Singh (2012 in Nene 2013) posited that when participants are fatigued by prolonged research interviews, they tend to provide any answer they believe will get them off the hook. Therefore, researchers must be straightforward and concise when conducting social sciences research comprising human participants.

Questions 17–22 were designed to investigate the continued use of Afrikaans or lack thereof in Levubu in post-apartheid South Africa. Therefore, participants were asked to indicate whether they have children, grandchildren and their current residence (both the children and grandchildren). They were further asked to indicate their children and grandchildren's language(s). Again, given the changes in the current political position of Afrikaans, the aim was to determine whether these political changes also apply in Levubu—to investigate whether the younger generation of Levubu residents shares the same sentiments as their parents and grandparents regarding Afrikaans. Because location determines our linguistic choices (Dyers 2008) and practices, it was necessary to know where they (children and grandchildren) live. This investigation indicates that 88% of the participants have children, and only 7% of the 88% indicated Levubu as their children's current residence. This statistic informs us that most children of Levubu residents live in other places and provinces other than Limpopo

province. Note that this might indicate a discontinuity of the black Afrikaans-speaking identity in Levubu.

The discontinuity might automatically indicate the minimal use of Afrikaans in Levubu in the future. After all, languages exist because they have users—speakers do not exist because they have languages. Below are some answers given by the participants when asked about the language(s) their children use.

Participant A: *They speak Tsonga and Venda, sometimes English ... when things changed politically, for the language [...Afrikaans...] people started distancing themselves from it. Particularly the younger generation.*

Participant B: *My children speak Tsonga and Venda, they know how to speak Afrikaans, but they choose not to. They only use the language when speaking to me once in a while, but they seldom do.*

Participant C: *They speak Tsonga and Afrikaans, but they do not use Afrikaans that often ... you see, when you live outside of Levubu, you seldom hear or meet black people who speak Afrikaans, unless they have lived in Levubu before. Blacks who speak Afrikaans are found in Levubu, but not the surrounding villages.*

Participant D: *My children speak no Afrikaans at all.*

Participant E: *My children speak Afrikaans and Tsonga, but they do not use Afrikaans anymore. They cannot speak English because they never went to school, they only know Tsonga and Afrikaans.*

Participant F: *My two kids speak ‘Sepitori’ (Pretoria Sotho) and maybe English, I don’t know, they relocated to Pretoria with their mother when we separated many years ago, and I only hear them speak Sepitori whenever I see them at family gatherings.*

Participant G: *My children and grandchildren speak a whole variety of languages but not Afrikaans. Only I and my siblings speak Afrikaans.*

Participant H: *My two children speak English, Tsonga, and Venda. I am not sure if they are able to speak other languages.*

Participant I: *They can speak Afrikaans, but they prefer English instead, although they can speak Afrikaans, as I usually speak to them in it, they speak Venda and English instead.*

Participant J: *They speak Venda but the one I stay with here in Levubu speaks Afrikaans.*

The answers provided by participants expose the discontinued use of Afrikaans by participants' children. Contrary to their parents, they do not stay in Levubu, and they do not use Afrikaans often or daily. As revealed by other studies conducted on Afrikaans in post-apartheid South Africa (Steyn 2016; Govender 2010; Loubser 2015; Webb 2010; Begg 2011; Orman 2007; Meyer 2018), the younger generation distances itself from the language. Upon closer analysis, the researcher learnt that participants over 65 indicated that their children could speak Afrikaans to some extent. This teaches us that the black Afrikaans-speaking identity is slowly fading with the older generation. Although pensioners and the younger generation are using the language, pride in the language is predominantly shown by the older generation. Their pride is influenced by their links with the land of Levubu and what it represents to them—it is both their home and land with which they share ancestral links.

Accordingly, the same participants were asked to disclose whether they have grandchildren. Some participants indicated that they have grandchildren but stated that they do not know how many grandchildren they have. Such answers were provided by participants who previously indicated that they had never set their foot in a school. Nevertheless, all participants indicated that their grandchildren live in other areas outside of Levubu. When asked about their languages, none of the participants indicated that their grandchildren could speak Afrikaans.

According to Myers-Scotton (2006, in Dyers 2008: 55), demographics, social, educational, and psychological factors motivate language maintenance or a lack thereof. The participants' grandchildren are in environments that do not support and promote using Afrikaans. In other words, unlike in Levubu, their places of residence do not comprise many Afrikaans speakers. Afrikaans is a language with which they do not share any ancestral and ethnic links. Also, removing Afrikaans from South African rural and township schools meant that these grandchildren would not, by any means,

be exposed to the language. These factors might have created negative attitudes towards the language by the participants' grandchildren. Also, societal changes influence linguistic choices. As Koike (1992, in Kubayi 2013: 36) postulated:

Much of everyday language is ritualistic and expected according to the norms of the particular society. While the exact messages one conveys cannot be anticipated, the frames one utilises to communicate them usually can be predicted in accordance with the social and linguistic context in which they occur.

Clearly, Afrikaans usage by black people in Levubu can be linked to the first and second generations currently residing in the area. As the language is also fading in other areas¹¹¹ of South Africa, it is only a matter of time before Afrikaans becomes extinct in Levubu. The end of the current generation will mark the end of the language in the area.

The following questions aimed to elicit more information about the participants' language use in Levubu. They were asked to indicate the language they use at work, the language(s) they regularly use in the community and other languages they hear in Levubu. These questions were asked as a follow up to the previous questions¹¹². They sought to investigate participants' current linguistic choices and behaviour. In other words, to determine the linguistic status of Afrikaans by comparing the linguistic behaviour of adult residents of Levubu and their younger counterparts. Because these questions were conversational rather than statistical, only discussions without tables and graphs are provided. All participants indicated that Afrikaans is and was the language they regularly use at work (in the farm fields and the households of the white farmers). They also stated that it is the language they use the most in the Levubu community and hear the most. Regardless of the prediction made in the previous paragraph, findings from Questions 23 to 26 reveal the continued use of Afrikaans by adults in Levubu, irrespective of the language's loss of political power and prestige.

¹¹¹ From people of other races, i.e., white, coloured and Indian

¹¹² Which investigated the linguistic behaviour of participants' children and grandchildren. As a follow up, participants were asked to indicate their current language use and choices in Levubu.

Although the language continues to be associated with apartheid's ugly past, Levubu's senior residents continue to use Afrikaans as a marker of their linguistic¹¹³ identity.

5.3 Data from language portraits

Because no research method is without limitations, this study employed a multi-semiotic, multimodal, and interrelated approach to data collection, including a structured questionnaire, interviews, and a language portrait. Albeit structured differently, these data collection tools work effectively and are complementary, enabling the researcher to collect rich data from the participants. Conversely, the three methods provided three datasets, i.e., biographic information, narratives (stories) and a painting of the participants' linguistic repertoires. Gumperz (1964: 254) provided clarity on the linguistic repertoire notion. In his view, a linguistic repertoire describes

...a full range of styles which an individual needs to fulfil all his or her communicative needs in the most appropriate way. The speaker's ability to choose the appropriate variety for any particular purpose is part of his/her communicative competence; the choice is not random but has been shown to be determined by aspects of the social organisation of the community and the social situation where the discourse takes place...

Busch (2016) reiterated Gumperz's point by indicating that a

... language portrait provides two sets of data that permit inferences to be drawn about how speakers interpret their linguistic repertoire: a visual one and a narrative one. Meaning is created through both modes; one is neither the translation nor simply the illustration of the other (Busch 2016: 8).

To avoid the limitations of one mode, this approach allows participants to switch from one mode to another—from oral to written and visual modes. Riessman highlighted that "just as oral and written narratives cannot speak for themselves, neither can images" (2007: 179). Because linguistic identities are socially constructed, linguistic

¹¹³ This is revealed by some of the answers given by the participants, e.g., Afrikaans is a Levubu language, only black people from Levubu speak Afrikaans in the surrounding areas, when you speak Afrikaans, they immediately know that you are from the farms.

repertoires (language portraits) allow us to mirror and creep into participants' objective lives and linguistic realities. Tuffin (2005) posited that

At an ontological level social constructionism demands a radical reconceptualisation of the way in which we have understood language to operate. Social constructionism resists the common view of language as merely descriptive, neutral, and reflective, and sets out to explore the ways in which language may be seen as constructive, active, and dynamic. Most simply, constructionists explore the ways in which language is actively involved in the construction of social reality (in Verwey 2008: 34).

From this, language reflects reality and is one of its creators. Linguistic identities are created and revealed through social interactions, and to understand these constructions, "... we must examine in particular the way that language is used in practice by participants" (Verwey 2008: 35). In this thesis, Levubu participants were provided with a plain language portrait and markers (of different colours) to colour in their linguistic practices and behaviour. The researcher also advised participants to write texts (after colouring) on the portrait to accompany their colouring; however, not all agreed. Language portraits were the last of the three data collection tools that work in conjunction with the semi-structured interviews (big stories). The language portrait prompted the interviews by allowing the participants to talk in-depth about their painting, colour choice and labelling of the language portrait.

Data from the language portrait cannot be quantified, making it near impossible to arrive at the results statistically. With that said, subjects embody their linguistic practices, lives and experiences using portraits. Moreover, the portrait embodies language use and representation. This multimodal method encompasses the portrait's colouring and labelling, revealing participants' lived experiences of language. Soares Duarte and Günther-van der Meij (2021) vehemently supported using language portraits in research because

using visual methodologies for data collection enables participants to deeply reflect on their responses while engaging in a creative production as they have alternative ways of articulating their experiences creating an interpretative story of their embodied languages, and therefore providing new resources for

thinking about identity and subjectivity as embodied and relational (Soares Duarte and Günther-van der Meij 2021: 25).

Again, language portraits allow subjects to express their emotions attached to the language in question while simultaneously revealing their use or lack thereof. Conversely, language portrait data were analysed solely on the emerging themes from the participants' responses. Pavlenko (2007) commended that the thematic analysis of participants' stories permits the researcher to delve deeper into their private lives. Participants' responses are used as a mirror into their private world. Ostensibly, the language portrait's painting and labelling allowed participants to visualise the stories, attitudes, and linguistic behaviour. To further emphasise the usefulness of language portraits in linguistic research, Busch wrote that

In the visual mode, meaning is constituted by pictorial elements such as lines, contrasts, colours, areas, surfaces. Although narrations are structured in a linear and sequential way, the visual mode steers one's vision toward the whole (the *Gestalt*) and toward the relationality of the parts. Although the verbal mode favours diachronic continuity and synchronic coherence, in the visual mode contradiction, fractures, overlapping, and ambiguities can also remain unsolved (2012: 518).

Because this is a sociolinguistic study, respondents provided a detailed situation of Afrikaans in Levubu from their early childhood years to date. Respondents could tell a story (narrative) of how they adopted the language, how they feel about it, how often they use it and their current standing with it. Busch (2012: 521) stated that linguistic repertoires are "... a hypothetical structure, which evolves by experiencing language in interaction on a cognitive and on an emotional level and is inscribed into corporal memory".

Although participants (some) were keen to partake in this research, they were not as equally eager to engage with the language portrait, deeming it to be a *preschool activity* and should only be done by young kids. However, some participants who partook in this study and completed their language portraits seemed not to understand some instructions, leading to discrepancies in their responses. The language portrait method appeared to be too complex and sophisticated for most participants,

particularly those who indicated they had never set their foot in a school. Conversely, Bam (2016: 37) found in her comprehensive study that self-reported data, particularly from linguistic repertoires (language portraits), where participants provide their accounts and perceptions of themselves and their experiences, might be unverifiable. Therefore, participant responses might differ from the known facts about a specific subject.

According to Busch (2018: 5), the body serves as a port where “the biographical and the discursive intersect”, and individuals reveal their accounts/perceptions of their lived emotional experiences through this intersection. Busch further highlighted that “... language portraits are employed by the [...researchers...] to represent language attitudes and emotional aspects, but they also allow us to identify the influence of language ideologies and of stance taking towards such ideologies” (Busch 2018: 5). Therefore, the researcher wishes to indicate that this data analysis section is conducted based on the participants’ accounts and responses rather than known facts about Afrikaans.

5.4 Colour as the conveyer of meaning and clarity

In social sciences, the word colour is synonymous with *hue*. According to Munsell, hue can be defined as

that quality by which we distinguish one colour family from another, as red from yellow, green from blue or purple. It is specifically and technically that distinctive quality of colouring in an object or on a surface; the respect in which red, yellow, green, blue, and purple differ from one another; that quality in which colours of equal luminosity and chroma may differ (Munsell 1961).

Furthermore, Munsell (1961) provides another dimension of colour: *lightness*. In his view, lightness is the quality by which we distinguish a light colour from a dark one. This dimension might also include tone, light, dark, value, and brightness. Humans are emotive beings, and they often communicate their feelings towards a specific subject using signs and colours. Again, different colours represent and mean different things to different people from different backgrounds. What might represent one thing in one culture might mean a different thing in another.

Busch warned that

... it should be noted that there are no generally valid laws to account for the meaning of a particular colour. The way in which a colour is experienced is up to a certain point historically-culturally contagious, but it is not possible to match colour meanings and preferences to individual cultures. For a single person, one and the same colour may be associated with multiple connotations (Busch 2018: 10).

For example, while black clothing might be perceived as a symbol of mourning and grief in one culture, it is associated with masculinity and strength in others. Nevertheless, regardless of the many colour associations, the *chroma* or *saturation* element exists across different cultures and individuals. Chroma/saturation can be defined as the quality of colour, by which a strong colour is distinguished from a weak one, the degree of departure of a colour sensation from that of white or grey, the intensity of a distinctive hue, or colour intensity. Therefore, when people use colours or paintings to communicate meanings, researchers must always have prompting and follow up questions that elicit answers from the subjects. Researchers must thoroughly understand the subjects' colour choices before the subjects proceed with the mapping/painting process.

5.4.1 Colour symbolism in language portraits

Meaning is communicated in more forms other than the spoken and written word. These multi-codes include images, colours, visuals, art, and other varieties of symbols. In this regard, language shares the same platform with other modes of meaning-making (van Leeuwen 2005). According to Salminen (1988):

Visual expression is a way of obtaining, stocking, adjusting, and communicating knowledge acquired from the world. It makes the world a meaningful place to live and function in, since it gives form not only to the observable but also to the mental and imagined within (cited in Lundell 2010: 9).

Participants received a blank language portrait with different coloured crayons (markers) to map their linguistic choices and practices in Levubu. The researcher ensured that participants understood what they were required to do before commencing the mapping/painting and labelling process. Note that not all participants were clear regarding their colour choices and the mapping of body parts. Although not all participants fully understood and were willing to participate in the language portrait activity, those who did, indicated the following regarding their colour choices.

Interviewer: *What colour is that?*

Participant 3: *It is green, can't you see?*

Interviewer: *Ok, I can see, why did you choose Green?*

Participant 3: *Look around you, it is green everywhere here in Levubu, it's farming; Afrikaans represents agriculture and farming to me, so I am going to highlight it in Green because of what it represents.*

Interviewer: *Ok, so what language is represented by the Green colour in the heart area?*

Participant 3: *It is Afrikaans!*

Interviewer: *Why did you put it in the heart area?*

Participant 3: *... Because Afrikaans is in my heart, I think about it a lot, and it is very close to my heart; this a way for me to express my love for the language.*

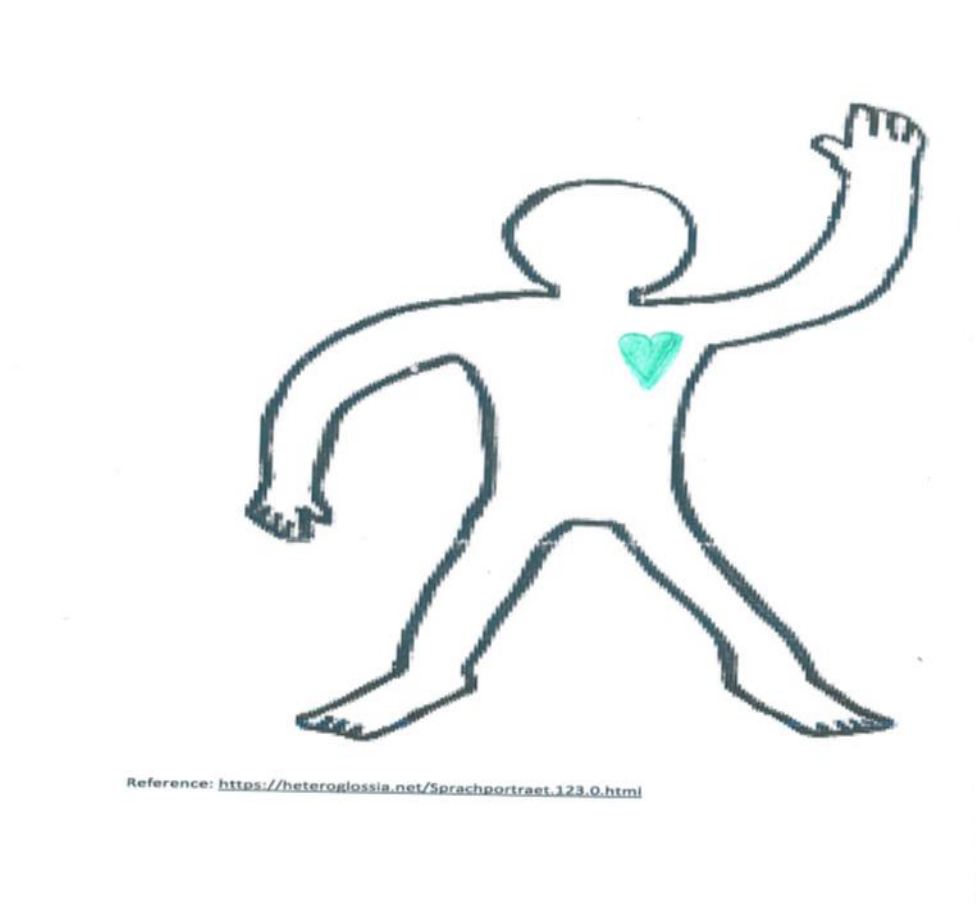


Figure 1.

Above, Participant 3 associates Afrikaans with agriculture and farming. Furthermore, the participant links green with farming. Similarly, Participant 12 associates green with farming, agriculture, and food. Please see the below interview for better clarity.

Interviewer: *What colour is that?*

Participant 12: *It is green.*

Interviewer: *Why did you select the green colour?*

Participant 12: *Because it is visible and represents the land I live in; Levubu.*

Interviewer: *Ok, why did you use that colour in the stomach area and what language is represented by that?*

Participant 12: *It would have to be Afrikaans...*

Interviewer: *Ok, why did you paint Afrikaans in the abdominal area?*

Participant 12: *Because Afrikaans feeds me and it has been feeding me ever since I was born. I was born here in Levubu, it is the language I adopted a a very young age, and it is a language I used to seek employment from white farmers...so I am going to paint Afrikaans in green in both my head and stomach ... it feeds me, and I think in it so ja, because it feeds me, I am also going to paint it in my hand area, you eat with your hands, right? [laughs]...*

Interviewer: Yes...

Participant 12: *Yes, let me also paint it in my hand ... I am also painting it in my hand because I eat with my hand and Afrikaans represents that; being fed.*

Interviewer: *Ok, could you please be clearer as to what you mean by being fed by Afrikaans?*

Participant 12: *To me, Afrikaans is synonymous with this land, Levubu, and Levubu is a farming community ... what happens in farms? Farming right? And farms feed the world, most of this country's food supply, particularly fruits come from this land, Levubu, so how can I not associate Afrikaans, Levubu and Boers with food? You see what I mean...*

Interviewer: Yes...

Participant 12: *Ja, Afrikaans feeds me, hence I mapped it in my stomach area, heart, and hand...*



Figure 2.

The notion that Afrikaans embodies food (feeding) is also shared by Participant 11 who had the following to say.

Interviewer: *Ok, what language is represented by the red colour and why did you paint it there?*

Participant 11: *Afrikaans*

Interviewer: *Ok, why did you paint it in red?*

Participant 11: *Because it is the language I grew up in, I grew up in both Venda and Afrikaans...*

Interviewer: *Ok, which one did you paint in red, and in the upper hand area?*

Participant 11: *I raise my hand for it because it is a language that I know best, and I raise my hand for it ... it helped me reach where I am.*

Interviewer: *Ok, please elaborate as to what you mean by that, reach where you are?*

Participant 11: *I grew up in it; it was through my proficiency in the language that I was able to communicate with my previous white employers ... I got a job in the farms speaking Afrikaans, and I am still able to communicate with other people who live here in Levubu, in Afrikaans. Because I cannot utter a single word in English, I had to rely on Afrikaans to communicate with white people everywhere I went ... I still do.*

Interviewer: *Ok ... [interrupted]*

Participant 11: *Also, Afrikaans feeds me uhm [hesitating] ... I was born into the language ... when I was born in the 50s all it took was the ability to speak Afrikaans to get a job here in the farms ... if you spoke Afrikaans, you were automatically guaranteed a job in the farm fields. So, for me, Afrikaans has been feeding me since childhood.*

Interviewer: *Ok, I see ... what about in the head? What language is represented by the mapping in the head and why did you use the red colour still?*

Participant 11: *It's in my brain ... I don't forget it, I think in it all the time, because I use Afrikaans when I am very angry too, even to people who do not understand the language. Therefore, it's always in my mind and I raise a hand for it to go forward.*



Figure 3.

From the participants' responses, Afrikaans is synonymous with farming, represented by Green. Furthermore, the language is more than a communication tool for Levubu

residents—it is a commodity they embrace as the basis of their linguistic identity. They mapped Afrikaans in the head and heart areas to denote its significance in their day-to-day activities. According to Busch (2018), different body parts metaphorically represent different emotions: “the head as the place of reason, the belly as the place of emotions, the heart as the location of intimacy and the hand as the site of social activity” (Busch 2018: 10).

Dressler (2014), Kress and van Leeuwen (2002), Busch (2006), Kress and van Leeuwen (2006), Soares, Duarte and Günther-van der Meij (2021), Lundell (2010), and Kasap (2021) have found a direct correlation between colour choices and the geographical features and associations of a specific region. According to Kasap (2021: 787), “the language of a [...region...] with forest nature may be shown as green by the participants. In this sense, it can be easily considered that there is a connection between culture, [...language...], environment and the use of colour”. Equally, because autobiographies are based on individual experiences (Busch 2006), participants also used other colours in different parts of the body silhouette, representing different things. The participants selected bright colours and used them to map both the heart and head area of the silhouette. The following responses are evidence of this claim.

Interviewer: *Please select your colour and please explain your colour choice*

Participant 9: *To me it doesn't matter what colour I choose; I will paint Afrikaans in my heart...* [participant mapped the heart area with a red marker]

Interviewer: *Ok, why the red marker, and why in the heart area?*

Participant 9: *Because Afrikaans it is the one, I know best ... it is the language I know better than all of them ... I was born and picked it, and I have been speaking the language since then. I speak it with other languages, but it is in the forefront in my life, it is in, my heart...*

Interviewer: *Ok...* [interrupted]

Participant 9: *Yes, I know no English at all, I cannot even introduce myself in English ... Afrikaans forms part of who I am ... I did not go to school, this is not the type you*

learn at school, it is one that you pick up from white kids in play. I cannot even write my name, but I can speak Afrikaans. You call it Afrikaans; we call it 'Holandse mense'¹¹⁴ se taal...



Figure 4.

¹¹⁴ The expression can be loosely translated as 'the language of those who are from Holland'.

Together with Participant 9, Participant 10 also justified using red in their silhouette by indicating the following.

Interviewer: *What colour is that?*

Participant 10: *Can't you see it's red?*

Interviewer: *Ok, why did you choose a red colour?*

Participant 10: *Because it is visible; I want the language represented by the red colour to be visible.*

Interviewer: *Ok, and what language is that?*

Participant 10: *Afrikaans!*

Interviewer: *Ok, why did you put Afrikaans there; in the hand area?*

Participant 10: *Because I love it, I raise my hand for it ... I want Afrikaans to go ahead because I was born in the language, therefore I would like to see it going forward ... how can one not raise their hand for the language they were raised in? I would like to see Afrikaans going forward, hence I am raising my hand for it.*

Interviewer: *Ok, how about the one that you have painted in the head area? What language is that and why are you not changing the colour of the marker?*

Participant 10: *It is still Afrikaans; I will still paint it in red because Afrikaans is always in my head ... I think in it every day, hence I am painting it in red to show how lively it is in my mind...*

Interviewer: *Ok, I see you have also painted the heart area, in red as well, could you please reveal to me the language represented in the heart area and why you are still using the red colour?*

Participant 10: *It is Afrikaans; Afrikaans stays in my heart ... the situation has been like that for a very long time ... look, I am 82 years old now, I was born and bred in Levubu where Afrikaans was the main language of communication, I have been speaking the language since childhood, how can things change now that I am nearing my death? I know you, the younger generation speak ill of the language, but things*

are different with me, I don't think I can all of a sudden hate Afrikaans because of another person's opinion of the language.

Interviewer: *I hear you, so why did you paint map the heart area representing Afrikaans in red?*

Participant 10: *Because red symbolises blood and love for something, and my heart pumps blood.*



Figure 5.

Colours are used in language portrait mapping to communicate participants' common connotations metaphorically. Busch referred to Johnson (1980), Lakoff and Johnson (1999), Karl (2006), and Langer (1948) by indicating that a language portrait is a "pictorial-presentational and linguistic-discursive sense-is structured and configured by means of metaphors [...] and metaphors are a constituent of the bodily-sensory system of orientation" (2018: 11). Levubu residents used red to visualise their livelihood and vivid feelings towards Afrikaans in post-apartheid South Africa. They used the language portrait to map their emotional lived experiences in Levubu as relating to Afrikaans. Although they were presented with many colours, most chose red as their colour of choice and it always represented Afrikaans. Generically, red represents love, energy, passion, strength, desire, blood, and danger, and it is often used metaphorically rather than literally. In other words, subjects used red as a metaphor for the strong feelings of love and passion for Afrikaans, embedded in their hearts.

Lundell (2010) affirmed that language portrait practitioners often reveal positive feelings towards bright colours and negative ones towards darker ones. Accordingly, Soures, Duarte and Guther-van der Meij (2021:4) are of the view that "...language portraits provide an overview of the linguistic practices of the [...subjects...] making possible the expression of emotions or experiences that are linked to [...] language". Because humans are emotional beings, different colours will evoke different emotions depending on one's lived language experiences. Colour can stimulate a person's feelings or even sentiments linguistically and visually. Simply put, colour is used as a signifier of one's emotional position relating to a language where the language portrait method is employed.

5.4.2 Bodily placements

From the section(s) above, the participants placed different languages in different body parts. Languages were placed based on participants' competence, preference, love, and hate for the language. Please see the excerpt below for better clarity.

Interviewer: *What language is that?*

Participant 13: *It is Afrikaans...*

Interviewer: *Ok, I wish to know, why did you paint Afrikaans on the head with that colour?*

Participant 13: *I painted it in the head because it is the language that I know very well, and I think in it and think about it every day.*

Interviewer: *Ok ... and then what about the hand? What language is represented by the painting in the hand?*

Participant 13: *It is also Afrikaans...*

Interviewer: *Why did you paint Afrikaans in the hand?*

Participant 13: *I put it in the hand because I raise my hand for the language to be used further. I would like to see the language going further ... I raise my hand for it.*

Interviewer: *Ok, and then what about here? Where you painted, what part is this?*

Participant 13: *It's in the chest right, it's in my chest, my heart is in my chest, so that is because Afrikaans is also in my heart, it got there, and it has stayed there since my early childhood.*

Interviewer: *Ok, if I may ask, why did you use green colour when painting Afrikaans in the silhouette? What does green represent in this regard?*

Participant 13: *Just the way I work in this farm you see, because this whole farm is green with trees and grass as you can see [laughs] so to me Afrikaans is synonymous with Levubu and farming as a whole. So, because green represents life, I would also like to see Afrikaans living on...*

Interviewer: *Ok ... and how about the blue in the hand of the body silhouette?*

Participant 13: *This blue? Ehh, I painted the hand in blue because I want it to be visible that I raise my hand for Afrikaans...*

Interviewer: *Oh*

Participant 13: *Ja! [enthusiastic] ... it has to be visible that I would like to see Afrikaans going forward like it did in the past.*

Interviewer: *Ok, and what language is represented by the yellow in your stomach?*

Participant 13: *Still Afrikaans! Because I say it can stay in me like gold, I used yellow to represent gold since I could not find a gold colour in these crayons.*



Reference: <https://heteroglossia.net/Sprachportraet.123.0.html>

Figure 6.

Participants 15 and 16 echoed participant 13's placement of Afrikaans in the upper body parts, respectively, by stating the following.

Interviewer: *So, if I may ask, why did you paint Afrikaans in the head?*

Participant 15: *I put it there because that's the language I always speak, both at home and at work...*

Interviewer: *Ok, so why did you use this bright yellow colour?*

Participant 15: *So that it can easily be seen, that's how bright Afrikaans is in my head...*



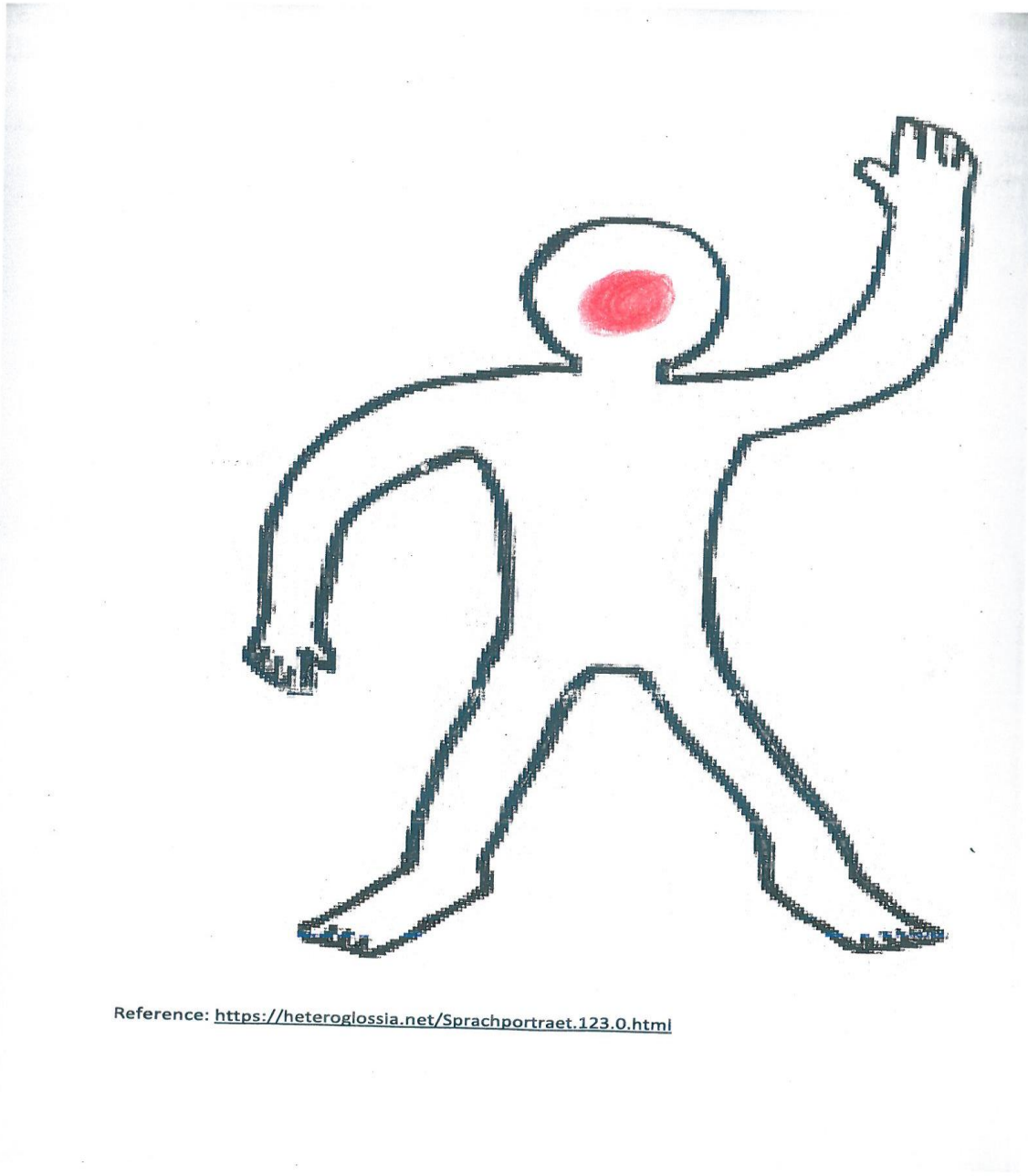
Reference: <https://heteroglossia.net/Sprachportraet.123.0.html>

Figure 7.

Please see the excerpt from Participant 16 below.

Interviewer: *Ok, why did you paint the language in the head?*

Participant 16: *Because the language stays in my head, I think in it, and I would like to keep it there until I die...*



Reference: <https://heteroglossia.net/Sprachportraet.123.0.html>

Figure 8.

Together with colour choices, language placement in the body silhouette is pivotal in determining participants' language attitudes, and it helps the researcher to understand

the participants' language repertoires. In other words, in body mapping activities, participants do not randomly choose a colour and body part to place a language—their language placements and colour choices reveal a lot about their linguistic preferences and attitudes. As proven in Levubu, as shown in the excerpts above, participants placed Afrikaans in the head, heart, stomach, and hand area.

The Levubu residents' body placement of Afrikaans is in line with Kasap (2021:786), who postulated that “if a language is important to the participant, he/she usually tends to colour prominently in the head or the area of the head. The body, that is, the region where the heart is, can be preferred for colouring the languages that are important”. She referred to Gumperz (2007) and Busch (2006), who have found that languages considered essential by participants in the language portrait method are often mapped in the heart, head, and abdomen. Therefore, an affiliation exists between colour choice, language placement and language attitudes. The valued language(s) are often mapped in body parts associated with thinking, memory, learning, love, reminiscence, and eating.

Furthermore, some participants mapped Afrikaans in the raised hand area with bright colours. Their narrations highlighted the idea that Afrikaans should go forward as a language—they would like to see the language being spoken in all spheres of life and see it being promoted. This study's findings contradict the idea that all black South Africans want to see the demise of Afrikaans or its removal from all aspects of life. Although the language is valued and used as a medium of communication in Levubu by white farmers and black farm workers, nothing suggests that the black Afrikaans speakers of Levubu see Afrikaans as anything other than a language—one which they have adopted as infants. In other words, the data does not give any reason to believe that they associate the language with anything negative.

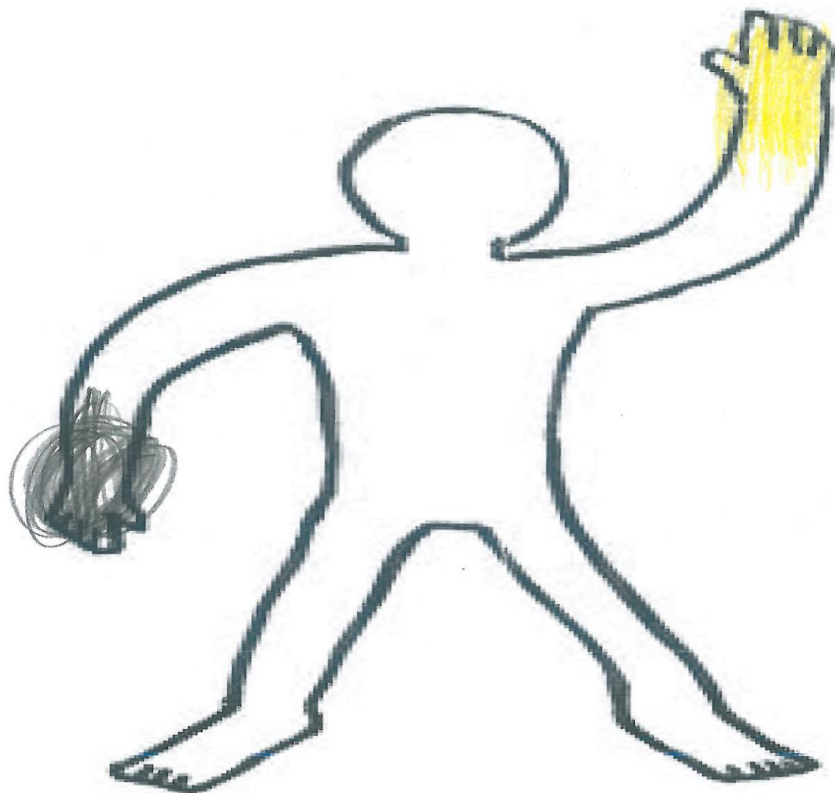
However, studies by Kasap (2021), Busch (2006), Gumperz (2007), and Bajt (2019) have revealed that sometimes, participants can map the hand, arm, foot, and leg area to communicate a functional purpose of the body part. A hand can metaphorically be mapped to denote flexibility—it can be raised and dropped at any time to express mixed feelings towards a language. The following excerpt is an example.

Interviewer: *Please tell me why you painted Afrikaans in both hands; one raised and the other one dropped (with different colours, i.e., black and light yellow)*

Participant 23: *Uhm, I am raising my hand for it to be visible, because I grew up speaking it, but uhm, ... I don't know, maybe it's time for English to go forward now because English brings people together? I don't know uhm, but yes, I will paint it in both hands, one facing up and one facing down...*

Interviewer: *Ok, do you speak any English?*

Participant 23: *No, I don't, I cannot speak English at all, I can speak Afrikaans and Venda.*



Reference: <https://heteroglossia.net/Sprachportraet.123.0.html>

Figure 9.

The excerpt above reveals the participants' love–hate relationship with Afrikaans. From the assertion, they feel a sense of attachment to the language while, simultaneously, they feel the need for English to be used instead of Afrikaans. Furthermore, one can learn that the younger generation of Levubu residents—those who grew up when apartheid was dismantled—have mixed feelings towards the language. They would like to see Afrikaans being used daily, but the hegemony of English is inevitable.

Although the language mapped in the feet area “can also be thought of as an important language that supports a person” (Kasap 2021: 786), Participant 17 contends that the feet area represents the least loved languages. See the below excerpt for further clarity.

Interviewer: *Ok, so please tell me about your language portrait, which language is represented by the black colour in your feet?*

Participant 17: *It's Afrikaans; I mapped it in black on both feet...*

Interviewer: *Ok, could you please tell me why you mapped Afrikaans in both feet with black colour?*

Participant 17: *Afrikaans had destroyed my life, if I may put it that way ... it prevented me from seeing the outside world; it has blinded me and robbed me of my future, it is my language, but I don't think I have that much love for it.*

Interviewer: *Oh, ok ... could you please clarify what you mean by Afrikaans robbed you of your future? I need to understand this interesting claim, I hope you don't mind me asking you about the same thing repeatedly...*

Participant 17: *Because when we were growing up here in Levubu in the late 50s and 60s, 'Boers' did not want us to know anything about the outside world but to stick to the farm life ... I can tell you this, they did not want us to be exposed to other languages other than Afrikaans, Afrikaans was your passport to a place to stay in Levubu, and a medium of communication.*

Interviewer: *Ok...*

Participant 17: *They denied us of a chance to go to school because if we went to school, we would know other languages such as English—a language they were very much against.*

Interviewer: *Ok...*

Participant 17: *So, I painted it in black, in my foot because it represents darkness to me ... therefore, I am kicking it and there should not be any continuity of the language...*

Interviewer: *Ok, I see you also mapped the heart part and the hand facing down, marked them with Afrikaans, why is it so?*

Participant 17: *I mapped it in the hand facing down because I would like to throw it away ... it should be thrown away and never be used by the coming generations; I would like to see its demise basically...*

Interviewer: *Ok, what about the heart area? What language did you place there?*

Participant 17: *It's Afrikaans, I painted it in red because my heart is still sore when I think about the language and what it represents ... it blinded me from seeing and knowing the outside world; the world outside the confines of Afrikaans and the Levubu farms.*



Reference: <https://heteroglossia.net/Sprachportraet.123.0.html>

Figure 10.

Participant 17's views on the mapping of Afrikaans is in line with Soares, Duarte and Guther-van der Meij (2021) regarding painting the least favoured or relegated languages in the feet and legs areas of the silhouette. They have found that participants map languages they consider to be the best and have fond feelings for on the upper body parts and the ones they perceive to be not so important on the lower body parts. Also, Participant 17 insisted on using strong colours to pour out his emotions towards Afrikaans in post-apartheid South Africa. He associates black, mapped in the legs and both feet with the darkness Afrikaans represents to him.

The participant's colour choice aligns with Lundell's (2010: 37) claim that black is "the most salient negatively charged colour" in studies using the language portrait method. To the participant, Afrikaans is synonymous with the secluded farming community of Levubu, which has not shown any progress since apartheid, and he associates it with stagnancy and a lack of personal development and progress. This is in line with Karl's (2006, in Busch 2018:11) assertion that "every new experience, or new idea about things evokes first of all some metaphorical expression", which is the fulcrum of societal and linguistic modes of symbolisation.

While many participants showed positive attitudes towards Afrikaans, two of 17 poured out their love–hate relationship with the language. According to Bajt (2019: 31), "language portraits are not considered objective reconstructions of one's linguistic repertoire 'the way it really is', rather, they are snapshots of speaker's linguistic identity that emerge during the research process, in a specific social environment such as at home". Body mapping allows participants to self-reflect and reveals their deeper feelings towards a language—the two participants in question revealed their linguistic identity and attitudes towards Afrikaans. Regardless of their negative attitudes towards the language, they still perceive it as their language—they identify with Afrikaans as their identity marker, regardless of their current perception of the language.

5.4.3 Shortcomings of the language portrait method

While the language portrait method has proven to be a highly effective data collection tool, like any other method, it has its own inadequacies. As also revealed in the current study, while some participants may experience no challenges with understanding the language portrait instructions, others may require more time to grasp them. They may require a significant amount of clarity and explanation in layman's terms. Admittedly, participants who do not fully understand the instructions may choose to map out the portrait (silhouette) in whichever way they believe may be pleasing to the instructor or moderator. They map out the language portrait in a manner that they believe the researcher/instructor desires, therefore not revealing their deep-rooted feelings and linguistic practices. Although the language portrait method may seem unsophisticated to a social researcher (sociolinguist) due to its nature and setup, it may be highly sophisticated to an informant presented with the silhouette for the first time in their life. The researcher may explain the method to the informants in a simple language that is

easy to understand, but the question of whether the participants fully understood the instructions remains. When distributing the language portrait to older participants and illiterate ones, it is advisable that researchers pay great attention to participants' body language. Participants may communicate their understanding or lack thereof through their body language and non-vocal gestures.

Another issue related to the language portrait method is the language the body silhouette (language portrait) is presented in. Language portraits together with follow-up questions are often presented to the participants in English and interpreted into the preferred language or the first language of the participant. Not only does this *modus operandi* prime the participants, it automatically biases their answers, particularly in studies that investigate the perceptions of the participants towards the English language. Furthermore, data from the language portrait cannot be quantified, so researchers must be wary of selecting a large number of subjects in their language attitude studies involving the language portrait. While more language portrait distributions and collections may mean richer data collected, this may cause a lot of challenges in data presentation and analysis. Although numbers impress during the data collection process in attitudinal studies, they conceal more than they reveal—more is not always merrier.

Again, establishing rapport with the target group prior to the interviewing process has proven to be a key component in social studies. Roina and Iikkanen (2022); Chaparro (2019); Goncalves and Coupland (2010) propose that researchers must study the group they intend on interviewing by formulating a relationship that will allow participants to fully express themselves without fear of exposure. Indeed, language portrait practitioners must visit their research sites several times and communicate with their target informants so as to allow the participants to express themselves freely during the language portrait activity. This will allow participants to provide data that is not only rich but also reflective of the linguistic situation of the community.

5.5 Multilingualism: Code-mixing, translanguaging and hybridisation in Levubu

'Research has matured to a stage where most scholars reject reductionist and essentialist approaches to culture and identity. Intercultural communication researchers are now concerned with using critical approaches to identify and explicate how culture and identity are situated in real-life, real-world encounters.' (Jenks et al. 2013, in Baker 2021, p. 7).

5.5.1 Introduction

While multilingualism has always been viewed as the use and knowledge of more than two languages in a given speech community, there appear to be other layers of the phenomenon that need to be peeled off. As discussed in the relevant sections of this paper, it is difficult to determine the degree to which a society is multilingual. With that said, a thorough analysis of a multilingual environment may prove challenging to realise, considering the different codes that are used for different purposes in some speech communities (diglossia). In other words, the availability of languages in a speech community does not make the community multilingual, but their use at different levels for different purposes does. Consequently, more often than not, researchers fail to distinguish between diglossia, code-switching, code-mixing, bilingualism, translanguaging, and intercultural communication in their research, and discuss all of them under the umbrella term of multilingualism. Interestingly, Baker (2021) proposes that sociolinguists must consider other aspects such as 'transcultural communication' in their approaches, where participants are not limited in their language use and can 'transgress and transcend linguistic and cultural borders ... and there should be no priori assumptions about which categories and boundaries are relevant to interactions. Through the processes of transgressing and transcending boundaries, those very boundaries themselves are transformed, potentially opening up new social spaces and identities'. Baker highlights the possibilities of new linguistic identities being formed through interaction between people of different linguistic and cultural backgrounds. He acknowledges hybridisation as the new norm in societies where more than two languages are in constant use on a daily basis. It is through these interactions that individuals 'transcend' and transform their linguistic boundaries, and eventually

construct linguistic identities that are not formed by any of their previously named ethnic groups, or do not belong to any identifiable culture.

5.5.2 Multilingualism and code-mixing

Baker (2006) stipulates that both code-mixing and code-switching are employed by individuals to accentuate a particular point, and to denote a sense of belonging in a particular speech community. In both phenomena, speakers converge between two languages, while using affixes, clauses, phrases, and expressions from two different languages within the same speech act. Although these forms of communication strategies, as revealed to be the case in Levubu, prove to be beneficial in easing communication between people who share similar linguistic experiences, they are not without criticism. This form of communication is often associated with people of lower societal status and perceived as applied by people with poor linguistic proficiency in two languages as a means of compensating for their linguistic deficiency (Alenezi 2010; Lin 1996). Humans communicate to relay meaning to others, not to seem sophisticated. Therefore, individuals and groups who incorporate both code-switching and code-mixing as a communication strategy often do so as a way of bridging linguistic and expression gaps, not as a way of forging a higher/lower social status. Both code-switching and code-mixing phenomena automatically manifest themselves to remedy a situation where more than one language is in use in a speech community.

5.5.3 Multilingualism as a phenomenon

As already pointed out, multilingualism is flexible, fleeting, non-static, and fluid. Because every spoken language is a minority language somewhere, modern languages are not found in isolation from others. Having said that, it is through the movement of speakers of the languages, not the other way around, that languages come into contact, which then results in languages rubbing shoulders with one another. Li (2008) suggests that the availability of multiple codes in a single speech community can be considered as constituting a multilingual setting. He further unequivocally posits that a multilingual is 'anyone who can communicate in more than one language, be it active (through speaking and writing) or passive (through listening and reading)' (Li 2008, p. 16 in Chibaka 2018, p. 17). In the same vein, Degi (2012) models the work of Herdina and Jessner (2002) and postulates that multilingualism is

the ability to speak two or more languages by a single individual, in general terms. Another interesting perspective on the multilingualism notion is one provided by Skutnabb-Kangas and McCarthy (2008, p. 17), who hypothesise that 'today, the idea of perfect mastery and perfect balance of two or more languages is no longer considered a requirement for being bilingual or multilingual'. Although this is a very interesting claim, one wonders what then constitutes a multilingual individual or society, if there is complete disregard for one's ability to fluently use the languages at one's disposal. Simply articulated, can one be multilingual without being able to at least hold a conversation effectively in more than two languages? Indeed, it is almost impossible to master every language that one speaks; we only know the vocabulary that is necessary or applicable to us, in a given language.

Remarkably, Dressler (2014) found in her comprehensive study that some subjects considered themselves multilingual (plurilingual) regardless of only knowing or being able to use few words in other language(s). It seldom happens that people are able to use more than one language at the same level. Conversely, I argue that the existence of a plethora of languages in a given speech community does not make one multilingual, but the ability to effectively engage, use, hold a good conversation, and articulate in multiple languages, whether within the same conversation or not, within the same speech community or not, does.

5.5.4 Language availability vs proficiency

On the other hand, Bloomfield (1993) provides a different, yet interesting view on multilingualism – he makes mention of the level of competence of multilinguals in his definition. He further avers that a multilingual is one who uses two languages or more at a native level, even colloquially. To further locate multilingualism, King (2018) sees a multilingual area as one where there are many languages spoken publicly or informally in a geographic space, regardless of whether each language is formally recognised as a language or not. In such an area, an individual may speak only one language and still be considered a member of that particular area. Such a claim leads one to believe that locations (areas) are the sole determiners of whether multilingualism is practised or not. Despite the contestations regarding multilingualism,

and what it entails, the consensus of the aforementioned scholars appears to be around the number of languages individuals can communicate in, rather than their competence (proficiency) in those languages. With all the above taken into consideration, the prevailing view is that a multilingual setting needs to contain a speaker, group, nation, or activity/environment where two or more languages are used consistently. No consideration is made of the situation, the domain, or the fluency of the language use.

While there is endless contestation surrounding multilingualism in scholarship, there seems to be minimal consideration of the uniqueness of every multilingual set-up. The number of languages spoken in a multilingual environment, their differing statuses, the statuses of the language users, location, and living condition of the inhabitants all play a role in the type of multilingualism that occurs in a given speech community. This paper provides a closer scrutiny of the nature of multilingualism in Levubu. Accordingly, multilingualism is viewed as a personal as well as a societal phenomenon. An individual can learn several languages at the same time if they are exposed to two or more languages from birth, or they can learn them sequentially if they are introduced to a second or extra language later in life. As the data suggests that some Levubu residents use two or more languages on a daily basis, by implication, they qualify as compound bilinguals. In simple terms, compound bilingualism may be considered a situation where residents of a particular speech community simultaneously learn two languages within the same environment, context, and even at the same time. Nevertheless, multilinguals and even bilinguals may not possess the same level of linguistic competence in every language that they use in their everyday life. For example, although subjects in this study point to being able to use other languages of the area other than Afrikaans, they claim Afrikaans to be the language they know best and intimately identify with. While interacting in more than two languages is beneficial, there are some drawbacks involved, including negative language contact phenomena such as interference, negative transfer, or overgeneralisation of language rules, reduced language quality, language endangerment, and language shift. However, despite the negatives associated with multilingualism, Chibaka (2018) is in full favour of the phenomenon by indicating that multilingualism has many more advantages than disadvantages due to its multidimensional nature.

The Levubu situation is no exception in this regard. Surprisingly, whether by preference or lack of understanding of the language portrait exercise, participants mainly focused on Afrikaans when mapping their portraits. In other words, regardless of the fact that some of them indicated an everyday use of other languages spoken in the area, or heteroglossia, in the other data segments, they most commonly only mapped their portraits as pertaining to Afrikaans, not the other languages spoken in the area. By so doing, subjects unwittingly revealed their language ideologies and perceptions around Afrikaans. The language ideology concept is complex and non-static. Blackledge and Pavlenko 2002 in Molate 2019, p. 14) define language ideologies as 'a set of beliefs, values and cultural frames that continually circulate in society, informing the ways in which language is conceptualised and represented as well as how it is used'. Similarly, Birello, Llompart-Esbert & Moore (2021, p.588) aver that 'linguistic ideologies underlie beliefs both about language and language practices, and about how they ought to be. Ideologies of language may be explicit or implicit, and occur not only as mental constructs in verbalisations, but also in embodied practices and dispositions and in material phenomena such as visual representations'. Ideologies fuel perceptions and language behaviour. Languages that hold a higher value in society are usually the ones that are used the most. Because this research project, to some extent, sought to explore the heteroglossic linguistic situation of Levubu, the researcher prompted the participants on the use of other languages. Refer to the excerpt below:

Interviewer: What language is that? Mapped in the heart and mouth area?

Participant 2: It's Afrikaans in both my head and my heart ...

Interviewer: Why did you map it in the heart and head area?

Participant 2: I put it there because I love it, I think in it and I speak it hence it is in both my head and heart area ...

Interviewer: What about the mouth area? What language is that?

Participant 2: It's Tsonga, it is one of the languages that I use and forms part of who I am ...

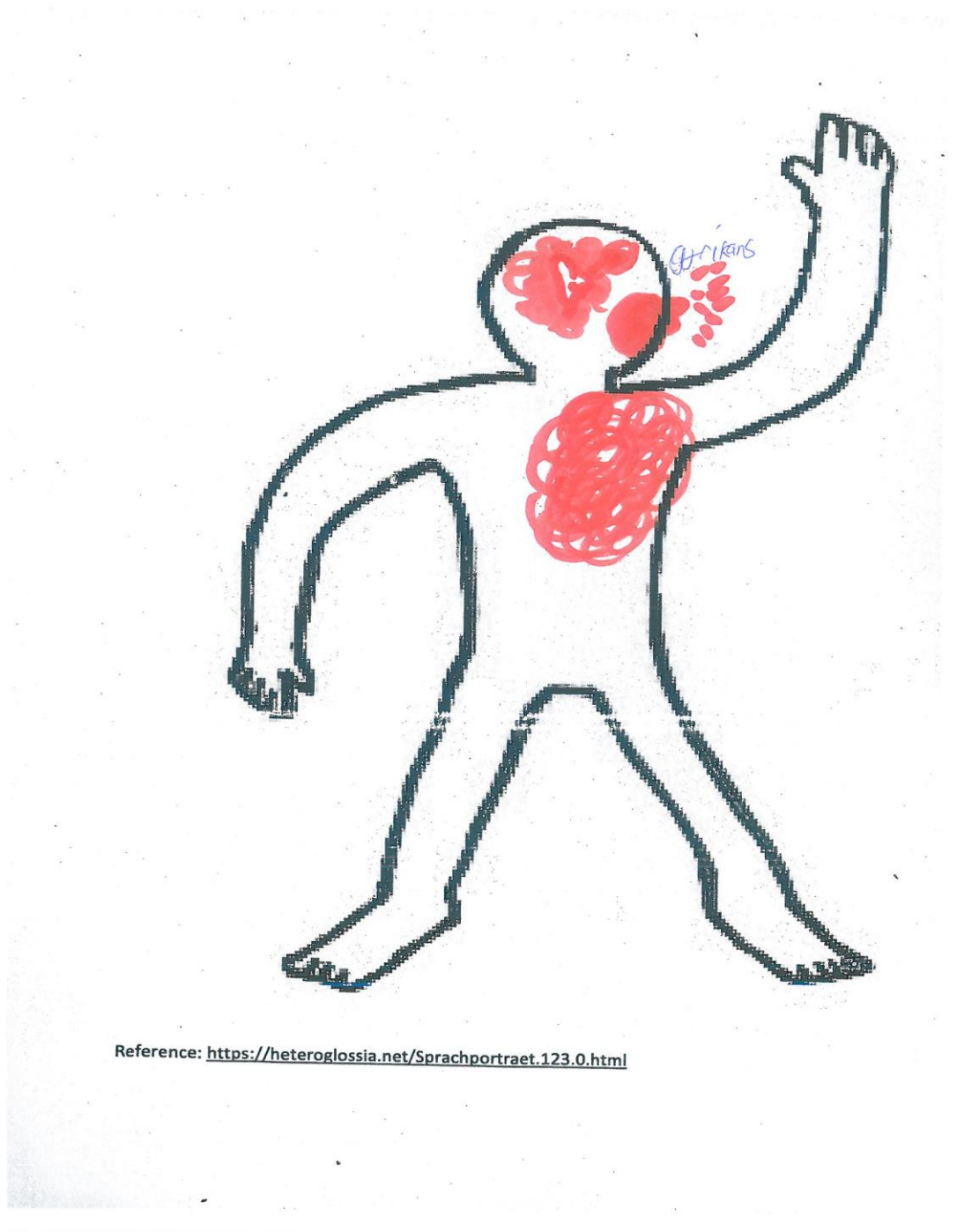


Figure 11.

Another pattern discovered while conducting this research is that some participants mapped both Afrikaans and another language in the same area: the heart area. Consider the following interview extracts for better clarity:

Interviewer: I see you have mapped the heart area with two different colours, red and yellow, why did you do that and what languages are represented by those colours?

Participant 36: Yellow represents Tsonga and red represents Afrikaans ...

Interviewer: Ok, please elaborate

Interviewer: I also mapped Tsonga in my heart area because I love it as much as I love Afrikaans ... I love both these languages the same.



Figure 12.

The multilingualism theme is also supported by participant 4, who made mention of both Tsonga and Venda. It becomes clear from the excerpt below:

Interviewer: Please take me through the mapping of your language portrait, what language is mapped in red, in the head area?

Participant 6: It is Afrikaans

Interviewer: Why did you put it in the head?

Participant 6: Because it is the language I understand best, and the language I love the most, and think in the most

Interviewer: Love the most you say?

Participant 6: Yes, I love Afrikaans the most ... I grew up speaking the language, how can I not love it the most?

Interviewer: Ok, tell me about the language you mapped in bright yellow in the heart area, what language is that?

Participant 6: It is Tsonga ... I put it in my heart; I mapped it in my heart because I love it too, I am Tsonga, but I speak Afrikaans, and Tsonga too ... I will also map Venda on the hand

Interviewer: Ok, why did you map Venda in orange in the hand?

Participant 6: I also use it sometimes ... this area, Levubu is in the Venda region, some people speak the language, remember, although Afrikaans is the main language of this area, there are other languages too ...



Figure 13.

According to Baker (2021, p. 10) an analysis of linguistic behavioural practices 'needs to be embedded in the wider range of multimodal resources and transmodal processes that typically form transcultural communication practices'. The implication is that linguistic identities are not always culturally bound; they are fluid, non-static, constructed, and contestable, and operate in a given environment. A person's linguistic arsenal and repertoire, to a large extent, is determined by their family and

social background. Whether aware of this or not, participants' perceptions and opinions around the languages that they speak are embedded in the speech community they find themselves in. While all languages are to an extent linked to a particular culture or nation, linguistic identities are practical and contestable. In other words, where one uses a language is determined by the situational environment rather than one's culture. In an environment where Afrikaans is the predominant language, speakers of other languages will translanguage, code-mix and code-switch Afrikaans with the other languages, or code-mix between the other languages while injecting Afrikaans, or Afrikaans-derived words. In the same vein, Baker and Ishikawa (2021) have found that there is a complex interaction between linguistic identities and cultural fluidity – language use that is not fixed and culturally based is prevalent in societies where more than one language is in use daily. Instead of using languages as parallel lined-up entities, participants transcend linguistic boundaries and use languages in ways that are fluid and encourage the incorporation of words, phrases, or even sentences that are from different languages. According to Li Wei (2014 in Molate 2019, p. 11), sociolinguists, and multilingualism scholars in particular, must adopt 'an approach to the use of language [...] that considers the language practice of bilinguals [...] and multilinguals [...] not as two autonomous language systems as has been traditionally the case, but as one linguistic repertoire with features that have been socially constructed as belonging to two separate languages'. Translanguaging, code-switching, bilingualism, and code-mixing build on multilingualism rather than replacing it. Essentially, they aid understanding between speakers of different languages, or language varieties, without compromising or replacing anyone's named language/language variety. Excerpts from the participants above reveal the co-existence of linguistic codes in the farming community of Levubu, which emphasizes the cohabitation of forms in the area. In this regard, Appa-Durai (2010) advises that:

We need to move decisively beyond existing models of creolisation, hybridity, fusion, syncretism, and the like, which have largely been about mixture at the level of content. Instead, we need to probe the cohabitation of forms ... because they actually produce new contexts through their peculiar inflection of each other (cited in Baker 2021, p. 4)

Again, the two interview extracts above reveal the multilingual nature of Levubu and its hybridisation of the languages spoken in the area. As stated by the participants Tsonga and Venda are the languages other than Afrikaans that are in constant use in Levubu, on a daily basis. Although one might expect the participants to largely identify with either Tsonga or Venda as their strongest languages, and languages they see as their own, participants mainly identify with Afrikaans, while seeing Tsonga and/or Venda as 'the other' language. To put it more clearly, Levubu residents are consistent in their perceptions of and opinions about Afrikaans, regardless of how the question is phrased. Afrikaans remains the language of identification, in spite of the availability of other languages that may be deemed 'native' to them. Kaschula and Ralarala (2004, p. 253) point out that "human beings naturally create categories in order to make sense of the world around them". The linguistic situation and behaviour of Levubu residents is in line with the view of contemporary sociolinguist Blommaert (2010), who claims that multilingualism encompasses a wide range of resources including a broad range of varieties, styles, accents, dialects, genres, and registers, and is a continuum regardless of whether it belongs to only one conventionally defined language or many. In his own words, Blommaert states that:

Multilingualism ... should not be seen as a collection of languages that a speaker controls, but rather as a complex of specific semiotic resources, some of which belong to a conventionally defined 'language', while others belong to another language. The resources are concrete accents, language varieties, registers, genres, modalities such as writing – ways of using language in particular communicative settings and spheres of life, including the ideas people have about such ways of using their language ideologies. (Blommaert 2010, p. 17).

Clearly, Levubu residents possess multiple, complex identities that could be attributed to their linguistic lineage, choices, and practices. Moreno, Arriba, and Serrano (1998, p. 10) postulate that social and linguistic identities are often formed and influenced by multiple independent variables, especially in secluded minority societies. These variables may include, but not limited to, the size of the community under scrutiny, religiosity, place of birth, level of education, income, social activity, social ideology, age, and, most importantly, social class. Linguistic identities are often formed based on the location (birthplace) where one finds oneself, the languages spoken in the area,

and social status. Identities are formed through commonalities that are identifiable among members a group, in a geographical area (community), and the dynamics are not always explicitly stated.

5.5.5 Transculturation in Levubu

Language is a core element in intercultural communication. As language is closely tied to one's identity, worldview, and positioning, it influences how people from different cultural backgrounds interact and perceive one another. Language and cultural misunderstandings and identity misalignments can hamper intercultural relations. Language barriers may be mistaken for cultural barriers if one does not have an adequate understanding of linguistic elements and the communication process. To enhance intercultural dialogue, it is vital to have a solid grasp of the linguistic dimension of intercultural communication. (Jackson 2016: 1)

The most salient aspect, for our purposes, of the society in question is the fact that there are more than more than two languages being spoken and used on a daily basis. While such a phenomenon may be considered multilingualism in general terms, scholars such as Baker (2021), Ishikawa (2021), Baker and Ishikawa (2021), Canagarajah & De Costa (2016), and Jenkins (2015) have provided a much narrower and more focused view of such linguistic and cultural situations and dubbed them 'transculturation' in recent studies. These scholars all argue that, together with social identities and attitudes, cultures and linguistic identities are non-static, fluid, ever-changing, and a hybrid of different codes and languages. In simple terms, individuals in societies where more than one language is in use are moving away from their 'traditional' (static) linguistic identities, and new ones are being formed and hybridised. Baker (2021) further refers to the work of Pratt (2008), who sees transculturation as linguistic 'contact zones [...] social spaces where disparate [languages] meet, clash, and grapple with each other, often in highly asymmetrical relations of domination and subordination ... Transculturation is a phenomenon of the contact zone' (cited in Baker 2021, p. 4). Because languages do not exist in a vacuum, the coming into contact of different languages and their speakers, as seen in Levubu, often results new speech hybridisation, 'which transcend[s] ... cultural origin' (Baker 2021, p.4). That is, a form of language (variety), or language use (moving from one language to another within the same speech community, while returning to the predominant one), defying

homogeneity, that only pertains to a particular speech community. Of course, speech hybridisation revolves around a handful of languages, with the predominant one at the nucleus. Accordingly, languages do not exist at the same level of hegemony, instrumental value, and use, which results in languages not being treated as equals by their speakers and speakers of other languages. The language power relations will always allow for the predominant language within a particular speech community to be in constant use.

5.5.6 Language power relations

As has proven to be the case in Levubu, the predominant language, Afrikaans, spoken in the area influences the linguistic choices of the residents, which as a result influences their identity. They identify closely with Afrikaans because they were born in an Afrikaans-speaking location (environment). Although one can conclude that Afrikaans is used as an identity marker in Levubu, 'identity markers are malleable, and the intensity of their manifestation greatly depends upon contingent circumstances' (Moreno, Arriba, and Serrano 1998, p. 10). Because a linguistic choice is an expression of identity, the use of a particular language is sufficient to signal belonging in a specific speech community. What this means is that although people may not always explicitly reveal how they feel about a given language, its use may be considered a powerful sign of a positive attitude.

5.5.7 Conclusion

Multilingualism manifests itself in a variety of ways, and its application by speakers of the languages (codes) involved is situation-based. It is also practice-based rather than theoretical – it is the use and activity of the languages or language varieties, rather than their availability, that makes a speech community multilingual. Therefore, there is a direct correlation between explorations of language ideologies and multilingualism. Multilingual settings and practices are a result of the attitudes and perceptions held by speakers of the different languages (codes or varieties) in a given speech community. The results of this study reveal an embedded attachment to more than one language (linguistic identity) by Levubu residents, which is characterised by identifying with both Afrikaans and either Venda or Tsonga. Data from the language portraits, followed by interviews, suggests that the nature of multilingualism in the farming community of

Levubu is fluid, not static, and flexible, where residents transcend beyond linguistic borders. Multilingual individuals tend to transgress (Baker, 2021) and trespass the linguistic borders of their named languages and go beyond the limitations of their cultures. The multilingualism phenomenon should be approached from a transdisciplinary and holistic angle to avoid confusion between language availability and language use. In essence, multilingualism is the practice of the use of linguistic codes in a communication situation, where conversants find themselves in 'contact zones' with one another, without having to use languages parallel to one another. In other words, participants hybridise their available linguistic codes to ease the communication process with one another, which results in new codes or even varieties being formed. Therefore, a multimodal approach to the multilingualism discussion paints a holistic picture of the type of multilingualism at play.

5.6 Use of Afrikaans as a form of language maintenance in Levubu

While many sociolinguistic research circles have claimed that African, Coloured and Indian people have distanced or even dislike Afrikaans (Thutloa and Huddlestone 2011; Anthonissen 2009), the case of Levubu proves otherwise. While one would hypothesise that Levubu residents oppose Afrikaans—as with people of different races and speech communities—participants show considerable signs of language maintenance (of Afrikaans) rather than any form of shift.

Before delving deeper into the discussion, the researcher sought to define the issue of language shift and maintenance, as defined by Fishman (1964). He saw language shift and maintenance as “the relationship between change or stability in habitual language use, on the other hand, and ongoing psychological, social or cultural processes, on the other hand, when populations differing in language are in contact with each other” (Fishman 1964: 32). Mesthrie, Swann, Deumert and Leap (2000: 253) saw language shift as “the replacement of one language by another as the primary means of communication and socialisation within a community” (in Thutloa and Huddlestone 2011: 58).

As the direct opposite of language shift, language maintenance refers to when a speech community holds on to its language under circumstances that would seem to

favour a language shift. Language maintenance denotes using a language, despite competition from a regionally and socially more powerful language(s). Ethnic groups maintain a language (Afrikaans, in the case of Levubu) to show their loyalty to that language and elevate the group's survival. However, the language shift and maintenance phenomenon encompass various factors, of which demography, history, politics, economics and education are central.

For one to delve deeper into language maintenance, one must also consider the age, social circles and generation of the speakers of the language being maintained. For example, Levubu's older generation, whose social circles revolve around the area, are more positive towards Afrikaans—they use the language more as a medium of communication. Generation remains a fundamental construct in language preservation and language shift studies. Although other languages are mentioned in this study (Tsonga and Venda) in participants' responses, their clinging to Afrikaans as their language reveals their association with it. As insinuated in their responses, participants identify Levubu with Afrikaans and Afrikaans with Levubu—Afrikaans is synonymous with their community, and their community is synonymous with Afrikaans. Ntsandeni also discovered this trend in her comprehensive in 1999. She found that blacks who settled on farms and identified with Afrikaans “were famous for their proficiency in Afrikaans” (1999: 25).

Thutloa and Huddlestone referred to the work of Myers-Scotton (2006), highlighting various societal in-group and outgroup factors pivotal in language use as a form of maintenance. In their account, language maintenance primarily results from a sense of community and oneness among community members, sharing similar living experiences, doing the same jobs (working on the farms in the case of Levubu), and “whether speakers of the same language work together, with restrictive socio-economic mobility; educational factors-whether speakers have access to L1 education ... group attitudes about the L1 as an ethnic symbol; and attachment to the L1 for self-identity”(Thutloa and Huddlestone 2011: 58). Therefore, secluded Afrikaans-speaking communities, specifically the black ones, use Afrikaans as an identifier and a marker of belonging (Beukes and Pienaar 2014).

However, what began as imposing Afrikaans on blacks as their L2 ended up in assimilation into the language as L1. As per their accounts, participants leant Afrikaans

at a young age from white kids during play, leading to its adoption as the primary language of communication. Regardless of other languages in the area, Levubu participants identify more with Afrikaans, aligning with Ferguson's view that language maintenance is "the preservation of the use of a language by a speech community under conditions where there is a possibility of shift to another language".

Conversely, this study's findings on issues of language shift from African languages into Afrikaans go against other scholars' findings (Bekker 2005; De Klerk 2006; Kamwangamalu 2007), who have found that shifts occur from other languages into English. According to the verbal reports from the participants, the shift from Tsonga/Venda into Afrikaans occurred during and after Levubu's establishment in 1932, 16 years before apartheid. Levubu residents clung to Afrikaans before, during, and post-apartheid, regardless of English's dominance, hegemony, and instrumental value.

5.7 Linguistic identities as assimilationist forms of identity, fluid and unstable

From investigating Afrikaans-dominated multilingualism as the basis of participants' linguistic identity, the researcher investigated participants' feelings towards the Levubu linguistic situation. The focus was to establish participants' attitudinal changes towards the language(s) they used in the past 30 years. Accordingly, the following questions were asked to elicit more information.

- Do you feel that the languages you speak are an important part of who you are?
Please elaborate
- Do you think that your feelings towards the languages that you speak and how they are represented on your portrait would have been the same 30 years ago?
Please elaborate
- How did participating in this research project make you feel? In general, about language and identity.

Although the researcher thoroughly explained the above questions to the participants, many did not seem to understand them. Refer to the excerpt below.

Interviewer: *Do you feel that the languages you speak are an important part of who you are? Please elaborate*

Participant 8: *Not really, ahggg, I don't know, I don't think so ... to me it's all the same; it doesn't even matter to me...*

Similarly, Participant 3 had the following to say when asked whether their feelings towards the language in their portrait would have been the same in the past 30 years.

Participant 3: *Yes, there could be a change.*

Interviewer: *What kind of change? Please elaborate.*

Participant 3: *The thing is, these farm owners, who run these farms are good at what they do ... they know what they are doing.*

Attempts to get the participant to elaborate proved futile. Furthermore, the interview began to take its toll, and many participants complained and threatened to cease the interview abruptly. When asked if the languages they speak are an important part of who they are, some would answer with a simple yes without elaborating and refused to elaborate when prompted to do so. However, when asked whether the languages he speaks forms part of who he is, Participant 9 responded with a resounding yes and gave the following elaboration.

Participant 9: *Yes! Absolutely! How can it not form part of who I am when it is a language I have known since childhood? I speak Afrikaans, how can it not form part of who I am? To answer your question, yes, it forms part of who I am.*

Ostensibly, in many cases, linguistic identities are formed through assimilation and association with languages. What we learn from the interviews above is that Participant 9 intimately associate his sense of self with Afrikaans. However, language functions as a medium of communication and a tool used by speech communities to self-identify and identify with others. In speech communities and ethnic groups, language cannot be divorced from identity—humans use language to construct their ethnic identities. Participant 10 elaborated on associating with Afrikaans, indicating the following when asked the same question about language and identity.

Interviewer: *do you feel that the languages that you speak are an important part of who you are? Please elaborate*

Participant 10: *Yes, that is the reason why I painted the language in red, in my heart ... when I was born, Afrikaans was the main language being spoken in Levubu, even in other places that were dominated by 'Boers', like Louis Trichardt (Makhado) during apartheid, Afrikaans is always in my mind and in my heart, therefore it forms part of my identity ... I still use it daily...*

Participant 13 responded as follows when asked the same question:

Participant 13: *Yes, the languages I speak do form part of my identity ... I was Afrikaans to continue being part of my identity going forward...*

We create our individual and group identities through language, whether by using or affiliating ourselves with it. However, language is used to convey thoughts, and through language, humans reveal their perceptions and ideologies. When we interact and exchange ideas using a specific language, we unwittingly reveal who we are linguistically. Furthermore, through language, humans distinguish themselves from others. According to Coulmas (2005), language is an identity marker because when individuals communicate, they reveal who they are, where they were born, where they grew up, and the social group to which they belong. Therefore, our identities and those of people with whom we communicate are initially interpreted through our vs their language use—we reveal who we are through our linguistic behaviour and practices.

Coulmas (2005) and Davin (2016) observed identity as fleeting, negotiated and re-negotiated, constructed and co-constructed, dynamic and fluid, and even contradictory. Against this backdrop, an individual's sense of self is constantly shifting—linguistic identities are never static; they are continuously changing, constructed and re-constructed. According to Gervasio and Karuri (2019), language changes our identities and the different forms of language shape our identities. However, Participant 17 had a different view on whether the languages he speaks are an essential part of who he is: *"I don't think so, it may form part but just a bit, not much, hence I'm saying, I don't want the younger generation to experience what we experienced; it blinded me."*

Bradac (1990: 387) contended that humans are reactive to salient and impactful languages in their lives. They feel a specific way about the languages they speak because of various social factors that have impacted their lives, both positively and negatively. Parker (2015: 99) referred to Weedon (1987/1997: 28) and posited that “language enables an individual to construct his/her ‘subjectivity’, seen by him/her as the conscious and unconscious thoughts and emotions of the individual, her sense of herself, and her ways of understanding her relation to the world”. People’s attitudes influence their reactions to stimuli, affecting their reaction to specific questions and events.

To Participant 17, Afrikaans evokes feelings of resentment and contradiction. His past experiences are of Afrikaans being associated with the repugnant regime of apartheid, which sought to place people of African descent at the bottom of the food chain. He acknowledges that the language forms part of his identity; however, he does not want the younger generation to go through the same experiences, revealing his conflicting feelings towards Afrikaans. The participant sees Afrikaans as a mirror enabling him to see the ugly past associated with it. However, Participant 17’s response concurs with Sapir Worf’s theory that no two people will perceive the world of language the same—language attitudes can be held at an individual level rather than at a group level. Worf postulated that:

No two languages are ever sufficiently similar to be considered as representing the same social reality. The worlds in which different societies live are distinct worlds, not merely the same world with different labels attached...Even comparatively simple acts of perception are very much more at the mercy of the social patterns called words than we might suppose...We see and hear and otherwise experience very largely as we do because the language habits of our community predispose certain choices of interpretation (cited in Wardhaugh 2006: 220).

Despite language attitudes being evaluative dispositions, it is challenging to decipher or even define them thoroughly because attitudes are not static and are a reaction or a construct directed at a linguistic or social phenomenon. Participant 17 indicated Afrikaans as the language he knows best but vows for its discontinuity. Davies (1994) asserted that

Attitudes are generally assumed to contribute towards an explanation of patterns of linguistic variation, for example, linguistic attitudes and stereotypes can be a powerful force in influencing linguistic behaviour and, ultimately, linguistic forms themselves. One has to bear in mind of course that speakers are quite capable of saying one thing and doing another; nevertheless, it is clear that language attitudes are worthy of study because they form part of the communicative competence of the members of the speech community.

According to Appel and Muysken (1987:16), language attitudes should be evaluated by observing individuals' behaviour in a speech community—how they use languages while communicating with others who belong to the same speech community. However, they also perceive language attitudes as an outward reaction to what occurs internally. Therefore, linguistic behaviour suffices as a symptom of what happens psychologically. One of the earliest scholars of language attitudes, Fasold (1984: 147), sees language attitudes as “an intervening variable between a stimulus affecting a person and a person's response”. Notwithstanding, emotions cannot be separated from behaviour and words—we use specific words to indicate how we feel. Words reflect feelings, and through language, feelings manifest, e.g., the love or hate for Afrikaans.

Together with investigating and exploring participants' linguistic behaviours and identities, this study sought to gauge participants' feelings towards Afrikaans over time. In other words, participants were asked to indicate whether they felt their feelings towards the languages they speak would have been the same 30 years ago. Note that most participants (shown in their biographies) are older than 55, translating to them being adults 30 years ago. The question was met with many straight Yeses and Nos from the participants. However, Participant 7 had the following to say when asked about their feelings towards Afrikaans.

Interviewer: *So, since Afrikaans is always in your heart, just as you have just indicated, do you think your feelings towards the language have changed in the past 30 years? Compared to how you are currently feeling now?*

Participant: *No, they have not changed, they are still the same. My feelings towards Afrikaans have not changed and will never change, they will remain the same...*

Interviewer: *Remain the same you say?*

Participant: *yes...*

Interviewer: *Ok, what makes that not to change? Please elaborate...*

Participant: *Because I adopted the language at a very early age, it is difficult if not impossible to change how you feel about the language when you are older...*

However, Participant 10 indicated the following when interviewed:

Interviewer: *Do you think your feelings towards the language have changed in the past 30 years?*

Participant 10: *Yes, when I was born, there were no other languages being used, but now there are other languages being used ... people now speak English here and there, which did not happen back in the day, but I, myself cannot speak English I cannot go beyond saying "hello" to someone in English.*

Interviewer: *What language do you speak instead?*

Participant 10: *I speak Afrikaans*

Interviewer: *Ok, going forward, do you think your feelings towards the language will change?*

Participant 10: *I think so...*

Interviewer: *What makes you say that?*

Participant 10: *The change of things and the change in the political standing of the language, now people everywhere in the world speak English instead of Afrikaans.*

Interviewer: *Ok, so how did you come to learn Afrikaans? How did you adopt it?*

Participant 10: *I played with white kids when I was young, very young, even before the age of going to school, I eventually learnt and adopted the language, which then became the language I know best...*

Interviewer: *From a young age you say?*

Participant 10: *Yes, I can even say from birth until you see me today...*

Interestingly, some of the participants gave the following responses when asked if they thought their feelings towards the language(s) painted in their language portrait have changed in the past 30 years.

- *Uhm, my feelings towards Afrikaans will never change ... I grew up speaking the language and use it on a daily basis. Afrikaans is in my head I cannot even see the need to learn English; Afrikaans has occupied all that space. I believe things would have been different if another language other than Afrikaans was imposed...*
- *Yes, they have changed ... I don't speak Afrikaans as I used to in the past; things are different now, things have changed, so have my feelings towards the language.*
- *Yes, they have changed because now, the position of Afrikaans has now changed, it is no longer like before. The language use is no longer the same, it is no longer as prominent as it was during the apartheid years. The language has dropped (declined), it is no longer used the same, even writing, very few kids can now write Afrikaans; kids no longer use the language the same way we used to when I was still a kid, so that in itself tells you that the language has lost its instrumental value and prestige.*
- *My feelings towards the language have not changed and will never change, I grew up in this language and I am still using it. In fact, I have been using this language for more than the 30 years you are talking about no, and I am still going ... my feelings towards the language will never change.*
- *Look, things are always changing, every year things change, even farming is constantly changing, nothing remains the same ... my feelings towards the language keep improving going forward ... yes, they are improving going forward.*
- *No, I still raise my hand for Afrikaans, and I would like to see it going forward, so my feelings towards the language have not changed...*

- *No, there is no change, I still view Afrikaans the same way I did 30 years ago, so nothing has changed.*
- *Definitely! 30 years is even very far! My feelings towards the language changed a long time ago! So yes, my feelings have changed!*

These sentiments were followed by an ideology on participants' relationship with their parents' employer. In their own words, participant 8 had the following to say:

I support Afrikaans, my feelings towards the language will never change because Boers (farm owners) treated us well, they treated my family very well when we were growing up. Me and my siblings adopted Afrikaans at an early age, so I don't think my feelings towards the language will ever change. Those people treated us well, we got everything that we wanted from those people ... I raise my hand for Afrikaans.

One salient emerging theme from participants' responses is that they adopted Afrikaans at a young age. Conversely, the language was predominantly adopted from white children during play, explaining the participants' association with Afrikaans. Together with identities, language attitudes are continuously created, are non-static and constantly influenced by social circumstances. Humans' linguistic attitudes serve as mental constructs explaining consistency in behaviour because they are attitudinal beings, whether consciously or unconsciously.

According to Jaspaert and Kroon (1988: 158), "social factors have an ambiguous influence on [...language attitudes processes...]: in some instances, a factor seems to influence language [attitudes in one direction...]". Participants hold strong feelings of association with Afrikaans, which were embedded in their area of birth and upbringing. Levubu residents' adoption of Afrikaans was influenced by several social aspects, including their age (young age), the Afrikaans-speaking environment they were born into, the dominance of Afrikaans at the time and its hegemony and instrumental value.

Participants' feelings towards partaking in this study were also considered, providing insight into participants' feelings about the research and allowing them to reflect on their participation and clarify discrepancies. Therefore, as the last question from the

questionnaire, participants were asked to state how participating in this study made them feel about language and identity.

Interviewer: *Ok, so how does being part of this research make you feel? In general, on language and identity?*

Participant 17: *It makes me feel good ... it makes me feel good that someone considers us, who speak Afrikaans and live in the farms, if I and other Levubu residents don't give out information, it will not be known, so I feel good about it...*

Again, participants were not eager to answer the final question of the research in detail; some of the answers provided are as follows.

Participant 9: *I do not feel anything bad about it, to me, I'm glad I could help you achieve your research goals...*

Participant 8: *It feels great, I feel good about it, those people (farmers) do not have hate for anyone...*

Participant 10: *I am happy, I will speak for myself, not another person, so I will tell you that I want Afrikaans to continue...*

Participant 12: *I don't have a problem with it because you had to come to someone for information, so I don't see anything wrong with it...*

Participant 13: *I feel good knowing that someone is researching about this language, Afrikaans in Levubu*

Although it is unclear whether participants understood the question asked, they highlighted their wish for continuity and development of Afrikaans in Levubu. Also, participants felt good that they could provide information about the use of Afrikaans in Levubu and how they feel about the language.

CHAPTER SIX: CONCLUSION

6.1 Introduction

Chapter Five presented, discussed and analysed the data. The findings indicated a greater level of maintenance of Afrikaans among Levubu participants. The data showed that location, ethnic continuity and farming contribute towards the maintenance of Afrikaans in Levubu. Conversely, this thesis investigated the attitudes and perceptions of black Afrikaans speakers of Levubu towards Afrikaans and surveyed how Afrikaans is used as a distinguishing factor and identity marker in the area. The exploration was guided using three data collection instruments to elicit information from the participants. Because qualitative research is concerned with knowledge constructed rather than a collection of existing knowledge, questionnaires were distributed to the participants, followed by the body silhouette and interviews on mapping the language portrait. The multimodal approach to data collection strengthened the data reliability. All activities were conducted in participants' homes, and each interview lasted 45–60 minutes.

6.2 Findings and conclusions on the status of Afrikaans

Recently, Afrikaans finds itself struggling due to its role and position in the Afrikaner's repugnant segregationist apartheid government. Once at the helm of development and promotion in South Africa, the language finds itself on par with the other Indigenous languages of South Africa since the dismantlement of the apartheid system in 1994. After removing the Afrikaner from the seat of government and power, Afrikaans was also scrapped as the language of administration in government departments, some media houses, some schools and some universities. However, Afrikaans remains a language spoken as a first language across races in South Africa, Africans (blacks) included. This thesis investigated the five areas of research: language attitudes, language and identity, language and ethnicity, identity as a social construct and multilingualism regarding the research site. As a novel contribution to the body of literature, specifically the black Afrikaans-speaking identity, this thesis uncovered the attitudes and perceptions of black Afrikaans speakers of Levubu towards Afrikaans in post-apartheid South Africa.

6.3 Findings from the data (attitudes and ideologies)

The results obtained from the participants in this thesis paint a holistic picture of the attitudes, perceptions, ideologies and linguistic behaviour of Levubu's residents. Participants from Levubu revealed overall positive attitudes towards Afrikaans in post-apartheid South Africa. The data revealed some level of language maintenance of Afrikaans in Levubu. Coulmas (2005) postulated that language maintenance refers to when a speech community holds on to its language under circumstances that would seem to favour language shift. Conversely, when language maintenance is in action, some level of continuity exists in the already spoken, usually beleaguered language. Speech communities make efforts to salvage a derogatory or declining language. More specifically, participants' attitudes are overtly revealed through their high regard for Afrikaans, despite the language's affiliations with the segregationist movement of apartheid.

These findings contradict the hypothesis that people of colour, particularly blacks, have negative feelings towards Afrikaans, and Afrikaans represents South Africa's ugly past. It also debunks the premise that speech communities are rapidly shifting from Afrikaans, as revealed by other studies on Afrikaans. However, there is not enough data to suggest that the residents of Levubu's farming community are distancing themselves from Afrikaans. Participants transcend beyond their linguistic, cultural and ethnic boundaries to reach their communicative goals, with Afrikaans in the mix.

6.4 Dominance of Afrikaans in farming communities

Ponelis (1993) and Ntsandeni (1999) pointed towards Africans (blacks) living on the farms showing great pride in Afrikaans in the mid and late 90s. Black Afrikaans speakers are known and revered by outsiders for their proficiency and association with the language. The revealed positive attitudes towards Afrikaans are also a result of the linguistic situation in Levubu—Afrikaans is a dominant language in the area and both black and white Afrikaans speakers use it daily. Therefore, the language serves as the basis for participants' linguistic identity construction. Because participants in this study are closely embedded in their collective linguistic identity, they provided near homogenous responses regarding their feelings and perceptions towards Afrikaans.

Ostensibly, language choices might reveal language attitudes, and through these attitudes, identity signals and glimpses are revealed to others—humans typically reveal positive attitudes towards languages with which they closely identify.

According to Dyers (2008), homogenous attitudes result from the speech communities that individuals belong to, and their languages influence their members. In other words, an Afrikaans speaker in an Afrikaans-speaking environment will most likely reveal more positive attitudes towards the language. Most importantly, this can be attributed to their shared social status, place of origin, period of stay in Levubu and using a common language, Afrikaans. Following the answer to the main research question, it was also established that Afrikaans is used across races (black farm workers and white farmers) in Levubu, aligning with Ntsandeni (1999), Webb (2010), Statistics South Africa (2012), Beukes and Pienaar (2014), Parker (2015), Steyn (2016). These authors revealed that although Afrikaans is closely associated with Afrikaner nationalism and apartheid, some blacks claim it to be their L1. While there have been suggestions that Afrikaans is slowly becoming a vanishing voice, data from Levubu residents suggest otherwise. Most participants show a consistent attachment to the language through their association with Afrikaans, with positive attributes, such as farming, food, love, memory and green land¹¹⁵.

6.5 Conflicting feelings towards Afrikaans

In some cases, participants identified with Afrikaans but disclosed a conflicting relationship with the language. They associate Afrikaans with backwardness, believing it is time for it to go, which might be taken as a sign of the participants' quest to redefine their linguistic identities. Therefore, this study revealed that different age groups perceive and use Afrikaans differently. The older generation is still rooted in the language and vying for its continuity more than their younger counterparts. Mesthrie et al. (2009) averred that language is consequently "indexical of one's social class, status, region of origin, gender, age group and so on".

Contrary to the older generation, the younger generation is fully exposed to the inevitability, dominance and instrumental value of English—something the older generation reported was discouraged by their employers. Linguistic change as an

¹¹⁵ As revealed in the language portrait data.

influencer of attitudinal changes cannot be avoided. Although Afrikaans is still dominant in Levubu, using Afrikaans is a generational phenomenon, considering that the current generation's children (even fewer younger people were available for interviewing) speak other languages. Some participants indicated that their children and grandchildren reside in other areas outside of Levubu. The assimilation into Afrikaans by the different generational groups happened at different times, somewhat influenced by different circumstances. Thus, there are attitudinal differences between the younger and older generations in Levubu.

6.6 The invertibility of multilingualism in farming communities

While there is a predominant use of Afrikaans in Levubu, all modes of data collection point towards the participants' use of other languages in the area, i.e., Venda and Tsonga. Webb (2010) averred that most South Africans are bilingual or multilingual due to issues of language contact situations. Similarly, Skutnabb Kangas thoroughly favours multilingualism and lambasts monolingualism. He wrote: "monolingualism is a psychological island. It is an ideological cramp. It is an illness, a disease which should be eradicated as soon as possible because it is dangerous for world peace" (Skutnabb Kangas 1988: 199).

Commonly, linguistic minorities are multilingual or bilingual in their speech communities and code-switch and code-mix between two or more languages whenever necessary. Shifting and switching between Afrikaans and Venda/Tsonga was also reported in this study. The findings revealed that code-switching and code-mixing in Levubu are triggered by factors such as change and generational differences among inhabitants. Code-mixing simplifies the communication process and reveals an individual's heritage and ancestry. Although subjects also revealed positive views and perceptions towards Venda and Tsonga, the languages are seen as 'the other' even though participants acknowledge them as part of their heritage.

While nothing indicates that identifying with Afrikaans is because of disliking Venda/Tsonga, this pattern seems to be repeated throughout the entire interviewing process, including the language portrait activity where participants placed Afrikaans ahead of other languages. Participants covertly emphasised the role of Afrikaans in creating their linguistic identity and as a source of their ethnic belonging, revealing a

continued sentimental attachment to Afrikaans among Levubu inhabitants while acknowledging other languages spoken in the area. In other words, to be from Levubu, one must be an Afrikaans speaker—black or white.

6.8 Conclusions

Afrikaans has since suffered rapid attrition since introducing the new South African language policy and planning. The language endured different stages of suffering and is currently in linguistic trauma. Language policy and planning are a manifestation of a political goal. According to Reagan (1990, in Ntsandeni 1999: 30), “language planning is a profound political activity; it is not and could not be politically neutral or scientifically ‘objective’ any more than could any of the social sciences ... language planning involves...decisions which have overwhelming significance socially, economically, educationally and politically for both the social and individual”. From these assertions, language planning can weaken or strengthen a language and its speakers. Because language cannot be separated from people, the consequences of weakening Afrikaans are felt across races, blacks included. The politicisation of Afrikaans because of its close associations with Afrikaner nationalism and later apartheid has had significant implications on Afrikaans speakers other than whites. Of the estimated seven million estimated Afrikaans speakers, most are not members of the white race. The Coloured community alone constitutes 50.2%, and the black community sits at 1.5% (about 600 000).

Considering Levubu’s younger generation’s responses, there is a considerable likelihood of a language shift and, even worse, the extinction of Afrikaans in Levubu. This study has approached this argument differently and contributed to the bigger discussion and arguments surrounding Afrikaans in South Africa. The language was developed alongside Afrikaner nationalism and benefitted the selfish needs of the Afrikaner, but it was formed (by people of colour) and developed in South Africa. Accordingly, by considering language a resource, Afrikaans is a scientific language that can teach science subjects, technology, mathematics, commerce, literature, geology and medicine. Reinstating the language at institutions of higher learning means salvaging the good that has been done and enabling its speakers from all races to have a second scientific language alongside English.

6.9 Limitations of the study and future recommendations

The conclusion of one study is an introduction to another. However, there is no study without limitations. It is challenging to study the attitudes of a speech community when you are not one of its members or do not spend time observing their linguistic behaviours rather than visiting the research site a few times. In layman's terms, attitudinal dispositions are best studied when the researcher is a member of the speech community for a period. In that way, they can observe behaviour in conjunction with the responses provided. Furthermore, researchers can verify the data provided by considering their situation observations. Although multiple attempts were made to recruit many participants, prospects' unwillingness to partake in the study limited the sample size.

It was challenging to find younger and female participants to participate in this study to draw a holistic picture and compare (i) younger vs older generations and (ii) male vs female. Other limitations include:

- Upon observation, some participants appeared to provide answers they felt would appease the researcher.
- The younger generation below 30 was unwilling to participate and was not elaborative in their answers.
- Participants were not forthcoming with information at the beginning of the interviews, prolonging the interview process.
- This study only focused on one farming speech community speaking Afrikaans, not all black Afrikaans-speaking communities in South Africa or the Limpopo province.
- Some inhabitants wanted to influence others not to respond.
- Participants would agree to be interviewed and then discontinue the interview once they felt the questions were too personal.

This research can be extended in various ways. Most importantly, researchers could survey other areas where blacks speak Afrikaans as a L1 and compare findings with this study's findings. Scholars could survey Afrikaans' possible language shifts or maintenance in other black Afrikaans-speaking speech communities. The researcher recommends a more observatory study on the linguistic practices of black Afrikaans speakers of Levubu. It will require more time because observatory language

shift/maintenance studies are longitudinal. In other words, they are expensive and time-consuming. Subjects and prospects' refusal and discontinuity from this research might indicate a negative emotional attachment to Afrikaans (although not enough evidence was found). It would be advisable for researchers to explore a similar topic to survey attitudinal changes—drawing a contrast between attitudinal dispositions revealed in this study and those in the future. Future researchers would also be advised to investigate the current number of black Afrikaans speakers in South Africa.

While considering the limitations and shortcomings of this study, it serves as a basis for investigating the language attitudes and perceptions of black Afrikaans speakers towards Afrikaans post-apartheid South Africa. This study could provide a holistic picture of the current linguistic situation and practices of the farming community of Levubu. This novel research area in studying language attitudes towards Afrikaans could serve as a propitious departing point for further studies.

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ADDENDA

Addendum 1: Information sheet, consent form, questionnaire and guiding interview questions.

INDEX

Page 2 : Information Sheet

Page 3 : Consent form

Page 4-9 : Questionnaire

Page 10 : Guiding interview questions

Dear participants

My name is Lidon Chauke, a master's student in the Department of Linguistics at the University of South Africa (UNISA). I am currently conducting research on language in Levubu and I would like to request your participation in this research. You are selected to participate in this research on the basis of your lived experience in this area (Levubu) and the fact that you are a black Afrikaans first language speaker. This interview will take anything between 45-60 minutes. Your participation and that of others will feed into the outcome of this research on language and identity; particularly Afrikaans and identity.

If you are willing to participate in this research study, please complete the consent form provided. Also note that participation in this study is voluntary and there are no penalties for discontinuing your participation during any stage of the research.

If you have any concerns regarding participation in this study, please contact me on my cell number: 0789410403 or email me at hlayisanilidon@gmail.com. Alternatively, you may also contact my supervisors via email at ferrifs@unisa.ac.za and/or pedro@usal.es.

You are also welcome to contact the UNISA College Ethics office at 012 429 6771 or crecc@unisa.ac.za.

Thank you for your time.

Yours sincerely,

Lidon Chauke

CONSENT FORM

I.....understand the nature of this research on language in **Levubu**. The information I provide will be anonymous and will only be used for the purposes of this research project. I understand that I may withdraw from the study at any point, without there being any negative repercussions.

I agree / do not agree to participate in the present study

I consent / do not consent that my interview with the researcher may be recorded.

I agree / do not agree to the data may be shared anonymously with the UNISA supervisor and statistician.

Signature..... Researcher's signature

Date..... Date.....

7. What is the language that you know best/are most comfortable speaking?

.....

8. What is the language(s) that your wife/spouse/ partner knows best or are most comfortable speaking?

.....

9. What is or was your parents' first language(s)/mother tongue(s)?

Mother.....

Father.....

10. What other languages did or do your parents speak? Please indicate below

- Afrikaans
- Zulu
- Tswana
- Pedi
- Tsonga
- Tswana
- Xhosa
- English
- Venda

- Swati
- Ndebele

11. What is or was your parents' occupation (e.g. teacher/housewife/doctor/plumber)?

- Mother.....
- Father.....

12. Did you go to school? If yes, what is your highest level of education?

.....

13. School attended (name and type of school):

.....

14. What was the language/s of learning and teaching in the school you attended? (Please tick next to the correct language(s) below)

- Afrikaans
- Zulu
- Tswana
- Pedi
- Tsonga
- Tswana
- Xhosa
- English

- Venda
- Swati
- Ndebele
- Other:

15. Please indicate the language(s) that you use when communicating with your brothers/sisters/friends and etc.

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

16. Do you have children? If Yes, how many?

.....

17. Do you have grandchildren? If Yes, how many?

.....

18. Where do your children live?

.....

19. Where do your grandchildren live?

.....

20. What/which language(s) do your children speak?

.....
.....

21. What/which language(s) do your grandchildren speak?

.....
.....

22. What/which language(s) you use in your home?

.....
.....

23. What is/are the language(s) you regularly use at work? if you are working

.....

24. What other languages do you hear in Levubu?

.....

25. Which language(s) do you use when you are experiencing intense emotions/which language(s) would describe as your emotive languages (languages you use when you are happy/sad/angry/anxious/excited)

.....

.....

Guiding interview questions post language portrait.

(Greetings and setting the scene)

1. Can you tell me about your language portrait?

Follow up questions:

Can you explain the colours you selected for each language?

Why did you place certain languages in certain places on the body?

2. Do you feel that the languages you speak are an important part of who you are? Please elaborate.
3. Do you think that your feelings towards the languages that you speak and how they are represented on your portrait would have been the same 30 years ago? (Please elaborate)
4. How did participating in this research project make you feel? (in general, about language, identity).

Language portrait and questionnaire responses would be used to guide the interviews and to ask probing questions about language and identity, language and ideologies, language and culture and so forth.

Thank you very much for participating in this research project. Please keep a copy of the information sheet should you wish to contact me, or UNISA's ethics committee about this research.

Addendum 2: Language portrait template:



Addendum 3: Ethical clearance certificate.



COLLEGE OF HUMAN SCIENCES RESEARCH ETHICS REVIEW COMMITTEE

10 October 2020

Dear Mr Lidon Chauke

NHREC Registration # :
Rec-240816-052
Reference # :
61951862_CREC_CHS_2020
2020

Decision:
**Ethics Approval from 10 October
2020 to 31 August 2024**

Principal Researcher(s): Mr Lidon Chauke

Supervisor: Dr Fiona Severiona Ferris (email: ferrifs@unisa.ac.za)

**Title: An investigation of the language attitudes of black Afrikaans speakers
towards Afrikaans in post-apartheid South Africa in Lebevu**

Degree Purpose: Master's Degree

Thank you for the application for research ethics clearance by the Unisa College of Human Science Ethics Committee. Ethics approval is granted for three years.

The **Low-Risk application** was **reviewed** by College of Human Sciences Research Ethics Committee, on **29 September 2020** in compliance with the Unisa Policy on Research Ethics and the Standard Operating Procedure on Research Ethics Risk Assessment.

The proposed research may now commence with the provisions that:

1. The researcher(s) will ensure that the research project adheres to the values and principles expressed in the UNISA Policy on Research Ethics.
2. Any adverse circumstance arising in the undertaking of the research project that is relevant to the ethicality of the study should be communicated in writing to the College Ethics Review Committee.



3. The researcher(s) will conduct the study according to the methods and procedures set out in the approved application.
4. Any changes that can affect the study-related risks for the research participants, particularly in terms of assurances made with regards to the protection of participants' privacy and the confidentiality of the data, should be reported to the Committee in writing, accompanied by a progress report.
5. The researcher will ensure that the research project adheres to any applicable national legislation, professional codes of conduct, institutional guidelines and scientific standards relevant to the specific field of study. Adherence to the following South African legislation is important, if applicable: Protection of Personal Information Act, no 4 of 2013; Children's act no 38 of 2005 and the National Health Act, no 61 of 2003.
6. Only de-identified research data may be used for secondary research purposes in future on condition that the research objectives are similar to those of the original research. Secondary use of identifiable human research data require additional ethics clearance.
7. No fieldwork activities may continue after the expiry date (**31 October 2024**). Submission of a completed research ethics progress report will constitute an application for renewal of Ethics Research Committee approval.

Note:

*The reference number **61951862 -CHS -CREC_2020** should be clearly indicated on all forms of communication with the intended research participants, as well as with the Committee.*

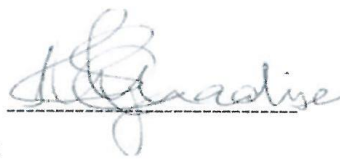
Yours Sincerely,

Signature :



Dr. K.J. Malesa
CHS Ethics Chairperson
Email: maleskj@unisa.ac.za
Tel: (012) 429 4780

Signature :



Prof K. Masemola
Executive Dean : CHS
E-mail: masemk@unisa.ac.za
Tel: (012) 429 2298



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