

***AFRIKAAPS: A CELEBRATORY PROTEST AGAINST
THE RACIALISED HEGEMONY OF 'PURE' AFRIKAANS***

by

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DECLARATION

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ABSTRACT

Afrikaaps is a multi-media (Becker and Oliphant, 2014) protest theatre production that has been performed locally and internationally between 2010 and 2015. *Afrikaaps*, also termed ‘Vernacular Spectacular’, is performed in Kaaps, a vernacular subvariety of Afrikaans. This approximately hour-and-a-half production, directed by Catherine Henegan, involved eight mainly hip-hop artists from the Cape Flats.

Through artistic means of expression such as hip-hop, performance poetry, jazz, dialogues, etc., *Afrikaaps* foregrounds issues pertaining to marginalised and stigmatised Kaaps in response to the racialised hegemony of standard/‘pure’ Afrikaans. Central to this response is the celebration of (an ethnified) Kaaps ‘coloured’ identification.

This multi-sited ethnography has various foci: The 2010 South African and 2011 Dutch versions of the production, the 2010 documentary film with the same title, and a description and analysis of the various ways in which members of the *Afrikaaps* collective experience the hegemony, ideology, and fiction of ‘*suiwer*’ (pure) Afrikaans.

Three sites are foregrounded: A performance poetry event in Amsterdam, the Netherlands, as part of the 2011 Dutch tour; the 2015 matinee performance, part of the annual *Suidoosterfees* in Cape Town; and the 2015 screening of the *Afrikaaps* documentary by student collective Open Stellenbosch at Stellenbosch University. I discuss the ways in which each site aims to subvert the hegemony.

I show that *Afrikaaps* is a case study of the heterogeneity of Afrikaans. I argue that the celebration of Kaaps by the production and the positive identification with Kaaps by members of the *Afrikaaps* collective are extremely relevant within the current climate. In the wake of the nationwide #AfrikaansMustFall protests, this climate encompasses the deliberate, renewed recognition and celebration of Afrikaans varieties other than standard Afrikaans in the public sphere.

The conceptualisation of Afrikaans as an indigenous, ‘creole’ language relates to current, opposing views of the Afrikaans language as a ‘colonial’ language and an African language. *Afrikaaps* aims to subvert the general perception of Afrikaans as a ‘white’ language of the ‘white’ Afrikaner oppressor. I concurrently argue that the production endeavours to connect the Afrikaans language to an ethnicity other than ‘white Afrikaners’, namely ‘coloured’ Kaaps-speakers. I demonstrate that the use of Kaaps is a decolonising political tool (Erasmus, 2006) in response to the general perception of Afrikaans as a ‘colonial’ language.

A concurrent aim of the production includes the encouragement of ‘coloured’ Kaaps-speakers from the Cape Flats to be proud of their mother-tongue and their claimed indigenous (Khoi and San) and slave (‘Malay’) cultural heritage. I regard the emphasis on the symbolic value of Kaaps by the production as imperative to the reclaiming of a positive identification with Kaaps. I accordingly argue that *Afrikaaps*

‘re-imagines’ negative notions of ‘coloured’ by celebrating ‘creolised’ ‘coloured’ identification (Erasmus, 2001).

I emphasise that the encouragement by *Afrikaaps* to ‘reclaim’ Afrikaans ‘for all who speak it’ links with the topical debate ‘to whom does Afrikaans belong’. The production encourages all Afrikaans-speakers to ‘reclaim’ the ‘creole’ language formed in the early, cosmopolitan Cape in response to the hegemony. Afrikaans is thereby conceptualised as inclusive and ‘liberated’; the racialised divide within the Afrikaans speech community can therefore be bridged. I argue that these claims express a current hope for Afrikaans to be viewed as a language of ‘transformation’.

OPSOMMING

Afrikaaps is 'n multi-media (Becker en Oliphant, 2014) protes-teaterproduksie wat plaaslik en internasionaal tussen 2010 en 2015 opgevoer is. Afrikaaps, wat ook '*Vernacular Spectacular*' (Omgangstaalskouspel) genoem word, word in Kaaps, 'n vernakulêre variëteit van Afrikaans, opgevoer. Hierdie ongeveer uur-en-'n-half-lange produksie onder regie van Catherine Henegan betrek agt hoofsaaklik hip-hop kunstenaars van die Kaapse Vlakte.

Deur artistieke vorme van uitdrukking soos hip-hop, die gesproke woord, jazz, dialoog, ens., laat val Afrikaaps lig op kwessies in verband met gemarginaliseerde en gestigmatiseerde Kaaps in reaksie op die rasse-hegemonie van standaard/'suiwer' Afrikaans. Sentraal tot hierdie reaksie is die viering van 'n ('ge-etnifiseerde') 'bruin' Kaaps-identifikasie.

Hierdie multi-terrein etnografie het verskeie fokuspunte: die 2010 Suid-Afrikaanse en 2011 Nederlandse weergawes van die produksie; die 2010 dokumentêre film met dieselfde titel; en 'n beskrywing en analise van die verskeie maniere waarop lede van die Afrikaaps-geselskap die hegemonie, ideologie, en fiksie van 'suiwer' Afrikaans ervaar.

Drie terreine word op die voorgrond gestel: 'n aanbieding in die gesproke woord in Amsterdam, Nederland, as deel van die Nederlandse toer in 2011; die 2015 matinee-opvoering, as deel van die jaarlikse Suidoosterfees in Kaapstad; en die vertoning van die Afrikaaps-dokumentêr deur die Open Stellenbosch studentegroep by die Universiteit Stellenbosch in 2015. Ek bespreek die maniere waarop elke terrein beoog om die hegemonie te ondermyn.

Ek toon aan dat Afrikaaps 'n gevallestudie van die heterogeniteit van Afrikaans is. Ek argumenteer dat die viering van Kaaps deur die produksie en die positiewe identifikasie met Kaaps deur lede van Afrikaaps-geselskap uiters relevant is binne die huidige klimaat. Na aanleiding van die landwyse '#AfrikaansMustFall' opstande, sluit hierdie klimaat die doelbewuste, hernude erkenning en viering van Afrikaans-variëteite anders as standaard Afrikaans in die openbare sfeer in.

Die konseptualisering van Afrikaans as 'n inheemse, 'kreoolse' taal hou verband met die huidige, opponerende sienings van die Afrikaanse taal as 'n 'koloniale' taal en as 'n Afrikataal. Afrikaaps poog om die algemene siening van Afrikaans as 'n 'wit' taal van die 'wit' Afrikaner-onderdrukker te ondermyn. Terselfertyd argumenteer ek dat die produksie dus poog om die Afrikaanse taal met 'n etnisiteit anders as 'wit Afrikaners' te assosieer, naamlik 'bruin' Kaaps-sprekers. Ek demonstreer dat die gebruik van Kaaps as 'n dekoloniserende politieke strategie is (Erasmus, 2006) as reaksie op die algemene persepsie van Afrikaans as 'n 'koloniale' taal.

'n Gepaardgaande doel van die produksie sluit in die aanmoediging van 'bruin' Kaaps-sprekers van die Kaapse Vlakte om trots op hul moedertaal en hul beweerde inheemse (Khoi en San) en slawe ('Maleise') kulturele erfenis te wees. Ek beskou die klem op die simboliese waarde van Kaaps deur die

produksie as noodsaaklik ten einde positiewe identifikasie met Kaaps te herwin. Daarvolgens argumenteer ek dat Afrikaans negatiewe opvattinge van 'bruin' 'her-verbeel' deur 'gekreoliseerde' 'bruin' identifikasie te vier (Erasmus, 2001).

Ek wys daarop dat die aanmoediging om Afrikaans te 'herwin' 'vir almal wat dit praat' skakel met die aktuele debat 'aan wie behoort Afrikaans'. Die produksie moedig alle Afrikaanssprekendes aan om die 'kreoolse' taal, wat aan die vroeë, kosmopolitiese Kaap gevorm is, te herwin in reaksie op die hegemonie. Afrikaans word dus gekonseptualiseer as inklusief en 'bevry'; die rasse-kloof binne die Afrikaanse taalgemeenskap kan dus oorbrug word. Ek argumenteer dat hierdie eise spreek tot 'n huidige hoopvolle siening van Afrikaans as 'n taal van 'transformasie'.

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CHAPTER ONE: SETTING THE SCENE

1.1. Introduction

The literature first also came from the black community. If we go back to the early Muslim scholars in the Cape, the teachers, who taught at the madrassas. This is where Afrikaans, written with Arabic script, first emerged.

(Afrikaaps, 2010)

In December 2010 I coincidentally tuned into a televised documentary – titled *Afrikaaps* – claiming that Afrikaans was first written in Arabic script during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.¹ This claim struck a chord within me, an Afrikaans-speaker. I was never privy to the existence and extent of this writing tradition. I was taught in school that Afrikaans was first considered a language in its own right – thereby not considered Dutch – with the publication of the poem, ‘*Winternag*’, by acclaimed writer Eugène Marais during the early twentieth century (the era of Afrikaner nationalism).

As I watched the documentary, more claims regarding standard Afrikaans and Kaaps cultural and linguistic heritage, put forward by the theatre production, caught my attention. For example, ‘Arabic Afrikaans’; the *Kaapse Klopse* (the Cape Minstrels); *ghoema*; and the Khoi and Malay origins of standard/‘pure’ Afrikaans words. Before I commenced with research for this study, my knowledge of these claims was quite limited. As an Afrikaans-speaker, I was not extensively introduced to these parts of Afrikaans heritage. The value and significance I ascribe to these claims – given my negligible knowledge – led to this study.

This chapter explains what *Afrikaaps* is, who are involved, and where they have performed. Furthermore, I note the research approach, selected strategy of inquiry, research methods, and theoretical framework. I also delineate my vantage point as a researcher, and explain my identification as an Afrikaans-speaker.² Concurrently, I elucidate my motivation for this study, the research problem, and research questions.

¹ The *Afrikaaps* documentary chronicles the 2010 performances of the theatre production (also titled) *Afrikaaps*. Refer to section 1.2 for details on the documentary and the theatre production.

² The Afrikaans speech community predominantly comprises so-called Afrikaners (white Afrikaans people) and coloured people (Ponelis, 1987:4). Erasmus (2011:638) explains that South Africans were legally classified according to ‘race’ by the Population Registration Act No. 30 (1950): ‘White’; ‘Coloured’; and ‘Native’/‘Bantu’. ‘Coloured’ was described as ‘not a white person or a native’ (Erasmus, 2001:18) (‘Native’ signifies ‘a person who in fact is or is generally accepted as a member of any aboriginal race or tribe of Africa’ (Erasmus, 2001:27)). Therefore, the so-called coloured identity was ‘legally imposed’. According to Shell (1994:64), ‘people in South Africa were legally, and are socially, classified according to origin. A plethora of odd and exotic identities was the result’. In addition to legally imposed ‘coloured’ identity, Shell (1994:64) cites the creation of the ‘Afrikaner’ identity. The *Etimologiewoordeboek van Afrikaans (EWA)*, 2003:12) defines ‘Afrikaner’ as a white Afrikaans-speaker. McCormick (2002b:96) connects ‘Afrikaner’ with exclusion: ‘In the twentieth century the category ‘Afrikaner’ came to exclude people who were not white’. Therefore, I acknowledge that the categories ‘white’, ‘Afrikaner’ and ‘coloured’ are social constructions. Furthermore, I hold that ‘white’ and ‘coloured’ do not signify homogeneous identities; identities are fluid, therefore not static entities. However, Standing (2006:2) affirms that ‘in South Africa previous racial categorisations are still part of

1.2. ‘Vernacular Spectacular’

Afrikaaps is a ‘multi-media’ (Becker and Oliphant, 2014:3) protest theatre production consisting of a collective of eight artists and performed in Kaaps.³ Most of the members of the *Afrikaaps* ‘crew’ (Coetzee, 2016) are so-called coloured Kaaps hip-hop artists and social activists from predominantly coloured communities on the Cape Peninsula, including the Cape Flats.⁴ To date, *Afrikaaps* has performed in South Africa between 2010 and 2015, and toured the Netherlands in 2011. *Afrikaaps* was also chronicled in a 2010 documentary film with the same title (*Afrikaaps*, Plexus Films, 2010). This thesis focuses on the South African and Dutch shows, as well as the documentary. Concurrently, my fieldwork focused on the personal experiences and perceptions of members of the *Afrikaaps* collective regarding the racialised hegemony of standard/‘pure’ Afrikaans.⁵

The *Afrikaaps* collective includes the following artists: Emile Jansen (Emile YX? Jansen); Jethro Louw; Janine van Rooy-Overmeyer (Blaq Pearl); Quintin Goliath (Jitsvinger); Moenier Adams (Monox); and Charl van der Westhuizen (Bliksemstraal).⁶ Dutch rappers Pascal Griffioen (Def P) and Akwasi Anseh were included in the Dutch version of the show. Catherine Henegan is the director of *Afrikaaps*. Aryan Kaganof offered creative input. Dylan Valley directed the *Afrikaaps* documentary.⁷

the country’s lived reality’. For the sake of readability, quotation marks are not used throughout this thesis when referring to, for example ‘coloured’ people or a ‘white’ language.

³ *Afrikaaps* was originally produced by The Glasshouse/Catherine Henegan in co-production with the ABSA KKNK and The Baxter Theatre Centre in 2010 (Afrikaaps, 2016). *Afrikaaps* is also termed a ‘hip-hopera’ (Becker and Oliphant, 2014:1).

⁴ Members of the *Afrikaaps* collective were either born, raised, or are still residing in the suburbs of Mitchells Plain (Van Rooy-Overmeyer, Adams and Goliath); Eersterivier (Van der Westhuizen); and Grassy Park (Jansen). Louw is originally from Beaufort West in the Karoo region of South Africa, and resides in Kalkfontein on the Cape Peninsula.

⁵ Henceforth, I refer to standard Afrikaans as ‘pure’ Afrikaans; members of the *Afrikaaps* collective term standard Afrikaans as such.

⁶ Shane Cooper and Kyle Shepherd are the musicians of the collective. Cooper plays the bass and is the ‘beat-maker’ (Afrikaaps, 2010). Kyle Shepherd is the musical director. Shepherd plays the piano, the ‘*xaru*’ (an indigenous instrument) and saxophone in the show. Shepherd declined being interviewed for this thesis. Cooper stated that I need not interview him, as he is an English-speaker. He is also white (therefore not a coloured English-speaker).

⁷ Henegan credits the *Afrikaaps* concept to an article co-written by Valley and his sister, Greer Valley, titled ‘Hip-hop Masala’ (Henegan, 2012; see Valley and Valley, 2009 for the online link to the article). The article encapsulates the main claims of *Afrikaaps*. I discuss the main claims of the article specifically in relation to the production and the documentary throughout this thesis.

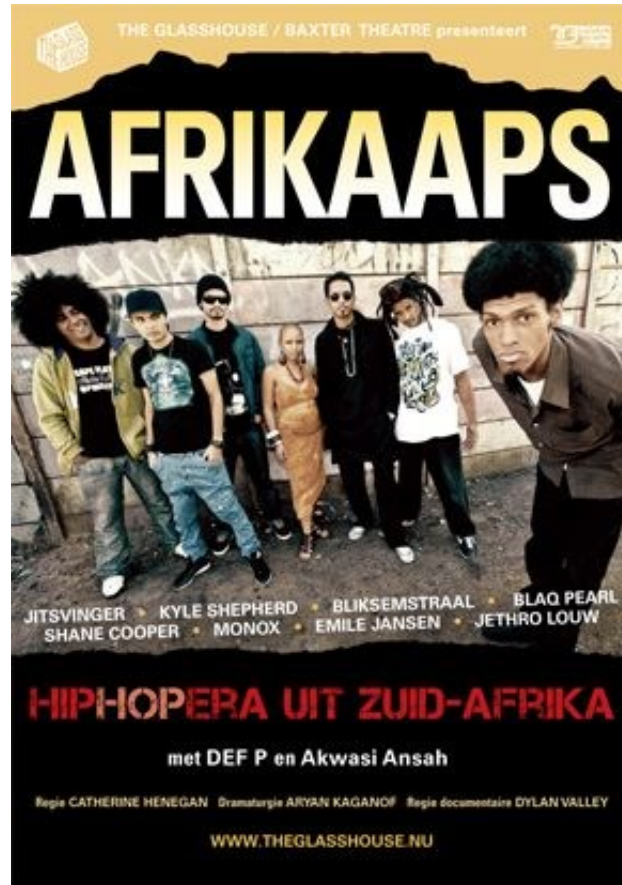


Figure 1. Pamphlet advertising the Dutch tour. From left to right: Jansen, Adams, Cooper, Van Rooy-Overmeyer, Shepherd, Van der Westhuizen and Goliath (Daniel, 2016)



Figure 2. Left to right: Goliath, Van Rooy-Overmeyer, Jansen, Adams, and Van der Westhuizen (Photograph by Aryan Kaganof) (Wentzel, 2011b)

This approximately hour-and-a-half-long show utilises various musical genres such as hip-hop, jazz, reggae, r&b and soul. Performance poetry/spoken word, clips from the *Afrikaaps* documentary, and dialogues are key components of the production.

Goliath coined the term ‘Vernacular Spectacular’, referring to *Afrikaaps*. For me, this term is synonymous with a celebratory extravaganza of Kaaps.⁸ The key message of the production is thereby encapsulated: be proud to be a Kaaps-speaker, do not be ashamed to speak Kaaps. The reason: The indigenous Khoi and slave/‘Malay’ ancestors of so-called coloured people were key creators of the creole language, Afrikaans.⁹

In the *Afrikaaps* documentary, Henegan connects ‘[t]he premise of the show’ to historical dispossession of language and the concurrent fracturing of identity: ‘We deal with the history of Afrikaans. It goes on into the 50s, where people are then not only dispossessed of their language, but they are also dispossessed of their home.¹⁰ And in that process, their identity is fractured’¹¹ (*Afrikaaps*, 2010). *Afrikaaps* attributes this dispossession and fracturing to the racialised hegemony of ‘pure’ Afrikaans.

In radio interviews and in the documentary, members of the *Afrikaaps* collective explain this hegemony. For example: In a Dutch radio interview, Valley affirms that Afrikaans is perceived as a white language, hijacked as such in the 1870s¹² (Zeeuik, 2011). Accordingly, the reason for creating the show, Valley explains in the documentary, is to ‘[tell] the mostly unknown history of the language’ (*Afrikaaps*, 2010). In addition, Valley asserted in an interview that ‘the play is really about the emancipation of the Afrikaans language’ (Zeeuik, 2011).

In a radio interview, Jansen (2012) connects the shame of Kaaps speakers with the misrepresentation of the history of Afrikaans. To elaborate: Jansen (2012) emphasised the need to feel confident about speaking Kaaps: ‘That history was not ... openly shared, and I think that is what we are trying to

⁸ Schuster (2016:68) affirms that *Afrikaaps* is a ‘celebration of Kaaps’: ‘[A] proclamation, with joyous celebration, of the heritage on which Afrikaners built much of their Nationalist movement’.

⁹ Valley and Valley (2009) emphasise that ‘this side of Afrikaans’ – for example the so-called creole formation of Afrikaans – is excluded from public discourse.

¹⁰ The Group Areas Act of 1950 forcibly removed those who were classified as coloured people residing in central Cape Town to ‘new suburban communities outside the city centre’ (Ledochowski, 2007:218). Central to apartheid policy was the securing of ‘the spatial separation of races’ (Standing, 2006:4). From the late 1960s to the early 1980s, this apartheid legislation ‘displaced’ tens of thousands of coloured families: Annually, approximately 3 000, and by 1982, more than 50 000 (Standing, 2006:4-5). Referred to by Standing (2006:ix, 3) as ‘a sprawling and impoverished suburb’ and ‘the sandy wind-swept area outside Cape Town’, the Cape Flats [also] housed these dispossessed people (Standing, 2006: 3-5). Most members of the *Afrikaaps* ensemble grew up on the Cape Flats with a history of family members being forcibly removed.

¹¹ Henegan cites these ‘issues’ as ‘complex’ (*Afrikaaps*, 2010). Becker and Oliphant (2014:9) state: ‘The *Afrikaaps* production’s expressed aim was to reclaim the “true” history of Afrikaans from the discourses that had arisen from the exclusive appropriation of the language as an identity marker of (white) Afrikaners’.

¹² The Afrikaans word for ‘hijacked’, is ‘gekoop’. The term ‘Afrikaaps’ may also relate to the symbolic hijacking of the language.

encourage ... and also, at the same time then, when those people become aware of that, that a sense of confidence returns again, I speak like I speak, this is actually how the language started'¹³ (Jansen, 2012).

Against the above-mentioned background information, a summary of the South African and Dutch *Afrikaaps* theatre productions, as well as the *Afrikaaps* documentary follow (*Afrikaaps – Baxter Theatre Centre, Cape Town, 2010*; *Afrikaaps – Stadschouwborg, Amsterdam, 2011*; *Afrikaaps, 2010*).¹⁴ The descriptions of the documentary and the South African and Dutch theatre productions foreground the main claims of *Afrikaaps*.

The 2010 *Afrikaaps* documentary opens with the statement:

Afrikaans originated in the early 1600s in the Dutch colony at the Cape of Good Hope, South Africa. It was a creole language derived from Dutch, spoken by slaves of mixed origin, as well as the local Khoi population. By 1870 it was recognised as a separate language – Afrikaans.

In the move towards Afrikaner Nationalism in the 1940s, Afrikaans became perceived as the language of the oppressor and a symbol of apartheid ... The language had become totally disconnected from its history.

Valley then introduces the term 'Afrikaaps', and members of the *Afrikaaps* collective (including Henegan, Kaganof, and Valley himself).

Valley asserts: 'In modern South Africa, Afrikaans is generally seen as a European language. However, there's a side to this language, the creole birth of Afrikaans, which has been suppressed and overlooked for centuries.'

Henegan outlines the 'premise of the show', namely: 'we deal with the history of Afrikaans', citing the so-called dispossession of language and the fracturing of identity.

Valley asserts: 'The Kaaps dialect of Afrikaans, is spoken mostly by the coloured community in Cape Town, a people of diverse cultural heritage. Kaaps is always represented in the media as laughable, and somehow lower than the official Afrikaans.'

A photograph of Valley's parents and sister is shown:

As a child of two Afrikaans parents, I grew up speaking English. My parents spoke Afrikaans to each other, and English to us. The history of Afrikaans wasn't passed down, and we certainly didn't learn it in school. I never thought of Afrikaans as part of my heritage, but then I was approached by Catherine to document the *Afrikaaps* theatre production. Little did I know, the history that I learnt in school, was about to be rewritten.

Footage of the theatre production is shown.

¹³ Jansen asserted that 'the current conversation is still in that paradigm of who is in charge' (Jansen, 2012), therefore alluding to the hegemony's misrecognition of Kaaps and its speakers' alleged contribution to the formation of Afrikaans.

¹⁴ For the sake of readability, the CD-ROM source details of the production are not listed in the text. Also for the sake of readability, the source details of the unpublished texts of *Afrikaaps* are not listed in the text (Adams *et al.*, 2010; Adams *et al.*, 2011).

Valley then states: ‘We wanted to understand how the language got where it is today. To do that, we had to go back into the past. Way back’.

Interviews with the late Neville Alexander (‘educationalist/political activist’) and Patrick Mellet (heritage activist) follow. Alexander refers to the contribution of the Khoi, the San and the slaves to the origin of Afrikaans. Mellet foregrounds the role of three (Khoi) indigenes – namely Autshumoa, Krotoa and Doman – as interpreters at the early Cape: They were ‘in a sense ... the first to mold this new creole language, Afrikaans’. Alexander then also foregrounds *Die Genootskap van Regte Afrikaners* (GRA) (The Society of True Afrikaners), established in 1875. This Society omitted Khoi and Malay derived words such as ‘*tramakassie*’ ‘from the lexicon’ (my translation). Alexander states that this synonym for ‘*dankie*’ (thank you) is not included in Afrikaans dictionaries: ‘[T]hat’s the sort of thing that needs to change’ (my translation).

Valley then states that words such as the Malay-derived ‘*baie*’ (many) and ‘KhoiSan’-derived ‘*eina*’ (ouch) ‘are spoken every day and found everywhere, but their origins remain very much hidden’, citing the *Handwoordeboek van die Afrikaanse Taal* (HAT) as example.

The workshop process of putting the show together [which took approximately a month] before their first performance at the Baxter theatre is then shown: For example, the brainstorming of ideas and asking questions during the workshop process; presenting their ‘work ... to the board of the theatre’; and the inclusion of Moenier Adams in the show, ‘the missing piece in the puzzle’ (Adams is then introduced).

Mellet emphasises: ‘If we go back to the early Muslim scholars in the Cape, the teachers, who taught at the madrassas. This is where Afrikaans, written in Arabic script, first emerged’. Valley expresses his surprise: ‘I did not know that the first written Afrikaans was in Arabic text. As half my family is Muslim, I found it strange that this wasn’t common knowledge’. A researcher at the *Tombouctou Manuscripts Project*, namely Saarah Jappie, is then interviewed for more background on Arabic Afrikaans.

The next scene takes place in an Afrikaans class at Lavender Hill High; the difference between standard Afrikaans and Kaaps is discussed with learners: ‘*Sodra die klokkie lui dan praat julle ’n anner Afrikaans as wat innie boeke is.*’ (The moment the bell rings then you speak another Afrikaans than that is in the books) (my translation). Stereotypes associated with Kaaps are also discussed. Footage of three learners singing a ghoema song in front of the class is shown. Valley states: ‘It was very inspiring to see that ghoema haven’t died in Cape Town. We thought we would teach these kids a thing or two, but we were the ones who had learnt a great deal’. Adams, Jansen, and Van Rooy-Overmeyer are filmed discussing the difficulties they face as Kaaps speakers.

Valley follows the group to their first show at the Baxter and the KKNK.

The documentary concludes with what being part of the show meant to Adams, Jansen, Van Rooy-Overmeyer, Shepherd, Van der Westhuizen, Henegan, and Louw. Goliath and Valley conclude respectively: *'Jou voorouers, hulle is in jou bloed, dan nie? So, praat in jou moedertong! 'Cause as dji daai doen, dan hou dji mos vi hulle a'n die liewe'* (Your ancestors, they are in your blood, no? So, speak in your mother-tongue! 'Cause if you do that, then you keep them alive) (my translation); 'Even though I didn't speak Afrikaans growing up, *ek is nou trots op die taal, en ek sien dit as deel van wie ek is, al is my gesprek 'n bietjie verdala'* (Even though I didn't speak Afrikaans growing up, I am proud of the language now, and I see it as part of who I am, even though my language is a little bit messed up) (my translation).

The 2010 Baxter matinee opens with members of the collective sitting around a (fake) fire in a cave,¹⁵ playing indigenous instruments such as the *'xaru'*. Excerpts from the documentary are shown on the screen, namely the interviews with Alexander and Mellet. Goliath invites the audience to listen to the stories of the ancestors: *'Die stories sal vertel word.'* (The stories will be told) (my translation).

Jansen portrays Autshumoa, Van der Westhuizen portrays Doman, and Van Rooy-Overmeyer portrays Krotoa. The ensemble then sings the song titled *'Ek is!'* (I am!), ending with, *'Ek is Afrikaaps!'* (I am Afrikaaps!). The Lavender Hill High scene from the documentary is then screened.

A dialogue and a performance poetry piece foreground the influence of the San clicks on Xhosa, followed by the song, *'Kom KhoiSan, kry terug jou land, coloureds kom van KhoiSan verstand'* (Come KhoiSan, get back your land, coloureds come from KhoiSan knowledge) (my translation). Mellet foregrounds 'Arabic Afrikaans' in an excerpt from the documentary. Adams performs a prayer with an Afrikaans text in Arabic script superimposed on the screen. Adams' lyrics underscore, for example, the *Kaapse Klopse* (the Cape Minstrel Carnival) and ghoema history and heritage in a song.

A brief dialogue mentions stereotypes associated with Kaaps speakers. The afore-mentioned excerpt from the documentary of the collective discussing issues associated with Kaaps is then shown, then Goliath addresses the learners concerning the marginalisation and stigmatisation of Kaaps.

Jansen and Van Rooy-Overmeyer address the cause of the problem, namely, *'mense kennie hulle history nie.'* (people do not know their history) (my translation). The interview with Alexander from the documentary concerning the GRA is then screened. The 'hijacking' of the language is staged in the *'Land en Taal'* (Land and Language) scene. Goliath enters the stage, carrying bags with *'Land'* and *'Taal'* sewn onto each one: *'Daar het julle dit nou, hierdie taal ... is mos gekoop ... is ... gehijack.'* (There you have it, this language ... is hijacked) (my translation). Van Rooy-Overmeyer then performs a performance poetry piece addressing various issues of concern on the Cape Flats, including, for example, drugs and alcohol.

¹⁵ An image of the interior of the cave is superimposed on a screen at the back of the stage.

This is followed by Adams singing a ghoema song, namely ‘*Roelandstraat*’. Adams, Jansen and Van der Westhuizen then breakdance to a distinct ghoema sound. The scene changes and the voice of a policeman rings out: ‘Stop this illegal gathering immediately!’ Four members of the ensemble protest, calling out names of apartheid activists, such as Ashley Kriel and Anton Fransch. Gunshots ring out. Footage of people running from gunshots is shown, while Shepherd plays the piano. A 1976 photograph from the Soweto uprising stating ‘To Hell with Afrikaans’ follows. Mellet discusses this rebellion in a screened interview.

Goliath performs a poetry piece underscoring the role of the missionaries in casting out the indigenous beliefs of the San. A dialogue stating that the language is creole is staged, followed by ‘Legal’, a song, affirming that Kaaps speakers ought to make the language ‘legal’ themselves. Goliath addresses the learners, encouraging them to speak their mother-tongue language, the language of their ancestors: ‘*Luister, jy sal hulle hoor*’ (Listen, you will hear them) (my translation).

The 2011 Dutch version of the show opens with an interview with Adriaan van Dis, addressing Dutch colonialism at the Cape, including slavery (of African and Malay people); the encounter with the indigenes; and the mixing of languages: ‘It was never a pure Dutch language’ (my translation from Dutch).

This is followed by Goliath’s dialogue from the 2010 performance; the portrayal of the three indigenes; and the song, ‘*Ek is!*’ (I am!) (including Louw, Griffioen and Ansah). Ansah addresses issues associated with being a ‘black’ ‘*allochtoon*’ (someone not born in the Netherlands (Ansah, 2011)).

A Dutch dialogue between Ansah and Griffioen addresses Afrikaans as a ‘creole’ language.

Three learners singing the ghoema song ‘*Batavia*’ in the Lavender Hill High scene (and Adams playing guitar while they are singing) from the documentary is shown, mixed with footage from, for example, the *Kaapse Klopse* (the Cape Minstrels). Alexander briefly affirms the influence of the indigenes and the slaves on the formation of Afrikaans, followed by a brief statement by Van Dis, and also Mellet, highlighting the origins of ‘Arabic Afrikaans’ at the Cape. Adams performs the afore-mentioned prayer and song, highlighting the *Kaapse Klopse* and ghoema.

A more elaborate ‘*Land en Taal*’ (Country and Language) scene with the Dutch flag in the foreground – described in Chapter Four – is staged. Alexander foregrounds the GRA in the afore-mentioned excerpt. Goliath performs the missionary performance piece.

Mellet addresses the 1976 Soweto uprising, with the same afore-mentioned protest scene. Van Dis asserts in an interview: young coloured people ‘turn away’ from their own mother-tongue, the language of, for example, their mother, by speaking English (my translation from Dutch). Louw then performs a song, followed by the song ‘*Kom KhoiSan kry terug jou land*’. The Lavender Hill High scene is then screened. Goliath then performs a poetry performance piece, followed by ghoema song ‘*Roelandstraat*’.

Griffioen asks the members of the ensemble whether Kaaps is accepted, highlighting differences between standard Afrikaans and Kaaps. The song ‘Legal’ – also addressing Afrikaans as ‘creole’ – is then performed (including Ansah and Griffioen). A dialogue by the ensemble pronouncing words with San click-sounds then follows. Griffioen performs a song, including the lyrics: ‘You teach me Afrikaans, I teach you Dutch’ (my translation from Dutch). Jansen, Van der Westhuizen and Adams then breakdance as part of a song. Goliath highlights the afore-mentioned statement: Speak your mother-tongue, thereby keeping your ancestors alive; ‘find yourself, listen, you will hear them’ (my translation). The production ends with the song: ‘*Skrik wakker, raak wys*’ (Wake up and gain knowledge) (my translation).

1.3. ‘*Die Argitekbekke*’:¹⁶ ‘*Konsonante kerf soos ’n kwas oor’ie canvas*’¹⁷

The Facebook public invitation for the 2012 Joule City performances describe members of the collective as follows: Jansen: ‘Hip-hop legend and relentless activist’; Louw: ‘*Plakkerskamp* [informal settlement/township] poet, KhoiSan activist, traditional instrumentalist and storyteller’; Van Rooy-Overmeyer: ‘Conscious, soulful songstress’; Goliath: ‘Vernacular spectacular rapper, poet and guitarist’; Adams: ‘Award-winning dancer, singer, and entertainer’; and Van der Westhuizen: ‘B-boy rapper extraordinaire’ (AFRIKAAPS IN CONCERT - 28 DEC & 29 DEC 2012, 2012).¹⁸

The collective – ‘cultural activists’ (Becker and Oliphant, 2014:15-16) – wrote the entire text of the production (Kaganof, 2011a): The *Afrikaaps* project ‘totally’ developed through the ensemble (Henegan, 2012). In a personal interview, Kaganof asserted that he and Henegan considered it of absolute importance that the cast ‘write their own lyrics’: [It was decided that] any writing for anybody on behalf of anyone’s culture and language [will not be done] ... It’s authentic language as used by those people’ (Kaganof, 2011a).¹⁹ Goliath thereby coined the term ‘*argitekbekke*’,²⁰ a collective term for the *Afrikaaps* ensemble. Essentially, the term relates to the creation of one’s means of expression.²¹

¹⁶ Refer to footnotes 20 and 21 for an explanation of the term ‘argitekbek(ke)’.

¹⁷ Lyrics by Goliath in the show, translated as ‘Consonants carve like a brush across the canvas’ (my translation).

¹⁸ Shepherd is described as ‘Composer, multi-instrumentalist, jazz prodigy and SAMA nominee’ (AFRIKAAPS IN CONCERT - 28 DEC & 29 DEC 2012, 2012).

¹⁹ Kaganof stated that it was challenging to be able to work ‘with absolutely authentic elements, and trying to shape them into a theatrical form that works as theatre [as they are] two separate things’ (Kaganof, 2011a). Regarding these so-called authentic cultural elements in *Afrikaaps*, Louw stated in a personal interview: ‘If we all come together, then we are the authentic contribution. That is the unit, we are all small components [‘*stukkies splintergroepies van dinge*’], but the authentic contribution is that unified expression’ (my translation) (Louw, 2011). Becker and Oliphant (2014:16) assert that *Afrikaaps* ‘authenticates claims through the reclamation of (real or imagined) repressed forms of cultural and historical heritage’.

²⁰ ‘*Argitek*’ translates as ‘architect’, and ‘*bek*’, as ‘mouth’.

²¹ This is my interpretation. In a personal interview, Goliath explained the meaning of ‘*argitekbek*’: ‘Architect and ‘mouth’ metaphorically relates to building/creating one’s speech through the laying of a cornerstone. The one planning this edifice is the architect. ‘Mouth’ signifies street credibility, as the cast are not from an institution, but the Cape Flats (Goliath, 2011).

In the documentary, Kaganof asserts the value of so-called lived experiences in relation to theatre: ‘The best theatre talks directly about real experience’ (Afrikaaps, 2010). In the documentary, both Van Rooy-Overmeyer and Louw emphasise that *Afrikaaps* offered them a space to express themselves. Van Rooy-Overmeyer affirms: ‘*Ons het baie space en freedom of personal expression. We do our own writing. And all the pieces wat ons perform, skryf ons self.*’ (We have a lot of space and freedom of personal expression. We do our own writing. And all the pieces that we perform, we write ourselves) (my translation). Louw states: ‘*Die posisie waarin ek my op die vlakke bevind, is onmoontlik vi’ ons om jouself uit te leef op enige verhoog. Nou Afrikaaps het daai plekkie vi’ my geskep.*’ (The position wherein I find myself on the [Cape Flats], it is impossible to express yourself on any stage. Now *Afrikaaps* has created that space for me) (my translation) (Afrikaaps, 2010).

At the Q&A session after the 2015 Artscape theatre matinee,²² the value of being able to perform in one’s mother-tongue was underscored. A learner asked why the play is performed in *Afrikaaps*. Goliath responded: ‘*Ons kannie dit bieter explain a’n ons eie mense waar die storie vandaan af kom as ons dit nie doen in onse eie taal nie.*’ (We cannot explain it better to our own people where the story comes from if we do not do it in our own language) (my translation).²³ During the same session, Adams also commented on the need for such an opportunity:

Baie van onse tale in die land het ’n kans gekry. Jy kry opregte, suiwer Afrikaans, dan kry jy ... ’n production in Sotho ... in Xhosa ... in Engels, maar jy kry nie ’n production in Afrikaaps’ie, so ons het gevat die opportunity om vir jou te wys dat Afrikaans wat jy praat by die hys, innie ... Heideveld [en] so a’n, kan ook gebeur op so ’n stage, dit kan ook gesien word. Jy hoefie op ’n sekere way te sound sodat mense jou kan serious vat’ie.

(Many of our languages in the country have gotten a chance. You get pure Afrikaans, then you get ... a production in Sotho ... in Xhosa ... in English, but you do not get a production in Afrikaaps, so we took the opportunity to show you that Afrikaans that you speak at home, in ... Heideveld etc., can also happen on such a stage, it can also be seen. You do not have to sound a certain way so that people can take you seriously²⁴) (my translation).

1.4. Rationale, research problem and research questions

Given my ascribed social identity²⁵ as a ‘white Afrikaner’ and my personal identification as an Afrikaans-speaker, I find the response of an ethnified coloured Kaaps identification of value and relevant regarding general perceptions surrounding the Afrikaans language. When I coincidentally tuned in to the *Afrikaaps* documentary on television (thereby being led to this study), the claims regarding the racialised hegemony resonated with my identification as an Afrikaans-speaker.²⁶ The main motivation for this study was to thereby investigate and highlight the misrecognised aspects of the

²² The matinee was attended by learners from various communities on the Cape Peninsula.

²³ This response received applause.

²⁴ Refer to Chapter Four for a discussion on the use of Kaaps on stage as a political tool.

²⁵ ‘Ascribed identity’ is a phrase borrowed from McCormick (2002b:35).

²⁶ The documentary was broadcast on the DSTV channel, *Mzansi Magic*.

Afrikaans language and Afrikaans heritage that are not necessarily familiar to all Afrikaans speakers or the general public.

This thesis examines the ways in which *Afrikaaps* ‘uncover’ and subverts the notion of a static and homogenous Afrikaans ethnolinguistic identity (Blommaert, 2005:216-217) in relation to the divided Afrikaans speech community. The ‘one language–one culture assumption’ (Blommaert, 2005:216) is brought into question by responding to the hegemony, the fiction, and the ideology of standard Afrikaans (Silverstein, 1996:286-287; Joseph, 2004:225; Milroy, 2001:530).²⁷

Afrikaaps critiques ‘the state ideology’ (Blommaert, 2005:217) whereby the standard language is ‘seen as symbolic of the nation’ (Riley, 2007:234). *Afrikaaps* also responds to the utilisation of Afrikaans as an instrument ‘in the ethno-national identification of the so-called Afrikaner’ (Webb and Kriel, 2000:24). Accordingly, *Afrikaaps* aims to self-define in reaction to being defined as ‘non-members’ of the language community (Blommaert, 2005:217) for ‘self-recognition as well as an aspect of its recognition in the eyes of outsiders’ (Fishman, 1977:16).

This multi-sited ethnography focuses on the ways in which *Afrikaaps* imparts a celebratory protest in response to the racialised hegemony of ‘pure’ Afrikaans in relation to a coloured Kaaps identification. The main research questions therefore include:

- 1) What aspects of the racialised hegemony are ‘uncovered’?
- 2) In what ways does *Afrikaaps* stage resistance to the hegemony?
- 3) How do members of the *Afrikaaps* ensemble experience the hegemony?
- 4) In what ways do *Afrikaaps* celebrate a coloured, Kaaps identification in relation to the racialised hegemony?
- 5) How do the different sites in which *Afrikaaps* performed compare to one another?

1.5. Multi-sited ethnography: The travelling stage

Given that *Afrikaaps* has performed (and the documentary has been screened) at various local and international locales, I utilise multi-sited ethnography as the selected qualitative strategy of inquiry (Creswell, 2009:5).²⁸ Multi-site fieldwork differs from ‘the classic model of single-site field work as

²⁷ Refer to Chapter Two for an in-depth discussion.

²⁸ I utilise a qualitative research design (Creswell, 2009:5). Falzon (2009:1) defines ethnography as a qualitative social research method characterised by ‘an engaged, contextually rich and nuanced type of ... research’, and ‘fine grained daily interactions’. It is characterised by long-term fieldwork ‘in a field site of choice’ (*ibid.*). Furthermore, the foundation of attendant participant observation is ‘a belief that data are produced in and of ‘thick’ interaction between researcher/s and researched’ (*ibid.*). Blasco and Wardle (2007:98) argue that ethnography is not merely ‘description or personal interpretation’, as ‘an ethnography is a concerted attempt to convince readers of certain claims using the evidence of fieldwork’. Blasco and Wardle (2007:96) elaborate: given that ‘social life, as it is lived, is multi-stranded and multi-dimensional’, ethnography utilises ‘fieldwork as lived experience [that is] converted into evidence’. Therefore, ‘ethnographic writing argues for a particular way of understanding certain lived experiences: ethnography is argument’ (Blasco and Wardle, 2007:97).

enunciated in the mid-20th century’ (Hannerz, 2003:201), encompassing, for example, ‘different locales’ (Sluka and Robben, 2007:28).²⁹

My research was primarily focused on three sites.³⁰ My first main research site was in Amsterdam (the Netherlands), including a spoken word event (RE:Definition) at performance venue Paradiso where members of the *Afrikaaps* ensemble performed.³¹ Secondly, I examine the Q&A session at the 2015 Artscape matinee, part of the annual *Suidoosterfees* in Cape Town.³² This performance was also attended by learners from various communities on the Cape Peninsula. Thirdly, I analyse the Heritage Day (September 2015) screening of the *Afrikaaps* documentary at Stellenbosch University (SU) by student collective Open Stellenbosch, including a Q&A session and an introduction by anthropologist Ferdinand Rosa from São Paulo, Brazil.³³

The challenges I faced during fieldwork included the ‘more drawn-out, off-and-on kind of scheduling’ (Hannerz, 2003:213). Performances and documentary screenings were intermittent. In addition, the sites were temporary, ‘short-lived phenomena’ (Hannerz, 2003:210). Falzon (2009:7) elaborates on this disadvantage: the lack of so-called depth (or ‘thick description’ [Geertz, 1973 as cited in Falzon, 2009:7]) – whereby depth is achieved through time – ‘is also thought to be the major enemy of the multi-sited programme’. However, Hannerz (2003:211) offers a solution by connecting ‘the time factor’ to ‘more dependen[ce] on interviews’. Heyl (2001:369) also emphasises the value of ethnographic interviewing, a ‘qualitative research technique’: It assists in the collecting of ‘rich, detailed data directly from participants in the social worlds under study’.

My research methods thereby predominantly included semi-structured interview data with open-ended questions (Creswell, 2009:15; Barbour and Schostak, 2011:62).³⁴ However, Hannerz (2003:211)

²⁹ Sites are chosen from numerous potential sites: ‘The actual combination of sites included in a study may certainly have much to do with a research design which focuses on particular problems, or which seeks out particular opportunities for comparison’ (Hannerz, 2003:207). Hannerz (2003:206) emphasises the notion of *translocal*, therefore ‘[t]he sites are connected with one another in such ways that the relationships between them are as important for this formulation as the relationships within them; the fields are not some mere collection of local units’.

³⁰ Refer to Chapter Six for an in-depth discussion.

³¹ The bulk of my fieldwork took place from 19 September to 4 October 2011 in Amsterdam, The Hague and Amersfoort. It was during this period that I interacted most with members of the *Afrikaaps* ensemble.

³² *Afrikaaps* also performed in May 2014 at the Artscape Theatre Centre, Cape Town. The 2011-2015 versions of the South African shows are predominantly similar; therefore, no major changes were made to the production.

³³ The documentary was also screened in March 2011 by the currently dissolved student collective Urban Scapes at SU, including a Q&A session. Abridged versions of the show were also presented in 2011 and 2012. On the eve of the Dutch tour, *Afrikaaps* were guest performers at the opening of the *Anthropology Southern Africa* (ASnA) ‘The Futures of Culture’ conference, SU (3-6 September 2011). Introduced by Urban Scapes, the performance included musical excerpts from the show and a Q&A session. In December 2012, the *Afrikaaps* EP launch took place at Joule City, Cape Town (including a performance of musical and audio-visual excerpts of the show, introduced by Adam Haupt).

³⁴ According to Barbour and Schostak (2011:62), ‘[o]pen ended questions’ and semi-structured interviews go hand in hand, allowing for ‘flexibility’. Bernard (2002:205) states that so-called semi-structured interviewing is informed by ‘the use of an interview guide [Bold removed]. This is a written list of questions and topics that

emphasises the importance of a combination of ‘other kinds of sources and materials’ in multi-sited ethnography. At the three sites, I gathered data via participant observation (Creswell, 2009:5, 15) of the discussions during the events, especially during the 2015 Artscape matinee and 2015 documentary screening by Open Stellenbosch.³⁵ Other forms of data included audio-visual data (Creswell, 2009:15): The South African and Dutch theatre productions and the *Afrikaaps* documentary. The two theatre productions include: Firstly, the 2010 recorded matinee performed at the Baxter Theatre Centre in Cape Town, South Africa³⁶ and, secondly, the 2011 recorded performance at the *Stadsschouwburg* in Amsterdam, the Netherlands.³⁷ Utilising the research methods described above, I identified and interpreted themes and patterns (Creswell, 2009:15) relating to the topic of this thesis.

Several scholars note that ethnographers write from subjective and specific socio-cultural vantage points in relation to the viewpoints of informants. Blasco and Wardle (2007:10) assert that ‘ethnographers are social actors writing within particular socio-cultural contexts and for specific audiences’. Ethnographic authorship is ‘relational’ (*ibid.*). The perspective of social constructivism is therefore of value (Creswell, 2007:20-21), emphasising the significance of the views of the participants: ‘[S]ubjective meanings [of individuals] are negotiated socially and historically. In other words, they are ... formed through interaction with others (hence social constructivism) and through historical and cultural norms that operate in individuals’ lives’. Complexity, variety and multiplicity are emphasised in this regard: ‘The goal of the research, then, is to rely as much as possible on the participants’ views of the situation’.³⁸ In order to understand members of the *Afrikaaps* ensemble’s views, I focus on the symbolic value of language, and how it connects to identification, ideology, hegemony, ethnicity and ‘race’.³⁹

One can also look at ethnographers as social actors writing within particular socio-cultural contexts and for specific audiences, which leads to my vantage point as a researcher, discussed in the next section.

need to be covered in a particular order’. However, ‘[i]t has much of the freewheeling quality of unstructured interviewing’, therefore ‘a minimum of control over people’s responses’ (*ibid.*).

³⁵ Participant observation – ‘the quintessential qualitative method’ (DeWalt and DeWalt, 1998:287) – is defined by Frankham and MacRae (2011:34) as ‘getting involved and looking and listening intently’. DeWalt and DeWalt (1998:260) delineate this method similarly: ‘[A]n observer takes part in the daily activities, rituals, interactions, and events of the people being studied as one of the means of learning the explicit and tacit aspects of their culture’. This method ‘is a way to collect data in a relatively unstructured manner in naturalistic settings by ethnographers who observe and/or take part in the common and uncommon activities of the people being studied’ (DeWalt and DeWalt, 1998:260).

³⁶ *Afrikaaps* also performed at the 2010 Klein Karoo National Arts Festival (KKNK) in Oudtshoorn. The *Afrikaaps* documentary chronicles the Baxter and KKNK performances.

³⁷ The 2011 Dutch version of the show – i.e. adapted for Dutch audiences – was performed across the Netherlands in September and October (including at Amersfoort, The Hague, Amsterdam, Rotterdam, Utrecht, Haarlem, and Nijmegen). The production team was based in Amsterdam.

³⁸ Open-ended questions are cited as the most apt type of questioning, ‘as the researcher listens carefully to what people say or do in their life setting’ (Creswell, 2007:21).

³⁹ Refer to Chapter Five for an in-depth discussion of these notions in relation to *Afrikaaps*.

1.6. Afrikaans, Afrikaner, ‘Afrikaaps’⁴⁰

The vantage point of a researcher is central to ethnography. Blasco and Wardle (2007:9) define ethnography as ‘a reflection on, an examination of, and an argument about experience made from a particular standpoint’. However, it is important to take note of ‘reflexive ethnographic writing’ (DeWalt and DeWalt, 1998:289):⁴¹ ‘We need to be aware of who we are, understand our biases as much as we can, and to understand and interpret our interactions with the people we study’ (DeWalt and DeWalt, 1998:290). Given that the researcher interprets ‘the meanings others have about the world’, it is important to recognise their own background and ‘personal, cultural, and historical experiences’ (Creswell, 2007:21). Indeed, I recognise that my research experiences were those of a ‘white’, standard Afrikaans-speaker⁴², emphasised in more detail in section 1.7. First, however, I discuss the value of reflexivity in relation to my situatedness within the socio-historical and -cultural context of the divided Afrikaans speech community.

Sluka and Robben (2007:28) highlight the advantages of reflexivity: It has enriched fieldwork by making ethnographers pay much closer attention to the interactional processes through which knowledge is acquired, learned, and transmitted’. In this regard, I acknowledge that ‘research across differences in social identities [bold removed] between researcher and participants’ – such as race, ethnicity and first language – are ‘complex and nuanced’ (Marshall and Rossman, 2011:158).

This point connects to my ascribed social identity as a ‘white Afrikaner’ and my informants: ‘[C]oloured’ Kaaps speakers. Race, ethnicity and first language (standard Afrikaans and a vernacular subvariety of Afrikaans) intersect in a ‘complex and nuanced’ manner. My ‘fieldwork identity’ is therefore central to my ‘[s]elf-reflection on research experiences’ (Sluka and Robben, 2007:27). My ‘identity’ as an ‘anthropology’ student ‘has a decisive influence on the data gathered’ (*ibid.*).⁴³

Levy and Hollan (1998:342) similarly emphasise ‘a historical and social nexus’ in relation to ‘identity’: ‘The locating data and patterns of relationship are all related to the interviewee’s position in a historical and social nexus. This position is reflected and becomes a behaviour-directing force, in part, in his or her “identity,” understood as the intersection of (aspects of) an individual and (aspects of) his or her communally provided social roles and social definition’. Again, I delineate my ascribed social identity as a ‘white Afrikaner’ and my social identification as an Afrikaans-speaker (which has implications for my relation to the stigmatisation and marginalisation of ‘coloured’ Kaaps speakers within the socio-

⁴⁰ This phrase is adjusted from the phrase, ‘Afrikaans, Afrikaner, *Afrikaan* [African]’ [Capital letters removed], by Alexander (2012:12b). Gerwel (in Malan and Smit, 1985:40) similarly utilises the phrase: ‘Afrikaner, Afrikaans, Afrika [Africa]’ [Italics removed].

⁴¹ Heyl (2001:377) explains that ‘reflexivity’ signifies: ‘[T]o understand and allow for the interconnectedness and mutual influence between the researcher and those being “researched”’.

⁴² However, I do not identify as ‘white’.

⁴³ Marcus (1995:112) specifically connects reflexivity with multi-sited fieldwork: ‘In practice, multi-sited fieldwork is thus always conducted with a keen awareness of being within the landscape, and as the landscape changes across sites, the identity of the ethnographer requires renegotiation’.

historical and -cultural context of the racialised hegemony of ‘pure’ Afrikaans). In order to contextualise my ascribed social identity, I briefly shed light on one of the main issues regarding the Afrikaans speech community: The so-called racialised socio-linguistic divide.

Ponelis (1987:4) attributes ‘the sharpest non-linguistic divide within the Afrikaans speech community’ to ‘[t]he political concept colour’ (my translation),⁴⁴ which is similarly argued by Van Rensburg (1991:24). Kotzé (2000:13) likewise connects the divide with race and ethnicity: ‘[T]here was the division or separation of a single speech community on the basis of race, by which the foundation was laid for the creation of racially based ethnicity’. Racially based ethnicity also led to ‘language purism in Afrikaans’; standard Afrikaans was the outcome (Bosch, 2000:58).⁴⁵ In turn, Afrikaans came to be identified ‘as a marker of white Afrikaner ethnicity’, an outcome of the standardisation of Afrikaans (Deumert, 2004:42). The foundation of the racialised hegemony of ‘pure’ Afrikaans was thereby laid.

Webb (2010:111) likewise affirms that the socio-linguistic divide concerns the substantial conflict between standard Afrikaans and two ‘non-standard’, ethno-linguistic varieties of Afrikaans, namely Cape Afrikaans and Griqua Afrikaans/Orange River Afrikaans.⁴⁶ Hendricks (2012b:43-44, 48) similarly attributes the divide to ‘[t]he stigmatisation of [the lower status non-varieties] and the fact that the speakers thereof experience Standard Afrikaans in its current form as a construct they cannot master or identify with’. In contrast, *Afrikaaps* aims to demonstrate that standard Afrikaans does not represent Afrikaans in its entirety. Furthermore, the production foregrounds the fact that ‘coloured’ and ‘white’ people share Afrikaans.

The view that ‘coloured’ and ‘white’ people do not share Afrikaans is demonstrated by an opinion expressed by a respondent quoted by McCormick (2002b:98) during her 1980s fieldwork: ‘[T]he *Boere* [Boers] [white nationalist Afrikaners] don’t see us brown people as Afrikaners whereas our home

⁴⁴ Although this divide has been present since the earliest formation of the Afrikaans speech community, it was strongly reinforced by apartheid (Ponelis, 1987:4).

⁴⁵ Valley asserts that Afrikaans is still viewed as such: ‘In modern South Africa, Afrikaans is generally seen as a European language’ (Afrikaaps, 2010). Willemsse (2012a:69) similarly contends that Afrikaans is *still* regarded ‘by the popular media of Afrikaans as essentially a “white man’s language”’. Le Cordeur (in Van Rensburg, 2012:9) emphasised as recently as 2012 the need – within the context of the divide within the Afrikaans speech community – to resolve ‘the misunderstandings about where Afrikaans comes from’ in order to convey the ‘shared’ contribution of its speakers to the origins and development of Afrikaans, therefore, the ‘full’ history of Afrikaans (my translations).

⁴⁶ The conflict stems from ‘the language ideology of the (formerly dominant) white speakers (and its implementation by teachers, socio-cultural and religious leaders and the media)’ (Webb, 2010:111). Speakers of the non-standard varieties were thereby disadvantaged at school and marginalised (*ibid.*). Ponelis (1994:107) also cites the stigmatisation of the dialects of Afrikaans in relation to standard Afrikaans: The latter variety is promoted in the sphere of Afrikaans language education in particular as representative of Afrikaans as a whole. Regardless of this divide, various authors note the benefits of standard Afrikaans. Willemsse (2012a:80) notes one example of the ‘positive consequences’ of ‘the hegemony of Standard Afrikaans’, namely ‘the creation of spelling conventions or technical terminology’. Ponelis (1994:107) cites an example of the standard variety’s significance, namely its generality (*algemeenheid*). This variety’s greater uniformity provides greater accessibility for the entire speech community across South Africa, by means of education in particular (*ibid.*).

language is also [Afrikaans]'.⁴⁷ Webb (2010:110) notes the negative outcome of the divide: The 'racialisation' of the Afrikaans language is the main impediment to the construction of 'an inclusive Afrikaans community'. A key focus of *Afrikaaps* is to 'decolonise' Afrikaans in order to bridge the racial divide.⁴⁸ However, the production highlights the importance of 'uncovering' the racialised hegemony in relation to Kaaps.

The stigmatisation, marginalisation, and misrecognition of Kaaps (and its speakers)⁴⁹ in relation to the racialised hegemony of the 'pure' Afrikaans of white Afrikaners is accordingly the core focus of *Afrikaaps*. *Afrikaaps* concurrently claims that these speakers' ancestors – namely the indigenous Khoi and Malay slaves – played key roles in the formation of the creole language, Afrikaans, at the early Cape. The general perception that Afrikaans is the 'white' language of the 'Afrikaner' oppressor is thereby undermined. My main point of departure therefore is that the celebratory protest of *Afrikaaps* is a *response* to the racialised hegemony of 'pure' Afrikaans. Accordingly, *Afrikaaps* connects Afrikaans to a collective ethnicity other than 'the white Afrikaner': An (ethnified) coloured, Kaaps identification (discussed in depth in Chapter Five).⁵⁰

Members of the *Afrikaaps* ensemble accordingly define Kaaps in various ways. For example: In the documentary, 'Afrikaaps' is referred to as 'the Kaaps/Cape Town dialect of Afrikaans' (Afrikaaps, 2010).⁵¹ In a dialogue from the 2011 *Stadsschouwburg* performance, Van der Westhuizen affirms that Kaaps is not only slang, '*dis eintlik 'n official taal*' (it's actually an official language) (my translation). In a personal interview, Goliath (2011) explained the wordplay on 'Afrikaans'; '*Afrika*' (Africa); Kaaps; and '*Kaapse Afrikane*' (Cape Africans), bridged by the term 'Afrikaaps' (coined by him). In addition,

⁴⁷ Since the seventeenth century, 'Afrikaner' was historically utilised to refer to various population groups in different ways (McCormick, 2002b:213). According to McCormick (*ibid.*), this term was most probably utilised throughout the nineteenth century to also 'refer to coloured people'.

⁴⁸ However, the term 'decolonise' is not used in the production, documentary, or by members of the *Afrikaaps* collective. Schuster (2016:34) affirms that *Afrikaaps* 'is an exposé of the colonisation of language'.

⁴⁹ Cape Vernacular Afrikaans is considered a subvariety of South-western Afrikaans (Ponelis, 1996:131). Kaaps is (also) spoken by working-class coloured people on the Cape Flats (Dyers, 2008:53; McCormick, 2002b:88). Refer to Chapter Three for an in-depth discussion of Kaaps.

⁵⁰ *Afrikaaps* engages with three interconnected eras: Imperialism/colonialism, and the apartheid and post-apartheid eras. According to Harry Garuba (as cited in Pieterse, 2011), these three historical eras are interconnected, rather than linear, historical phases. The first historical phase staged by *Afrikaaps* concerns language contact during colonialism, which led to the formation of a creole language, Afrikaans. Secondly, the racialised hegemony of 'pure' Afrikaans in relation to Afrikaner nationalism, the standardisation of Afrikaans, and apartheid are underscored. Lastly, *Afrikaaps* asserts and celebrates a contemporary, post-apartheid (ethnified) coloured, Kaaps identification. The division of the history of Afrikaans into four chronological stages by Van Rensburg (1999:77-78) mirrors these eras: The first stage – between 1652 and 1835 – is characterised by the development of the early varieties of Afrikaans (Van Rensburg, 1999:78). During the second stage (between 1835 and 1925) endeavours to regulate Afrikaans occurred. The third stage – between 1925 and 1994 – marks the era of what Van Rensburg (*ibid.*) terms 'official "white Afrikaans"'. The fourth and final stage encompasses the post-apartheid era beginning in 1994 (*ibid.*).

⁵¹ 'Afrikaaps' in quotation marks refers to Kaaps, the so-called Cape Town dialect of Afrikaans. *Afrikaaps* (Italics) refers to the theatre production.

Goliath refers to Kaaps, or ‘Afrikaaps’, as a means of expression (Goliath, 2011), which is similarly asserted by Van Rooy-Overmeyer (2011) in an interview with a Dutch journalist:

[W]hen we rap, when we do poetry, we do it in our language, the way we talk, the way we have conversation ... That’s what we now call Afrikaans. So it’s the way we talk at home, the way we talk with our friends, the way we have leisure ... that’s the language we speak ... the way we talk comfortable is to express ourselves.

Jansen (2012) likewise explained in a radio interview that the term ‘Afrikaaps’ conveys the different way of speaking of coloured Capetonians. In addition, it refers to the locale of origin of the Afrikaans language. He elaborated: the term ‘Afrikaaps’ situates Afrikaans in Cape Town, the area of its early origins, the locale where the language was first ‘created’. Furthermore: given that the standard Afrikaans version ‘excluded the originators of the language’, the term also challenges ‘the ownership of the name of the word Afrikaans by the status quo’ (*ibid.*). The play accordingly advocates that the language ‘belong[s] to whoever speaks it’ (*ibid.*). Furthermore, Jansen (2012) emphasised the difference between the version spoken in Cape Town and ‘their version’.⁵² The former version ‘does not mean what it actually means in their language’.⁵³

1.7. The ‘other’ Afrikaans⁵⁴

Taking all of the above into consideration, I discuss my vantage point in this study: I am an Afrikaans-speaker. I was raised in the social environment of so-called white privilege.⁵⁵ I am identified as an Afrikaner given that I am white and a (standard) Afrikaans speaker. However, I do not identify with the ascribed social label ‘Afrikaner’. I identify as a South African born in Africa.⁵⁶ Furthermore, I grew up Roman Catholic and have a German heritage from one side of the family.⁵⁷

In addition: I grew up in Grahamstown,⁵⁸ historically a settler town. Even though I attended Afrikaans schools, most of my extra-curricular activities were in English. Furthermore, I first travelled overseas

⁵² Namely, the standard Afrikaans ‘version’ of the language (Jansen, 2012).

⁵³ Jansen cited the word ‘*duidelik*’ as an example (Jansen, 2012).

⁵⁴ Gerwel (1985:193-194) refers to ‘*die ander Afrikaanssprekende*’ (‘*bruinmense*’) (the other Afrikaans-speaker (coloured people)); ‘*n ander soort Afrikaans*’ (another type of Afrikaans); ‘this part of the Afrikaans speech community’; and ‘*een soort Afrikaans*’ (one type of Afrikaans) (ideologically exclusive Afrikaans of the Afrikaner) (Gerwel, 1985:192-193). Hendricks (2011:111) groups several ‘*Afrikaanse kleurvariëteite*’ (Afrikaans colour varieties) (‘*Afrikaanse variëteite wat tradisioneel grootliks met persone van kleur in verband staan*’) (Afrikaans varieties that are traditionally and largely connected to people of colour) with ‘*die ander Afrikaans*’ (the *other* Afrikaans) (Hendricks, 2011:112), such as Kaaps (Hendricks, 2011:111). Hendricks (2014:111) asserts: These varieties ‘*staan reeds lank aan die ontvangkant van ’n hiërargiese perspektief op taalverskeidenheid*’ (have, for a long time, already been on the receiving end of a hierarchical perspective on language diversity) (my translations).

⁵⁵ Therefore, my social background is framed by white privilege, a vestige of *not* being disadvantaged in many spheres during the apartheid and post-apartheid eras.

⁵⁶ Whether or not I consider (or can consider) myself ‘African’ is beyond the scope of this thesis.

⁵⁷ ‘Afrikaners’ are not commonly Roman Catholic; in my experience, religious Afrikaner families mostly attend the *Nederduits Gereformeerde Kerk* (NGK). Rather than attending the *NGK Kerk* in central Stellenbosch, I attended the Catholic Church in Idasvallei, a historically ‘coloured’ suburb of Stellenbosch.

⁵⁸ My family relocated to Stellenbosch when I was ten years old.

when I was three years old, and I was raised in a liberal environment. These experiences serve to illustrate that I was in a position to view my South African ‘identity’ and ‘Afrikaans identity’ from different perspectives.

However, I recognise that being a student at SU⁵⁹ studying a group of marginalised Kaaps speakers from the Cape Flats, is not unproblematic. The racialised divide concerning white Afrikaners and all other speakers of Afrikaans was underscored in a personal interview with Kaganof (2011a). Kaganof stated that I am ‘a real deal wit Afrikaner ... in the establishment’. Therefore, this identity, according to Kaganof, has the potential to frame my research negatively (Kaganof, 2011a). He argued that white, ‘standard’ Afrikaans speakers position themselves centrally as the ‘self’, and all other Afrikaans speakers as the ‘other’ (Kaganof and Valley, 2011).⁶⁰

However, I asserted that I do not perceive ‘Afrikaaps’, the language, as the ‘other Afrikaans’. I affirmed that I – being from the ‘Anthropology department’⁶¹ – do not regard *Afrikaaps* as ‘some weird tribe from the Western Cape that surfaced and now we can go and study’⁶² (Kaganof and Valley, 2011).⁶³ I want to emphasise the point raised by McCormick (2002b:73): as part of her discussion of her fieldwork on language use in a District Six community, she stated that she wants ‘to make it quite clear that [she] was not acting as a “whitey” trying to find reprehensible language behaviour peculiar to “the coloureds”’.

1.8. Summary of chapters

Chapter 2. Given that *Afrikaaps* is a response to ‘pure’ Afrikaans identified as a marker of white Afrikaner ethnicity, the socio-historical, -political, and -cultural background of the racialised hegemony of ‘pure Afrikaans’ is examined. First, I foreground the Afrikaner nationalism and apartheid eras. In the second instance, I focus on the standardisation of Afrikaans, which led to the notion of ‘pure’, ‘correct’ Afrikaans in relation to stigmatised Kaaps. So-called ‘pure’, ‘correct’ Afrikaans is discussed as the imposed ‘legitimate’, ‘official’ and ‘semi-artificial’ language of the ‘Afrikaner nation’ (Bourdieu, 1991). The hegemony, ideology and fiction of ‘pure’ Afrikaans are connected to the one-language-one-culture construct (Blommaert, 2005). In order to contextualise the claim that Afrikaans is an indigenous,

⁵⁹ SU is a historically (standard) Afrikaans (and predominantly white) university. The university also has historical associations with the architects of apartheid.

⁶⁰ Kaganof and I concurred that this binary is problematic (given that the ‘self’ is defined in terms of the ‘other’). We agreed that an unequal power relationship is thereby indicated (Kaganof and Valley, 2011). Kaganof argued further that the vantage point of ‘all debates and arguments’ – regarding Afrikaans – constitutes a supposed ‘notion of white centrality’. The notion of an ‘other’ thereby stems from this self-positioned, accustomed centrality (Kaganof and Valley, 2011).

⁶¹ Kaganof’s word.

⁶² Kaganof’s words.

⁶³ Traditionally, anthropology is associated with white, colonial-era researchers entering an ‘exotic’ field to study ‘primitive’ tribes.

‘creole’ language, I examine the notions of Afrikaans as the so-called language of the oppressor, a ‘white’ language, an ‘African’ language, and a ‘semi-creole’ language.

Chapter 3. The discussion in this chapter focuses on the ‘symbolic value’ (Kotzé, 2014) of Kaaps/Cape Vernacular Afrikaans spoken on the Cape Flats as a ‘marker of communal membership’ (Stone, 2002). Furthermore, the stigmatisation of Kaaps as ‘mixed’ in relation to ‘pure’ Afrikaans is emphasised. In addition, various issues pertaining to Kaaps are discussed: Firstly, the *Alternatiewe Afrikaans Movement* and the *Kaapse beweging* as illustrations of historical, ideological protests against the hegemony of standard Afrikaans. In the second instance, the contentious issue of the utilisation of Kaaps – instead of standard Afrikaans – within the educational context is noted. Thirdly, the ‘anglicisation’ of the coloured middle class as a response to the hegemony, is underscored. Contemporary debates are also foregrounded: the ‘ownership’ of Afrikaans, therefore, to whom Afrikaans ‘belongs’; the question of the ‘death’ of Afrikaans; the issue whether Afrikaans is a ‘colonial’ language or an ‘African’ language; and, lastly, the question of the restandardisation of Afrikaans in giving recognition to the vernacular varieties of Afrikaans.

Chapter 4. The ‘uncovering’ and thereby contesting of the hegemony – as staged by *Afrikaaps* – is examined as an act of resistance and the utilisation of Kaaps on stage is discussed as a post-colonial, decolonising political tool (Gilbert and Tompkins, 1996; Erasmus, 2006). In this regard, South African hip-hop as ‘a form of postcolonial text’ is discussed (Battersby, 2003). Accordingly, the staging of the so-called ‘violence of the colonial encounter’ (Erasmus, 2001) involving the ‘hijacking’ of Afrikaans by colonialists at the early, creolised Cape is examined. Furthermore, the staging of the 1976 Soweto uprising in protest against standard Afrikaans as a medium of instruction at school is noted. In addition, various aspects of the hegemony – as stipulated in the production, the documentary, and by members of the collective – are analysed.

These aspects include the dispossession of Kaaps spoken by ‘coloured’ people; the misrecognition of Kaaps in various spheres (education, media, literature, and dictionaries); the struggle of Kaaps learners with standard Afrikaans as a medium of instruction; a misrecognised part of the history of Afrikaans, including the contribution of the ‘ancestors’ of ‘coloured’ Kaaps people to the formation of Afrikaans; the stigmatisation of Kaaps as, for example, laughable, and ‘*stukkende*’ (broken) Afrikaans; the stigmatisation of Kaaps-speakers as gangsters and thieves; being forced to speak ‘*suiwer*’ (pure) Afrikaans, for example at home or at school; the loss of Afrikaans as mother-tongue with children raised in English by Afrikaans parents; and, lastly, code-switching between Kaaps and ‘*suiwer*’ Afrikaans are highlighted.

Chapter 5. The focus of this chapter is the celebration of Kaaps, more specifically, an (ethnified) ‘coloured’ Kaaps identification in response to the afore-mentioned stigma and marginalisation. This constructed ethnicity is a response to the general association of Afrikaans with ‘white Afrikaners’.

Accordingly, the contentious notion of ‘coloured’ as a ‘mixed race’ without a ‘culture’, as well as ‘coloured’ stereotypes, are examined. The ‘re-imagination’ of ‘coloured’ by *Afrikaaps* is proposed as a creolised identification (Erasmus, 2001).

I summarise the staged components of the afore-mentioned identification, namely the celebration of the linguistic and cultural heritage of indigenous Khoi (and San) and slave/‘Malay’ ‘ancestors’. This heritage includes the San ‘clicks’; Afrikaans vocabulary derived from Khoi and Malay; indigenous ways of life; the role of indigenous Khoi interpreters at the early Cape (namely, Autshumoa, Krotoa and Doman); the San as the first inhabitants of the ‘land’; the *Kaapse Klopse* (the Cape Minstrels); Afrikaans written in Arabic script (‘Arabic Afrikaans’) and ghoema.

Whether *Afrikaaps* can be considered ‘ethno-nationalist’ (as a response to Afrikaner ethno-nationalism) and as ‘strategic essentialism’ (Van der Waal, 2012) is also analysed. Lastly, I discuss the ways in which members of the collective only identified with Kaaps *after* their participation in *Afrikaaps*: I thereby foreground the ‘symbolic value’ (Kotzé, 2014) of Kaaps as so-called ‘emblem of groupness’ (Edwards, 2009), ‘carrier of cultural content’ (Kotzé, 2014), and as a ‘language form’ – ‘the way one speaks’ – that is associated with ‘identity’ (Kotzé, 2014). Furthermore: the notion that the speakers themselves ought to make Kaaps ‘legal’ – dislodging the ‘language’ from the stigma – is examined. Finally, expressions of pride in Kaaps by members of the collective (whereby ‘a broader social strength and assertion’ (Edwards, 2009) is re-discovered) are identified and analysed.

Chapter 6. In the previous chapter, the celebration of and identification with specifically the vernacular variety Kaaps, spoken by ‘coloured’ people from the Cape, was analysed. This chapter examines the conceptualisation of Afrikaans, the language, as an indigenous ‘creole’ language. This challenge to the general perception of Afrikaans as a ‘white’ language is inclusive: ‘[C]oloured’ as well as ‘white’ Afrikaans-speakers are invited to regard Afrikaans as an ‘emancipated’ language; ‘to reclaim the Afrikaans language for all who speak it’ (Afrikaaps, 2016). The language can purportedly be liberated from its white label, and aid in bridging the racialised divide. I furthermore discuss the various ways in which my notion of ‘Kaaps’ (including its inclusion in the dictionary) was challenged through fieldwork. I also discuss the gendered and class (Haupt, 2012) aspects of *Afrikaaps*, including the notions of ‘hidden curriculum’ (Abercrombie *et al.*, 2006), and ‘cultural reproduction’ and ‘cultural capital’ (Bourdieu, 1973).

Lastly, I discuss three selected sites in depth: Firstly, a spoken word event in Amsterdam, where members of the *Afrikaaps* ensemble performed during their 2011 Dutch tour. This event is framed against the issues underscored in the Dutch version of the 2011 *Afrikaaps* theatre production performed in Amsterdam. Secondly, I analyse the Q&A session at the 2015 Artscape matinee, part of the annual *Suidoosterfees* in Cape Town, and attended by learners from various communities in the Cape

Peninsula. Thirdly, I discuss the 2015 screening of the *Afrikaaps* documentary by the Open Stellenbosch student collective at SU, including a Q&A session.

Chapter 7. In conclusion, I deliberate on the contemporary relevance of *Afrikaaps* and the cited claims with reference to my research aims.

1.9. Conclusion

After outlining the research topic, the aims of the research, ethnographic approach used and the content of the chapters of the thesis in this introductory chapter, the next chapter examines the socio-historical, -linguistic, and -political contexts of the racialised hegemony of ‘pure’ Afrikaans. My delineated vantage point and social identification as an Afrikaans-speaker is significant here: Given that I grew up in the social environment of the hegemony, therefore on one ‘side’ of the racialised divide, it informs what I subjectively choose to emphasise. Accordingly, I underscore the ‘uncovering’ of the hegemony by *Afrikaaps*, the manner in which the collective protests against this hegemony, and the way in which its members celebrate their Kaaps identification in response to the hegemony.

CHAPTER TWO: ‘SUIWER AFRIKAANS LÊ BOE, KAAPS LÊ ONNE’⁶⁴: THE RACIALISED HEGEMONY

2.1. Introduction

The focus of this thesis is the celebratory protest against the racialised hegemony of standard/‘pure’ Afrikaans by *Afrikaaps*. Therefore, protest against said hegemony is central to the celebration of an (ethnified) Kaaps coloured identification. In order to contextualise this celebratory protest, the socio-historical events leading to this hegemony are discussed in this chapter.

The hegemony concerns the historical use of Afrikaans for Afrikaner ‘political mobilisation and hegemonisation [“*hegemonisering*”]’ (Pokpas and Van Gensen, 1992:170-171).⁶⁵ The outcome of these ‘power relations’ (Pokpas and Van Gensen, 1992:172) was ‘strategies of opposition and resistance within the apartheid paradigm’ (*ibid.*).⁶⁶ These strategies include historical conceptualisations of Afrikaans as ‘*volkstaal*, *verdruckerstaal*, *bevrydingstaal*’ (language of national unity, language of the oppressor, language of liberation) (*ibid.*)⁶⁷ (my translations). The engagement by *Afrikaaps* with two of these ideological viewpoints is discussed in this chapter. *Afrikaaps* ‘uncover[s]’ the manipulation of Afrikaans as ‘*volkstaal*’ and ‘*verdruckerstaal*’ in order to contextualise the production’s emphasis on the marginalisation and stigmatisation of Kaaps.⁶⁸ The concurrent socio-historical events are examined in this chapter: The establishment of ‘pure’ Afrikaans as ‘*volkstaal*’ utilised by white Afrikaners during Afrikaner nationalism, namely the Afrikaner ethno-nationalist movement. The concurrent fiction, hegemony and ideology of the standard language in relation to Kaaps is discussed. The construction of

⁶⁴ Pure Afrikaans is at the top, Kaaps is at the bottom (my translation).

⁶⁵ Afrikaans became a ‘cultural symbol’ (Pokpas and Van Gensen, 1992:170) of ‘*Afrikanerskap*’ (Afrikaner-ness) and ‘*volkseenheid*’ (national unity) (Pokpas and Van Gensen, 1992:171). During Afrikaner nationalism, Afrikaans was mobilised ‘to secure power in the hands of an exclusive group’ (*ibid.*). ‘Pure’ Afrikaans – ‘[t]he symbol of national unity [“*volkseenheid*”]’ – became associated with the ‘marginalisation’ and ‘exclusion’ of ‘uncivilised’ Afrikaans-speakers (*ibid.*). Pokpas and Van Gensen (1992:171) cites ‘*Kleurling-Afrikaans*’ as an example of purported ‘uncivilised Afrikaans’ (regarded as such by G.S. Nienaber (1942:xxx)) (my translations).

⁶⁶ Pokpas and Van Gensen (1992:172) accordingly foreground the link between power and resistance: ‘The abuse of power for ideological purposes gives rise to resistance’. The notion of ‘plurality of resistances’ (Foucault, 1980 as cited in Pokpas and Van Gensen, 1992:172) is also emphasised: ‘Where there is power, there is resistance [Italics removed] ... These points of resistance are present everywhere in the power network’ (*ibid.*) (my translations).

⁶⁷ The labelling of Afrikaans as ‘*verdruckerstaal*’ was a ‘response to Afrikaans as the language of the dominant ideology’: Afrikaans regarded as so-called repressive ‘*volkstaal*’ is foregrounded, whereby all the contributors ‘to the development of Afrikaans’ were not recognised (Pokpas and Van Gensen, 1992:172). Afrikaans utilised ‘as a language of liberation’ encompasses ‘[d]eliberate ideological efforts to liberate Afrikaans of this symbolic-oppressive stigma’ (my translation) (*ibid.*). These respective labels signify ‘a battle of ideological viewpoints’ [Italics removed] (Pokpas and Van Gensen, 1992:177). ‘Afrikaans’ was thereby ‘ideologically manipulated’ (Pokpas and Van Gensen, 1992:176) (my translations).

⁶⁸ The conceptualisation of Afrikaans as ‘*bevrydingstaal*’ by *Afrikaaps* is discussed in depth in Chapter Six. The construction of Afrikaans as ‘*volkstaal*’ and ‘*verdruckerstaal*’ contextualises this claim of *Afrikaaps*. ‘*Verdruckerstaal*’ contextualises another claim of *Afrikaaps*: Afrikaans conceptualised as a ‘creole’, indigenous language can aid the bridging of the racialised divide. The language can thereby be considered an ‘emancipated’ language (liberated from its ‘white’ label), reclaimed by all Afrikaans-speakers. Thus, ‘*bevrydingstaal*’.

the white Afrikaans-speaking community (including the notion of ‘pure’ Afrikaans via standardisation) is noted. Furthermore, the utilisation of Afrikaans as the language of the oppressor during apartheid is emphasised. The construction of Afrikaans as ‘white’ (in contrast to Afrikaans regarded as an African/a creole language), is examined. Lastly, the notion of ‘pure’, ‘correct’ Afrikaans – established by these socio-historical events – is foregrounded in relation to stigmatised Kaaps.

Central to this discussion is the construction of a static and homogeneous ethno-linguistic identity (Blommaert, 2005), namely the association of Afrikaans with white Afrikaners. Concurrently, the notion of an official, legitimate language, imposed as the standard language of the ‘nation’ – as argued by Bourdieu (1991) – is foregrounded. Central to this ‘semi-artificial language’ is the idea that ‘[a]ll linguistic practices are measured against the legitimate practices, i.e. the practices of those who are dominant’ (Bourdieu, 2005:53). The notion of ‘symbolic domination’, whereby ‘the linguistic field [is] conceived as a system of specifically linguistic relations of power based on the unequal distribution of linguistic capital’ (Bourdieu, 2005:57), is examined.

The next section discusses the ethno-nationalist movement that created the standard language of the ‘white Afrikaner nation’.

2.2. ‘Die Taal’:⁶⁹ Afrikaner ethno-nationalism

Afrikaner nationalism ‘was a ... powerful ethnic movement’ (Ponelis, 1993:53), utilising the Afrikaans language for ‘ethnic mobilisation’ (Ponelis, 1993:52-53). Afrikaner nationalism arose at the end of the nineteenth century (Webb and Kriel, 2000:28). During the first half of the twentieth century, Afrikaner nationalism ‘became a mass movement and Afrikaans became a mobilising tool in the hands of nationalist Afrikaner politicians’ (*ibid.*).

British imperialism was ‘the single entity that Afrikaner nationalism sought to mobilise against’ (Ponelis, 1993:53). For white Afrikaners, the language Afrikaans became the opposing entity to imperialist English (Van der Waal, 2008:61-62). Language was thereby utilised to construct the Afrikaners as a ‘*volk*’ (a people), mythologising all its members – regardless of their social standing – ‘as God’s chosen people’ (De Kadt, 2006:45).

Afrikaner nationalism was centred around the Afrikaans language firstly and secondly around so-called colour: this movement only mobilised and catered to the interests of white Afrikaans-speakers (Afrikaners) (Ponelis, 1987:12-13). So-called ‘*gekleurde*’ (coloured) Afrikaans-speakers were thereby excluded (Ponelis, 1987:13). Willemse (2012a:65) affirms:

In the course of the 20th century, Afrikaner nationalism claimed proprietorship of Afrikaans, the first language of persons from divergent backgrounds, to such an extent that a discussion of

⁶⁹ The Language.

it also becomes a discussion about the exclusion of a significant percentage of Afrikaans speakers ... Historically, [Afrikaans as a body of knowledge] bears the traces of conscious disregard and even continued suppression of a considerable portion of the Afrikaans language community.

Accordingly, Webb and Kriel (2000:24) emphasise ‘the role that the Afrikaans language plays and has played in Afrikaner nationalism, or, to put it differently, in the ethnonational identification of the so-called Afrikaner’. Deumert (2004:42) attributes the ‘identification [of Afrikaans] as a marker of white Afrikaner ethnicity’ to the standardisation of Afrikaans. As stated in a footnote, Willemsse (2012a:69) contends that Afrikaans is *still* regarded ‘by the popular media of Afrikaans as essentially a “white man’s language”’. The endeavour to establish Afrikaans as ‘white’ laid the foundation for ‘racist nationalism, the rise of Afrikaner hegemony,⁷⁰ and the politics of apartheid’ (Hendricks, 2012b:51).

In this regard, Valley and Valley (2009) emphasise *Die Genootskap van Regte Afrikaners* (GRA)⁷¹ as the initiators of the ‘forced Europeanisation of Afrikaans’.⁷² In the *Afrikaaps* documentary, Neville Alexander addresses this ‘hijacking’ of the GRA. Words deriving from Khoi or Malay (such as ‘*tramakassie*’) were omitted from the lexicon: ‘*As jy nou na ’n Afrikaanse woordeboek toe gaan, jy sal sien “dankie”, en dan sal jy sien wat dit beteken, maar jy gaan nie sien “tramakassie” as ’n sinoniem nie So daai’s die soort ding wat moet verander.*’ (If you consult an Afrikaans dictionary, you will see ‘thank you’, and then you will see what it means, but you will not see ‘*tramakassie*’ as a synonym ... So that’s the type of thing that needs to change) (my translation) (Afrikaaps, 2010).⁷³ In order to understand the reasons for this omission, a brief discussion of the GRA is needed.

In 1875, the GRA was established in Paarl, a town in close proximity to Cape Town (Van Rensburg, 1999:80). This society was an endeavour towards ‘ethnic mobilisation’ (Ponelis, 1993:53):⁷⁴ they ‘sought to foster ethnic solidarity among Cape Afrikaners and establish Afrikaans as a written medium’.⁷⁵ Therefore, ‘language served as a unifying factor in the Afrikaner drive for political

⁷⁰ Coetzee (2012:1) refers to ‘[t]he growth of Afrikaner hegemony’ as ‘colonising of a different kind’. In Chapter Three, a current appeal for the ‘decolonisation’ of Afrikaans, is noted.

⁷¹ Fellowship of True Afrikaners (Van Rensburg, 1999:80).

⁷² Similarly, Valley (Zeeuik, 2011) and Valley and Valley (2009) regard the role of the GRA as central to the ‘hijacking’ in the 1870s of Afrikaans as a white, European language.

⁷³ The argument of Robert Shell (1994) affirms this hijacking/appropriation. Shell (1994:64) emphasises the appropriation of the creole language Afrikaans by ‘patriotic male European colonists’ during the late nineteenth century. Before this appropriation, ‘men introduced the creole language into the public sphere’ via ‘[t]he first book in Afrikaans ... written by an *imam*, a slave descendant’. However, ‘[slave] owners would later adopt [Afrikaans] ... and call it their own’ (Shell, 1994:64).

⁷⁴ Afrikaner nationalism, in contrast, was ‘a much more powerful ethnic movement’ (as previously stated) (Ponelis, 1993:53). Afrikaner nationalism was the culmination of Afrikaner ethnic mobilisation (Ponelis, 1993:60).

⁷⁵ Alexander (Afrikaaps, 2010) states that the GRA started to standardise Afrikaans, ‘because they wanted to distribute the Bible and the Christian faith amongst other Afrikaans speakers, the so-called coloureds’ (my translation), which is argued similarly by Van Rensburg (1999:80) and Deumert (2004:74). However, it is important to note that the GRA did not provide the foundation for standard Afrikaans (Du Plessis, 1986, cited in Van Rensburg, 1999:80). According to Davids (1990:40), the GRA ‘was not very enthusiastically received by

empowerment’ (Roberge, 2002:83): ‘[W]hite Afrikaans-speakers ... worked assiduously to raise the status of their dialect and its speakers’ (McCormick, 2002b:96).⁷⁶ Davids (1990:38) explains why it was ‘needed’ for white Afrikaans-speakers to raise the status of their ‘patois’:

This notion of Cape Dutch as essentially an uncultured patois, seems to have been a popular one during the last decades of the nineteenth century. It contributed considerably to Afrikaans ultimately acquiring the derogatory nicknames of ‘*kombuistaal*’ and ‘*Hotnotstaal*’, but it also reveals the negative race relations which prevailed in the mother city during the last century. Afrikaans, in nineteenth century Cape Town, was seen as a ‘coloured’ language.

In contrast to this historical notion of Afrikaans is the subsequent perception of Afrikaans as a marker of white ethnicity. The role it played in the ethnonational identification of the so-called Afrikaner relates to ‘the one language–one culture assumption’⁷⁷ (Blommaert, 2005:216). Accordingly, Blommaert (2005:214) defines ethnolinguistic identity as: ‘[T]he confluence of a sense of belonging to a language community (“speakers of X”) and a sense of belonging to an “ethnic” community’.⁷⁸ However, Blommaert (2005:215) cites Labov’s (1972) questioning of ‘[t]he stability of the notion’:

... Labov’s demonstration of ... the speech of young African-Americans amounted to a frontal attack against easy, uniformising, and homogeneous associations between ‘being American’ and ‘speaking (standard, middle-class) American English’, showing how a part of the American ‘nation’ spoke a different language, not a bad variety of the same language.⁷⁹

the cultured upper class in Cape Town. Afrikaans was still seen as the “street language of the lower class” (*ibid.*). However, this happened ‘at a time when this language was gradually and effectively appropriated by the white Afrikaners for nation building. The “Afrikaner volk” needed a cementing issue which would cut across the cultural distance of its various classes. The Afrikaans language was the most convenient tool. Afrikaans must be given a white image, and its roots firmly established in ancestral Holland’ (Davids, 1990:42).

⁷⁶ The GRA was thereby not only a society focused on language: They aspired to further the national interests of the Afrikaner, as well as promote the importance of Afrikaans amongst the ‘*volk*’ (Kannemeyer, 2005:46). This objective is conveyed in the ‘“*Algemene Bepalings*”: *om te staan ver ons Taal, ons Nasie en ons Land*’ (General Provisions: to stand for our Language, our Nation and our Country) (my translation) (*ibid.*). The GRA played a central role in the first language movement, dated between 1875 and 1900 (Kannemeyer, 2005:35, 67).

⁷⁷ Dell Hymes (1968:25 as cited in Blommaert, 2005:215) defines the ‘one language–one culture’ view as the division of ‘the ethnographic world ... into “ethnolinguistic” units, each associating a language with a culture’. Blommaert (2005:216) discounts this view. Rather, Blommaert (2005:214) regards the concept ethnolinguistic identity as complex: It ‘represents a major empirical problem as soon as we start investigating it in practice’.

⁷⁸ However, Webb and Kriel (2000:44) note that ‘[I]anguage is not a necessary or “primordial” feature of ethnicity’: ‘There is, of course, no sociolinguistic justification for assuming a positive correlation between language and sociocultural identity/ethnicity ... Ethnicity can be marked by other phenomena as well and can continue to exist even without a separate identifiable language’. Webb and Kriel (2000:44) cite examples in this regard: ‘[I]n the case of the Welsh and the Scottish in the United Kingdom, and the Griqua and Indian communities in South Africa’. This argument can be applied to that of Max du Preez (Netwerk24, 2016). In relation to the 2015 and 2016 language debate (discussed in Chapter Three), Du Preez cautions against confusing ‘identity and ethnicity with language’. Du Preez acknowledges the connection between these notions, however: ‘[W]e have to think very clearly about where the one begins and the other ends. In this [language of university education] debate only language may be relevant’. I argue: The purported link between Afrikaans and white Afrikaners does not necessarily mean that every Afrikaans speaker identifies as an Afrikaner. In Chapter One, I cited myself as an example of fluid identification with the language (as an Afrikaans-speaker, albeit not as an ‘Afrikaner’). However, the link between ethnicity and language is relevant for this thesis: *Afrikaaps* responds to the hegemony, the fiction, and the ideology of standard Afrikaans furthered by white Afrikaners.

⁷⁹ Similarly, Le Page and Tabouret-Keller (1985:236) differentiate between the ‘official’ language(s) and the vernacular: ‘[T]he vast majority of the people of the world live in multilingual communities in which the language of the law, of politics, of education – that is, the language (or languages) recognized as official, as the vehicle of government, is not the same as that of their own vernacular community’.

Blommaert (2005:216) thereby questions ‘the pervasiveness of ... static and homogeneous notions of ethnolinguistic identity’, offering a suggestion: such notions can be viewed ‘as a particular discourse on language, a discourse in which a stratified and homogenising notion of (shared) language is used in order to demarcate an equally stratified and homogenising notion of common identity: that of the language community’ (Blommaert, 2005:216-217). Blommaert (2005:217) notes two outcomes of such a discourse: Firstly, ‘the capacity to construct inhabitable group identities (defining oneself as a member of the ‘nation’, for instance)’, is influenced. In the second instance, ‘the capacity to construct ascribed categorical identities (defining others as non-members, for instance)’, is affected.⁸⁰

Blommaert (2005:217) regards ‘[s]uch a discourse’ as ‘clearly and often explicitly language-ideological, and, more often than not, it is organised by the *state* or by ideological state apparatuses in Althusser’s sense, resulting in the patterns of ... symbolic domination’ (Bourdieu, 1991 as cited in Blommaert, 2005:217).

According to Bourdieu (1991:45), ‘the *official* language of a political unit’ is imposed ‘as the only legitimate language’.⁸¹ Therefore, ‘this state language becomes the theoretical norm against which all linguistic practices are objectively measured’ (*ibid.*).⁸² Bourdieu (1991:60) terms the legitimate language as ‘a semi-artificial language which has to be sustained by a permanent effort of correction’.

The enforcement of the ‘legitimate’ language requires the unification of the linguistic market: ‘In order for one mode of expression among others ... to impose itself as the only legitimate one, the linguistic market has to be unified and the different dialects (of class, region or ethnic group) have to be measured practically against the legitimate language or usage’ (Bourdieu, 1991:45).⁸³

Bourdieu (1991:37) suggests that ‘the relations of communication’, namely ‘linguistic exchanges’, constitute ‘relations of symbolic power in which the power relations between speakers or their respective groups are actualised’. Bourdieu (*ibid.*) thereby introduces the notion of ‘an economy of symbolic exchanges’, including ‘the structures of the linguistic market, which impose themselves as a system of specific sanctions and censorships’. The market influences ‘the symbolic value [and] the

⁸⁰ Similarly, Riley (2007:234) affirms that standard languages ‘are seen as symbolic of the nation’. Therefore, standard languages are connected to identity; they play ‘a hegemonic role with respect to the discursive positions and identities available in those epistemic and social domains’.

⁸¹ The creation of this language as well as ‘its social uses’ is attached to ‘the state’: ‘It is in the process of state formation that the conditions are created for the constitution of a unified linguistic market, dominated by the official language’ (Bourdieu, 1991:45). This language signifies ‘a *code*’, encompassing, for example, ‘a system of norms regulating linguistic practices’ (‘fixed and codified by grammarians’ and instructed by teachers) (*ibid.*). Bourdieu (1991:48) affirms that ‘the educational system’ is central to ‘the construction, legitimation and imposition of an official language’. Teachers ‘impose and inculcate it through innumerable acts of correction’ (Bourdieu, 1991:60).

⁸² It is ‘[o]bligatory on official occasions and in official places’ such as schools and ‘political institutions’ (Bourdieu, 1991:45).

⁸³ Bourdieu (1991:46) defines ‘a single “linguistic community”’ as ‘a product of the political domination that is endlessly reproduced by institutions capable of imposing universal recognition of the dominant language’. An integrated so-called linguistic community ‘is the condition for the establishment of relations of linguistic domination’ (*ibid.*).

meaning of discourse’ (Bourdieu, 1991:38). Compliance with ‘symbolic domination’ (Bourdieu, 1991:50) ‘is inscribed ... in dispositions which are impalpably inculcated ... by the sanctions of the linguistic market, and which are therefore adjusted ... to the chances of material and symbolic profit which the laws of price formation characteristic of a given market objectively offer to the holders of a given linguistic capital’ (Bourdieu, 1991:51).

Furthermore, the afore-mentioned discourse and practice is either ‘organised by the state’, or ‘organised *with reference to* the state’. The latter occurs ‘often as a denial or a critique of the state ideology, and often also aimed at a self-definition of language community’ (Blommaert, 2005:217). As previously stated, *Afrikaaps* accordingly responds to the hegemony, the fiction, and the ideology of standard Afrikaans.

Likewise, the definition of ethnicity by Fishman (1977:16) is of value in this regard: ‘Ethnicity is rightly understood as an aspect of a collectivity’s self-recognition as well as an aspect of its recognition in the eyes of outsiders’.⁸⁴ As previously noted, *Afrikaaps* connects Afrikaans to a collective ethnicity other than ‘the white Afrikaner’: An (ethnified) coloured, Kaaps identification. *Afrikaaps* advocates recognition (including self-recognition) for Kaaps, or Afrikaaps: as being a language, not a ‘bad’ variety of Afrikaans.⁸⁵

In order to understand the need for such recognition of Kaaps (including self-recognition), I foreground the notion of the hegemonic, ‘official’ standard Afrikaans language of the ‘Afrikaner nation as a ‘fiction’, underpinned by ‘the ideology of the standard language’.

2.3. The fiction, hegemony and ideology of the standard language

Bourdieu (1991:48) connects ‘the making of the “nation”, an entirely abstract group based on law’ to the construction of a standard language, ‘impersonal and anonymous’. ‘New usages and functions’ are thereby created; the standard language ‘has to serve [official uses], and by the same token to undertake the work of normalising the products of the linguistic habitus’⁸⁶ (*ibid.*). Therefore, standard Afrikaans.

⁸⁴ Schuster (2016:66) asserts that *Afrikaaps* ‘want[s] to bring attention to a group that was born of racial intermingling and subsequent racist policies. They seek recognition for a living, thriving part of the South African population, one that, in fact, embodies the history of our country through their varied lineage and shared language of Kaaps – thereby promulgating Black Consciousness by using Black self-definition to include Coloured’.

⁸⁵ As mentioned in Chapter One, Van der Westhuizen asserts that Kaaps is ‘an official language’, rather than slang.

⁸⁶ Bourdieu (1991:48) cites the dictionary as ‘the exemplary result of this labour of codification and normalisation’.

Ponelis (1994:106) conceptualises standard Afrikaans as ‘the cultural variety of Afrikaans’ (my translation).⁸⁷ However, Ponelis (1994:121) notes the unfavourable divide between Standaardafrikaans and the vernacular: The former is severed from the latter. This ‘*kloof*’ (divide) is referred to as diglossia (Ponelis, 1994:117, 121).⁸⁸ Similarly, Alexander (2012b:11) refers to the construction of ‘an impenetrable and alienating wall between street and standard’. This divide includes the social opinion that standard Afrikaans is the so-called prestige variety.

To elaborate, social opinion values standard Afrikaans as the ‘prestige variety’, perceived as ‘superior to the lower status non-varieties’ (Hendricks, 2012b:48).⁸⁹ In the *Afrikaaps* documentary, a learner featured in the Lavender Hill High Afrikaans class scene expresses this hierarchy: ‘*Suiwer Afrikaans lê boe, en Kaapse Afrikaans lê onne.*’ (Pure Afrikaans is at the top and Kaapse Afrikaans is at the bottom) (my translation) (Afrikaaps, 2010).⁹⁰

Furthermore, standard Afrikaans spoken by ‘Afrikaners’ is considered the ‘norm’: ‘In order to uphold the notion of a distinct Afrikaner nationhood, a range of local linguistic features were adopted into that norm’ (Stell, 2011:68). In this regard Silverstein (1996:284) refers to the ‘hegemonic domination’ of ‘The Standard’:⁹¹ ‘[T]he culture of Standard is aggressively hegemonic, dominating ... linguistic situations with an understanding of other linguistic usages as locatable only in terms of the Standard’

⁸⁷ It is important to differentiate between a language of culture and the vernacular. The cultural variety of a language is utilised ‘in the public sphere’ (my translation) (Ponelis, 1994:106): The media, literature, administration, law, and education (*ibid.*). Generally, institutionalised Afrikaans refers to ‘the utilisation of Standard Afrikaans in the entire public domain’ (my translation) (*ibid.*). Furthermore: A standard language necessitates, amongst others, the so-called status of a written language (*ibid.*). The standard and the vernacular utilise different mediums: The former is a written language and the latter is a spoken language. However, the standard language is not the only variety utilised as a written language. Nevertheless, the standard is characterised by its writability’ (‘*skryfbaarheid*’) (my translation) (*ibid.*).

⁸⁸ In diglossic multilingual speech communities, the mother-tongue is utilised as the vernacular (Ponelis, 1994:114). Another language(s) is utilised as cultural variety(ies) (*ibid.*). From the 18th century to the beginning of the twentieth century, the Afrikaans speech community utilised Afrikaans as the vernacular, and Dutch and subsequently English as cultural varieties (Ponelis, 1994:114; 118). The current diglossic relationship includes the Afrikaans standard language and vernacular (Ponelis, 1994:118). Ponelis (*ibid.*) attributes two factors to this diglossic relationship: Firstly, the over-cultivated nature of standard Afrikaans (*ibid.*); and secondly, the influence of English on especially the Afrikaans vernacular (characterised by anglicisms and extensive language borrowing) (Ponelis, 1994:121; 123). Bosch (2000:58) defines standard Afrikaans as ‘highly formalised and considered ... the “pure” variety of Afrikaans’. Ponelis (1994:106) similarly affirms that standard Afrikaans is characterised by a highly formal and polished style.

⁸⁹ To elaborate: Standard Afrikaans is held in high esteem and symbolises ‘the community’s intellectual achievements’ (Webb, 1989:433). Webb (*ibid.*) affirms that the so-called special status of standard Afrikaans is due to ‘social’, rather than linguistic, reasons. The cultural use of a standard language determines, to a great extent, its status (Ponelis, 1994:106). Therefore, the higher status of standard Afrikaans is indicative of its more elevated (‘*verhewe*’) utilisation (*ibid.*).

⁹⁰ This learner affirmed that she did not want to seem ‘lower’/inferior when having a conversation with a ‘*hoë*’ (literal translation: high) Afrikaans-speaker. Therefore, she tries to speak ‘*hoë*’ Afrikaans in such interactions: ‘*As dji in ’n konwersation kom met iemand wat hoë Afrikaans praat, dji gan dink, “whoa!” Dan wil dji oek nou soe praat. Dji wil mos nou nie laag lyk voor die mense nie. Dan try dji oek nou ma daai hoë brue te klim.*’ (If you are in a conversation with someone that speaks high Afrikaans, then you think ‘whoa!’ Then you also want to speak like that. You do not want to seem inferior to the people. Then you try to climb those high bridges) (my translation) (Afrikaaps, 2010). The perception that ‘*hoë*’ Afrikaans is ‘superior’ to Kaaps is thereby conveyed through this learner’s experiences.

⁹¹ Milroy (2001:539) also cites the term ‘the “hegemony” of the standard’.

(Silverstein, 1996:286-287). Related to this view of the standard as hegemonic is the understanding of the standard as ‘a fiction’, enforced by institutions:

To realise the fiction of the standard language and to maintain it therefore requires establishing institutions – on the grand scale, schools, editorships, dictionaries and grammars, authoritative texts, systems of examination and hiring; on the smaller scale, prizes, corrections, snubs and scoffs, rewards and punishments. Some of these institutions also have part of the charge of establishing nationhood – in particular, schools, and the authoritative texts of national history, civics, literature, even rhetoric and grammar, that they employ – in both explicit and ‘banal’ ways.

(Joseph, 2004:225)

The fiction of the standard language relates to the historical construction of the ‘white Afrikaans-speaking community’: Afrikaans intellectual leaders from the spheres of the church, education, culture, and linguistics played a role in its creation (Webb, 2010:109). Various channels – propelled by Afrikaner nationalism – established the ‘form, functions and purposes’ of so-called white Afrikaans. These channels also controlled ‘the communicative behaviour of its speakers’. These channels include the Afrikaans media, the *Taalkommissie* (Language Commission),⁹² and education⁹³ (Webb, 2010:109). Early Afrikaans linguists contributed to this process: Afrikaans was designated as ‘European’ (Webb, 2010:109). Furthermore, the language was advocated as a legitimate subject to study. Grammars, technical terminology, as well as dictionaries were produced.⁹⁴ Control was thereby exercised by white Afrikaans speakers regarding ‘decisions about what was “acceptable”, legitimate and authoritative Afrikaans’, which, in effect, was standard Afrikaans (Webb, 2010:109).⁹⁵

In this regard, Milroy (2001:530) refers to the notion ‘the ideology of the standard language’ (Bold removed): ‘[L]anguages ... such as English, French and Spanish, are believed by their speakers to exist in standardised forms, and this kind of belief affects the way in which speakers think about their own language and about “language” in general’.⁹⁶ An example of ‘the standard ideology’ (Italics removed), is prestige (Milroy, 2001:533).

⁹² Part of the *Suid-Afrikaanse Akademie vir Wetenskap en Kuns* (South African Academy for Science and Art).

⁹³ Namely, through ‘the co-operation of Afrikaans teachers, the development of school syllabi and school textbooks, [and] the determination of what constitutes acceptable linguistic skill through examination assessments’ (Webb, 2010:109).

⁹⁴ According to Webb and Kriel (2000:22) ‘dictionaries were compiled from a whites-only perspective’.

⁹⁵ In a general sense, Ponelis (1987:9) attributes the ‘chosen’ dialect for standardisation to power. More specifically: The political and economic power of its users during the period of configuration of the standard language. Regarding Afrikaans: Speakers utilising the Afrikaans typical to the Transvaal and Free State Republics, gained political power during the early twentieth century (Van Rensburg, 1999:81). Therefore: The foundation of standard Afrikaans is the eastern variety of Afrikaans (Ponelis, 1994:112). Historically, Eastern Cape Afrikaans (*‘Oosgrens-Afrikaans’*) was ‘the Cape Dutch vernacular of the settlers who established themselves along the eastern frontier from the late eighteenth century, and subsequently in the former Orange Free State and Transvaal’ (Roberge, 2002:83-84).

⁹⁶ Milroy (2001:530) suggests ‘that speakers of these languages live in standard language cultures’ [Bold removed].

McKaiser (2016) emphasizes that ‘the norm of white Afrikaans hegemony’ is still present: ‘Afrikaans may slowly have lost its dominance politically and socially but, within the Afrikaans communities in this country, there is still an unequal distribution of linguistic power that remains unresolved’.⁹⁷ Given their ‘economic and social power’, white Afrikaans speakers are still ‘the custodians of Afrikaans’ (McKaiser, 2016).

The next three sections delineate the socio-historical background to the ways in which ‘white Afrikaners’ came to be ‘the custodians of Afrikaans’: Firstly, the construction of ‘pure’ Afrikaans by white Afrikaners; secondly, the utilisation of ‘pure’ Afrikaans by apartheid oppressors; and thirdly, the appropriation of Afrikaans as a white language (in contrast to an African/a creole language).

2.4. ‘This is pure Afrikaans’

Ponelis (1994:120) and Hendricks (2012b:51) similarly argue that Afrikaner nationalism propelled the standardisation of Afrikaans.⁹⁸ To elaborate: The early standardisation of Afrikaans established Afrikaans as a ‘*witmanstaal*’ (white man’s language).⁹⁹ Therefore, ‘an unambiguous marker of white Afrikaner nationalism and ethnicity’ (Deumert, 2004:9).

So-called Afrikaans language purism played a role in this endeavour. Namely, ‘to consolidate suiwer (pure) Afrikaans as the national language of educated white Afrikaners’ (Deumert, 2004:275).¹⁰⁰ Accordingly, ‘language purism in Afrikaans was motivated by racially based ethnicity and resulted in

⁹⁷ McKaiser (2016) asserts: ‘That hegemony will continue for as long as coloured communities remain on the margins of this country economically, socially and politically’. McKaiser (2016) attributes the domination of ‘white Afrikaans’ regarding ‘Afrikaans music, theatre, festivals, newspapers, magazines, books, television and cinematic productions’, to minimal ‘economic power’ of coloured people. So-called ‘exceptions to the norm’ is cited as ‘the odd kykNET channel for coloured viewers, and some hip-hop groups here and there asserting truths about our communities’. However, McKaiser (2016) argues, these ‘exceptions stand out precisely because they are exceptions to the norm’. McKaiser (2016) refers to his own ‘reluctance to speak Afrikaans on radio and television’: ‘[W]e always, as coloured people, assumed that the Afrikaans spoken by white Afrikaans people is the gold standard of Afrikaans. But that is obviously political rubbish’. However, McKaiser (2016) affirms that his ‘hesitat[ion] to speak [his] brand of Afrikaans publicly ... reveals self-loathing that requires deep personal work to undo’.

⁹⁸ Roberge (2002:84) and (Willemse, 2012a:76) date the development of standard Afrikaans between approximately 1900 and 1930. More specifically: In 1914, Afrikaans spelling was standardised by *Die Suid-Afrikaanse Akademie vir Wetenskap en Kuns* (via the organisation’s Language Commission) (Van Rensburg, 1999:80; Ponelis, 1993:53). The *Afrikaanse Woordelys en Spelreëls [AWS]*/The Afrikaans Word List and Spelling Rules is ‘the standardised Afrikaans orthography’ (Ponelis, 1993:53). It was developed by *Die Suid-Afrikaanse Akademie vir Wetenskap en Kuns* in 1917 (*ibid.*). This comprehensive glossary – revised over the course of many years – ‘is one of the most important tools for the standardisation of Afrikaans’ (*ibid.*). Willemse (2012a:76-79) emphasises the way in which earlier editions of the *AWS* encourage the dutchification of the Afrikaans written language (as well as so-called civilised Afrikaans).

⁹⁹ White man’s language. Willemse (2012a:76) refers to standardisation as ‘[t]he “dutchification” of Afrikaans (and its formation as a “cultural language”’. Dutch influence on standard Afrikaans – in terms of lexicon – is noted by Ponelis (1994:118-119); Webb and Kriel (2000:22); and Roberge (2002:84).

¹⁰⁰ Similarly, De Kadt (2006:45) argues: The notions of ‘pure’ and ‘true’ Afrikaans were exclusively linked to white people. In contrast, the dialects of non-white people became associated with the notion of corruption (and were discounted as such).

Standard Afrikaans' (Bosch, 2000:58). Furthermore, Willemse (2012a:76) affirms that the dutchification 'was used by Afrikaner nationalist language activists as a shield against English and British domination'.¹⁰¹ Anglicisms accordingly were rejected (Kotzé, 2000:13-14).¹⁰²

A deliberate upshot of the standardisation endeavour concerns people who were not white: 'The local Cape Dutch vernacular [was disconnected] from its interethnic origins' (Deumert, 2004:42).¹⁰³ Hendricks (2012b:51) similarly emphasises the 'moving away from the ... varieties that were related to people of colour'.¹⁰⁴ It is interesting to note that early scholars connected 'suiwer' (pure) Afrikaans to Afrikaans utilised by white people (Du Toit, 1905:27-28; Postma, 1912:627; Bosman, 1928:80; Pienaar, 1946:19; Van der Merwe, 1968:240); and 'impure' language/Afrikaans to people who were not white (Du Toit, 1905:27-28; Bosman, 1928:80).

The connection between 'white Afrikaners' and 'pure' Afrikaans was furthered for decades by the use of Afrikaans as the language of the oppressor, its construction as 'apartheid symbol'.

2.5. 'The language of the oppressor'

Apartheid was established by the National Party in 1948 (Van Rensburg, 1999:81); they 'vigorously campaigned on behalf of Afrikaans' (Ponelis, 1993:60).¹⁰⁵ As Valley and Valley (2009) affirm: 'Afrikaans, originally a language of the free slaves and the Khoi inhabitants of the Cape, became a tool used by the oppressor'. Van Rensburg (1999:27) cites 'Standard Afrikaans' as an 'apartheid symbol': The language is 'responsible for political ideologies'.¹⁰⁶

The political power of standard Afrikaans was established in collaboration with various Afrikaans-controlled institutions: Political parties, cultural organisations (for example the FAK and ATKV), and churches (Webb, 2010:109). Decision-making processes were exclusively in the hands of 'white Afrikaans language and cultural bodies' (Van Rensburg, 1999:84). Furthermore, Standard Afrikaans

¹⁰¹ Similarly, McCormick (2002b:95) attributes the 'principled objection to borrowing from English' to 'the political orientation of those who promoted the development of standard Afrikaans'.

¹⁰² According to Webb and Kriel (2000:22-23), leading linguists criticised English: they emphasised 'the dangers of anglicisms' and advocated for the purification of Afrikaans.

¹⁰³ De Kadt (2006:45) utilises the term 'indigenous origins'. The view of Afrikaans as an 'African' language is examined in this chapter and in Chapter Three.

¹⁰⁴ Similarly, Van Rensburg (1999:80) argues that standardised spelling ignored two important facets of the Afrikaans language. Firstly, 'spelling reforms and simplifications' – apparent in Arabic Afrikaans as well as the Afrikaans printed in *Die Afrikaanse Patriot* – were not taken into account. In the second instance, aspects of the so-called learner varieties of Afrikaans of the Khoi and the slaves, were not recognised (Van Rensburg, 1991:25; 1999:80). Refer to section 2.8 for a discussion of Van Rensburg's arguments regarding the contribution of these 'learner' varieties to the formation of Afrikaans.

¹⁰⁵ Webb and Kriel (2000:28) cite apartheid as 'the heyday of Afrikaner nationalism'. Brink (1985:166) cites 1948 as 'a tragedy' (my translation): '*die apart-heid – van die Afrikaner volk*' (the apart-heid of the Afrikaner nation). Brink (1985:167) also affirms that the apartheid 'ideology' 'colonise[d]' the language and made it a 'white' language (my translation). In Chapter Three, I discuss the current, topical notion of Afrikaans as a 'colonial' language by especially the #AfrikaansMustFall movement.

¹⁰⁶ According to Van Rensburg (1991:19), Afrikaans is politically stigmatised.

was the only Afrikaans variety accorded public prominence in the apartheid years (*ibid.*): ‘For decades, the variety of Afrikaans that was in the public eye, both in South Africa and abroad, was standard Afrikaans. As a result, it is not generally recognised that there are many different varieties of Afrikaans’. Accordingly, the other varieties of Afrikaans – spoken by those who were not white, with no political power – were disregarded (*ibid.*).

Bozzoli (2015) and Gasnolar (2015) emphasise the consequences of Afrikaans as the language of the oppressor. Bozzoli (2015) notes the so-called painful past connected to Afrikaans. However, she finds Afrikaans a politicised *relic* of Afrikaner nationalism and apartheid utilised by millions of coloured people:

To millions of so-called coloureds, most of whom are from poor or working class homes, it is the only language they speak. Afrikaans is also not merely the politically tainted language of Afrikaner nationalism, the memory of which is painful for so many millions of us. It predates and extends beyond apartheid and in recent years has been renewed and reconceptualised by dozens of thinkers.

(Bozzoli, 2015)

Gasnolar (2015) emphasises that the painful past cannot be ignored: ‘Afrikaans has a painful history in our country, and was used by the Apartheid regime to degrade millions, and that past cannot simply be ignored’. Part of this past is foregrounded by *Afrikaaps*: the construction of Afrikaans as a ‘white’ language (in contrast to the views that Afrikaans is an African/‘a creole’ language). The socio-historical backgrounds of these constructions are examined in the next sections in order to contextualise the claim of *Afrikaaps* that Afrikaans is an indigenous, creole language (discussed in Chapter Six).

2.6. ‘Die één enigste witmanstaal’¹⁰⁷

In a poem, Langenhoven describes Afrikaans as a white language of the Afrikaner ‘*volk*’ (a people):

Die één enigste witmans-taal ... /van alles wat ons en ons vadere hier /deurleef en deurworstel en deurtriomfeer het; /die één band wat ons as nasie aan mekaar heg; /die uitgedrukte siel van ons volk.

The one, only white man’s language ... /from everything that we and our fathers here /lived through and struggled and triumphed; /the one bond that connects us as a nation; /the expressed soul of our people (my translation).

(Langenhoven, as cited in Pienaar, 1946:n.p.)

¹⁰⁷ The one, only white man’s language (my translation).

Afrikaans viewed as white was especially perpetuated during the era of Afrikaner nationalism. Ponelis (1993:70) states that during the early twentieth century, the Dutch and Germanic influence on Afrikaans was underscored.¹⁰⁸ Accordingly, ‘the “coloured” ancestry of Afrikaans’ was minimised (*ibid.*).¹⁰⁹

Webb and Kriel (2000:22) argue that the appropriation of Afrikaans as a white language was significantly facilitated by linguists.¹¹⁰ Accordingly, (earlier) white Afrikaans linguists neglected and/or rejected the ‘non-white’ origins of Afrikaans.¹¹¹ Various scholars such as Valkhoff (1966:5-6); Makhudu (1985:2, 12-13, 19-20); Shell (1994:61); and Baker and Mühlhäusler (2007:97-98) cite this trend: Only European influence was emphasised (Van Rensburg, 1994:175; Willemse, 2012a:73). In contrast to overstated Dutch influence during Afrikaner nationalism, the influence of other population groups ‘was gradually stigmatised and as a result, disregarded’ (Willemse, 2012a:73).¹¹²

In tandem with the focus on the Dutch origin of Afrikaans, only standard Afrikaans was discussed (Van Rensburg, 1994:175). Makhudu (1985:8-9) asserted that linguists in their examination of Afrikaans as a possible creole language focused exclusively on Standard European Afrikaans (SEA). Makhudu (1985:9) argued that this disregard for the ‘more creole-like, non-standard lower lects’ led to ‘inaccurate conclusions about Afrikaans’.

Examples of scholars who minimised the ‘coloured’ contribution include Postma (1912:627); Boshoff (1921:425); Nienaber (1949:135); Smith (1952:11); Van der Merwe (1968:24); Raidt (1975:198-199); and Scholtz (as cited in Scholtz, 1980:110).¹¹³ It is interesting to note earlier scholars’ separation of the so-called language of the colonists from the so-called Afrikaans of the *‘kleurlingen/kleurlinge/die*

¹⁰⁸ Ponelis (1993:70) specifically affirms: ‘In order to elevate Afrikaans, so it was thought, it was imperative to emphasise its impeccable Dutch and Germanic descent’. Valkhoff (1966:5) explains Afrikaner diachronic purism in this regard: The view is ‘that Afrikaans has developed directly from Dutch’ (thereby uncontaminated by so-called foreign/alien influences). For Valkhoff (1966:5-6), the puristic, nationalistic Afrikaner scholars ‘failed to do justice both to the Portuguese-Creole lingua franca of the slaves, freedmen, sailors, or colonials, and to the Hottentot dialects of the servants, who acted on the Dutch language either directly or through their creolised Dutch’.

¹⁰⁹ Valkhoff (1966:6) refers to Afrikaner diachronic linguists’ emphasis on only white people’s language as *alboctrism* (from *albus*, the Latin word for white, and *egocentrism*). For Valkhoff (1966:6), this approach ‘distorts our image of the evolution of Cape Dutch’. Makhudu (1985:26) asserts that the overlooking of ‘the non-Dutch component in the creolisation process’ can be compared with Valkhoff’s (1971:464) *alboctrism*.

¹¹⁰ Whilst most early white linguists regard Afrikaans as a ‘white’ language, linguistic influence of other population groups on Afrikaans vocabulary, was recognised. These influences include: Malay, Malay-Portuguese, and Khoi. Examples of such scholars include, for example, Postma (1912:627).

¹¹¹ These origins include Khoi and/or Malay-Portuguese (or the Portuguese-Creole slave lingua franca) influence (Valkhoff, 1966:5-6; Makhudu, 1985:48-53; Shell, 1994:61; and Baker and Mühlhäusler, 2007:97-98).

¹¹² Willemse (2012a:73) cites these groups: ‘[T]he Hottentots Dutch, slave Dutch, foreigners’ Dutch – of the indigenous people, the Cape slave population, the newcomers and their immediate descendants as well as the remotely situated stock-farmers’.

¹¹³ For example, Postma (1912:627) asserts: ‘[I]k vind geen gekleurde bloed daarin nie.’ (I find no coloured blood in it) (my translation). Smith (1952:11) argues: ‘[I]n the case of Afrikaans nobody can seriously maintain that it is a language that originated among slaves or Hottentots, and that the white colonists then exchanged their own speech for this idiom’. Raidt (1975:198-199) emphasises that the earliest Cape texts refute ‘[t]he opinion that Afrikaans first developed in the mouth of Khoekhoe and slaves and was later adopted by the colonists’.

gekleurde/inboorlingen ('people of colour'/'indigenes') (my translation) (Du Toit, 1905:24, 27, 91, 102; Nienaber, 1953:152, 260, 277; Rademeyer, 1938:39; Bosman, 1928:82; Boshoff, 1921:81). Linguists such as Postma (1912:623, 625) and Smith (1952:12, 15)¹¹⁴ furthermore suggest that Afrikaans originated with the rural farmers/'*Boere*' (Boers) in areas in the vicinity of Cape Town.

The influence of the Dutch forms of the Khoi and the slaves (on the Dutch of the whites/colonists, and the Afrikaners) are indeed emphasised by linguists. However, the latter Dutch forms are separated from the former Dutch forms. Linguists refer to the Dutch forms of the Khoi and the slaves as, for example: '*krom-Nederlands*' [broken Dutch] of the slaves; '*Maleis-Nederlands*' [Malay Dutch]; '*Hottentot-Hollands*' [Hottentot [a pejorative term] Dutch]; and '*Hottentot-Nederlands*' [Hottentot Dutch] (Boshoff, 1921:72, 74; Bosman, 1928:17-18, 41; Nienaber, 1953:148, 205). Nienaber (1953:263) groups 'the Dutch language forms' of, for example, the slaves and 'the domesticated Khoi' under '*Kreools-Nederlands*' [Creole Dutch].¹¹⁵

All of the above claims are disputed by *Afrikaaps*: the 'ancestors' of 'coloured' people played a key role in the formation of Afrikaans; the language was therefore not formed exclusively by 'white' people. Neville Alexander (*Afrikaaps*, 2010) and Valley and Valley (2009) regard the contribution of the Dutch and the Khoi and slaves as fundamental to the development of Afrikaans. Alexander asserts: '*As die Khoekhoe, die San, en die slawe veral, nie gedwing was om Hollands of Nederlands te leer nie, sou die taal Afrikaans eintlik nie ontstaan het nie.*' (If the Khoekhoe, the San, and especially the slaves were not forced to learn Dutch, the language Afrikaans would not have originated) (*Afrikaaps*, 2010). Valley and Valley (2009) likewise state that 'Afrikaans developed as a bridging language to ease communication between the indigenous people, imported slaves and their masters'.

The arguments of scholars such as Webb and Kriel (2000); Neville Alexander (*Afrikaaps*, 2010); Mesthrie (2002); and Shell (1994) can be linked to this claim. Webb and Kriel (2000:20) cite the white appropriation of Afrikaans as '[a]n ironic aspect of the Afrikaans language movement(s)': Before Afrikaans 'came to be regarded as the "exclusive" property of the white "elite"', it was 'a language of the nonelite, the working class, black people, brown people, and uneducated white people'.

¹¹⁴ These views contrast with *Afrikaaps*'s claim that the early cosmopolitan Cape is the locale of origin of Afrikaans. Refer to Chapter Four for scholars' arguments in this regard, as well as the way in which the production stages this claim.

¹¹⁵ Valkhoff (1966:6) notes this trend. He argues that the use of 'corrupted' creolised Dutch by the Asian/African slaves or Khoi were indeed taken note of; however, it was 'simply recorded as an anecdotal event' (*ibid.*). It was only considered historically significant when linguistic innovations – first utilised by the slaves and indigenes – were used by white people much later in simplified form (*ibid.*). The innovations were only officially documented at a later stage 'in the language of the White upper classes' (*ibid.*). Valkhoff (1966:6) argues that Afrikaner diachronic linguists exercised (the more politicised term) 'linguistic apartheid' or, rather, *compartimentage*: The Dutch utilised by the Europeans, slaves, Khoi, and their descendants were examined separately.

Similarly, Neville Alexander argues that early Afrikaans was disparaged as a ‘*kombuistaal* [kitchen language], ‘*n Hotnotstaal* [a Hottentot language]’ (my translation) (Afrikaaps, 2010).¹¹⁶ Valley and Valley (2009) echo this assertion: ‘[T]his new language’ was considered “‘bastard [D]utch” and as a “mongrel language” reserved for communicating with the slaves and lower classes’.¹¹⁷ Davids (1990:38) affirms: ‘Afrikaans, in nineteenth century Cape Town, was seen as a ‘coloured’ language’. Boezak (2016) argues similarly: The Dutch – labelling early Afrikaans “‘*de Hottentotten se Hollands*” [the Dutch of the Hottentots] and a “*kombuistaaltjie*” [a little kitchen language]’ – did not actively ‘attempt to encourage and establish the language. On the contrary. To therefore name Afrikaans a “daughter of Dutch” today is historically inaccurate and culturally misplaced’ (my translation).¹¹⁸

Furthermore, both Mesthrie (2002:17) and Shell (1994: 64) emphasise the contribution of the ‘Arabic Afrikaans’ writing tradition of slave descendants before white appropriation.¹¹⁹ Another irony: According to Ponelis (1987:11), white Afrikaans speakers were in the minority during the late eighteenth century.¹²⁰ A more recent irony: Contemporary statistics convey that coloured people comprise the majority of the Afrikaans speech community. These statistics are considered significant given the public perception of the language as white. However, a press release argues that the perception of Afrikaans as ‘white’ does not only relate to the number of speakers; it is rooted in the racialisation of Afrikaans as such (White Afrikaans speakers in minority, 2013)¹²¹ (as demonstrated by the above discussion of the white appropriation of the language).

¹¹⁶ Alexander specifically states: ‘*Die feit is dat tot ongeveer 1870 ... was Afrikaans altyd ‘n kombuistaal, ‘n Hotnotstaal; Nederlands was die taal van aspirasie.*’ (The fact is that until approximately 1870 ... Afrikaans was always a kitchen language, a Hottentot language; Dutch was the language of aspiration) (my translation) (Afrikaaps, 2010).

¹¹⁷ Afrikaans was viewed with such disdain ‘by both the boers (who spoke “high” [A]frikaans and [D]utch) and the [E]nglish upper classes’ (Valley and Valley, 2009).

¹¹⁸ Boezak (2016) thereby emphasises the ‘co-creators’ of the language: ‘[T]he Cape Khoi, the slave community, and “de Afrikaanders”’.

¹¹⁹ Mesthrie (2002:17) underscores this ‘irony of history’: ‘Afrikaans was first substantially written by the descendants of Muslim slaves, who used Arabic script in writing Afrikaans religious texts’. Shell (1994:64) echoes: Before the appropriation of the creole language Afrikaans by ‘patriotic male European colonists’ during the late nineteenth century, ‘men introduced the creole language into the public sphere’ via ‘[t]he first book in Afrikaans ... written by an *imam*, a slave descendant’. However, ‘[slave] owners would later adopt [Afrikaans] ... and call it their own’ (*ibid.*).

¹²⁰ A 1798 Cape census indicates: The majority of the Afrikaans speech community constituted 65% ‘non-white’ people, namely slaves and the Khoi (Ponelis, 1987:11). This census of the late eighteenth century demonstrates that Afrikaans was not only spoken by colonists. However, in the 19th century, the number of white Afrikaans speakers started to increase: A large amount of German, Dutch and British people were absorbed into the Afrikaans speech community (*ibid.*).

¹²¹ In April 2013, the South African Institute of Race Relations issued a press release. It proclaims that the 2011 census indicates that Afrikaans is not – as was previously the case – a white language (regarding the number of speakers). Currently, white Afrikaans speakers constitute only 40% of Afrikaans speakers (utilising the language at home). Coloured, African and Indian people comprise 60% (South African Institute of Race Relations, 2013). The number of specifically coloured people utilising Afrikaans as a first language amounts to 3 442 164 (75,8%). White (first language) Afrikaans speakers amount to 2 710 461 (60,8%) (Statistics South Africa, 2011:26-27). It is ironic that the data of the 1798 Cape census resembles that of the latest 2011 census: The latter indicates that more coloured people – alleged by *Afrikaaps* to be the descendants of the indigenous and slave populations – speak Afrikaans as a home language than white people. The 65% ‘non-white’ speech

The irony of the ‘white’ appropriation of Afrikaans demonstrates the way in which the so-called white Afrikaans-speaking community is itself a historical construction. The response of *Afrikaaps* to these constructions – conceptualising Afrikaans as an indigenous language – is significant. In the next section, I provide a discussion of linguists regarding Afrikaans as an African language as a background to the discussion of the claim of *Afrikaaps*.

2.7. ‘The African history of Afrikaans’

In contrast to earlier scholarly arguments considering Afrikaans a ‘white’ language, are those emphasising ‘inter-ethnic’ origins, namely Khoi, slave, and ‘coloured’ influences. These arguments are important for two reasons: Firstly, to demonstrate that, despite the general perception of Afrikaans as a ‘white’ language, a vast body of scholarship exists regarding the more inclusive notion of the language’s origins.¹²² Secondly, such scholarly standpoints connect to the claim of *Afrikaaps* that it is an indigenous language¹²³, discussed in depth in Chapter Six.

Hahn (1882:36)¹²⁴, for example, emphasises Khoi influence:¹²⁵ ‘[T]he Dutch *patois*¹²⁶ of this Colony ... is psychologically an essentially Hottentot idiom’.¹²⁷ Other scholars emphasise the influence of specifically ‘coloured’ people. Valkhoff (1966:6) argues that ‘the Coloured lower classes’ were the originators of the majority of innovative linguistic phenomena. Makhudu (1985:26) recognises the determining influence of ‘the forefathers of the Coloureds, i.e. Hottentots, Malays, and other African

community of the late eighteenth century is therefore numerically reflected in the contemporary data of the Afrikaans speech community.

¹²² Du Plessis (in Van den Heever, 1987:20) considers the recognition of the ‘African history’ of Afrikaans as ‘an alternative, non-ideological approach to the whole history of Afrikaans’ (my translation).

¹²³ Arguments regarding Afrikaans as such intersect with views of the language as ‘semi-creole’, discussed in section 2.8. This section highlights scholars’ arguments that do not necessarily highlight Afrikaans as ‘semi-creole’, for example Davids (1994). Or, scholars who explicitly cite the language’s ‘African’/‘interethnic’/‘Afro-European’ origins, or specifically ‘coloured’ people or their forebears’ contribution.

¹²⁴ Bosman (1928:16) states that Hahn – ‘the son of a German missionary in Namakwaland’ – is ‘presumably also Afrikaans-speaking’.

¹²⁵ Raidt (1994:33) similarly refers to this argument as ‘the first attempt at a more scientific statement of the character of Afrikaans’. Raidt (*ibid.*) terms this theory the ‘Hottentot-theory’.

¹²⁶ Hesselning (1923:103) cites this ‘patois’ as ‘*t Kaap-Hollands van zijn tijd.*’ (the Cape Dutch of that time) (my translation).

¹²⁷ It is ironic that this description – emphasising influence of a ‘non-white’ population group – occurred during the era of white appropriation by the GRA. It should be noted, however, that, as argued by Davids (1990:37, 38), ‘[f]rom his general remarks it would appear that he regarded Cape Dutch as being too simple a language with no literary future. Dr Theophilus Hahn saw Cape Dutch as essentially the language of the people of colour who were resident at the Cape. This language was transmitted by them to whites on isolated farms and those white children they served as “nurses and ayahs” [the latter term is pejorative]’. Hahn (1882, as cited in Davids (1990:37) stated: ‘It can hardly be expected that the descendants of the Malayo-Polynesian slaves and Hottentot servants, who originally spoke an agglutinative tongue, will have any improving influence on an inflecting language’. Hahn’s statement is very much disputed by early Afrikaner linguists, such as Du Toit (1905:25), Boshoff (1921:374-375), Bosman (1928:16-17), and Raidt (1983:42).

slaves' on Afrikaans: They afforded 'Cape Dutch its present shape as Modern Afrikaans'.¹²⁸ Roberge (2002:87-88) also cites the view of JLM Franken (1953:26, 95, 202-3), foregrounding the role of the Khoi, slaves and their so-called mixed race descendants. Davids (1990:36) supports the view of Ronnie Belcher, namely 'that Afrikaans is the result of communication across the colour line in the early history of South Africa'. Belcher (1987:17) affirms: '*Die verhaal van Afrikaans is in 'n groot mate die verhaal van kommunikasie tussen wit en bruin in Suid-Afrika.*' (The story of Afrikaans is to a great extent the story of communication between white and coloured in South Africa) (my translation).

Van Rensburg (1994:175) explicitly highlights the absence of the so-called African history of Afrikaans, especially regarding the minimised non-standard varieties. Regarding the general origins of Afrikaans, Van Rensburg (2012:148) highlights Khoi, Dutch, slave, European, and Eastern influences.¹²⁹ Davids (1994:112) similarly emphasises 'the African roots of Afrikaans': Language contact between Dutch and Malay-Polynesian and Khoisan influence is foregrounded. Roberge (2002:80) describes language contact at the early Cape as 'Afro-European contact'. Deumert (2004:42) emphasises the 'interethnic origins' of 'the local Cape Dutch vernacular'.

Emphasis on 'Afro-European contact' and 'interethnic origins' of Afrikaans by linguists can relate to the development of Afrikaans as a semi-creole language. The next section examines the background to this central claim of *Afrikaaps* (that the language is 'creole').

2.8. Afrikaans: A creole?

A main claim of *Afrikaaps* is that Afrikaans is a 'creole' language (refer to Chapter Six for an in-depth discussion). In order to place this assertion into context, I briefly discuss examples of scholarly debates regarding 'the transformation of Dutch in Southern Africa', cited as a century-long dispute (Roberge, 2002:84).

However, before this discussion commences, I discuss viewpoints on the notion of a 'creole' language. According to Garrett (2006:58), most creole languages emerged during, for example, the colonial era through contact between Europeans, indigenous and slave populations on tropical islands and along coastlines.¹³⁰ Mühlhäusler (1999:122) affirms that many creoles (and pidgins) have developed 'over a short period of time' within similar settings. Namely, through 'mass population movements' within colonial and post-colonial contexts; 'ways of speaking' were adapted 'to new communicative

¹²⁸ However, Makhudu (1985:26) cites the predominant emphasis 'on the Afrikaans variety of Caucasian South Africans'. Therefore, the multitude of coloured people who 'speak Afrikaans natively' are discounted.

¹²⁹ Khoi-Afrikaans is very much emphasised (Van Rensburg, 2012:148). Le Cordeur (in Van Rensburg, 2012:10) terms these arguments by Van Rensburg (2012) as 'the multifaceted origins of Afrikaans'.

¹³⁰ According to Baker and Mühlhäusler (2007:102), the general consensus regarding creole languages is that it is the outcome of 'major restructuring': A creole is a new language with different phonological, morphological, and syntactical features than the colonists' language. Mufwene (2000:78, 80), on the other hand, defines creole languages as 'a group of language varieties' shaped in similar socio-economic locations.

requirements'. As Valley and Valley (2009) affirm: 'Afrikaans developed as a bridging language to ease communication between the indigenous people, imported slaves and their masters' within early Cape society'.¹³¹

However, some linguists dispute the linguistic notion of a creole language.¹³² Mufwene (2000:65, 78) maintains that '[c]reolisation is a social, not a structural, process'.¹³³ Den Besten (2012:273) deems 'it nonsensical to occupy oneself with such nitpicking discussions in the absence of a theoretically sound typology of "new languages"'. On the other hand, Cohen and Toninato (2010:5) states that, globally, 'recognised creole languages' amount to approximately 84.¹³⁴ Can Afrikaans be considered one of them?

According to Mühlhäusler (1999:128); Roberge (2002:87); and Deumert (2004:22), Afrikaans is predominantly regarded as a semi-creole (or creoloid [Mühlhäusler, 1999:128]).¹³⁵ A semi-creole, as defined by Roberge (2002:87), constitutes 'a transitional language located on a continuum somewhere between creole and non-creole'.¹³⁶ Linguists categorising Afrikaans as a semi-creole include Hesseling (1899; 1923); Du Toit (1905); Valkhoff (1966:243; 1972:83); Makhudu (1985:41); McWhorter (1998:810); Holm (2000:xviii-xix); and Den Besten (2012:273).¹³⁷

The term creole was already connected to Cape Dutch as early as 1885. German linguist Hugo Schuchardt (1885:466, 469) regards Cape Dutch as a '*Sprachmischung*' (mixed language) with '*kreolische Färbung*' (creole colouring).¹³⁸ The first linguist to consider the creole nature of Afrikaans

¹³¹ Ponelis (1993:27) affirms that 'Afrikaans has been affected profoundly by language contact'. Ponelis (1993:25) thereby confirms that the formation of a Dutch speech community is rooted in 'the linguistic mix at the early Cape'. Informal, spoken Dutch was the transactional language (*ibid.*). Subsequently, Afrikaans was utilised as a first language by 'every member of Cape society' (*ibid.*). Ponelis (*ibid.*) emphasises that 'Afrikaans is a form of Dutch and not of French, Khoi, German, Malay or Portuguese'.

¹³² Mühlhäusler (1999:122) questions the validity of the use of linguistic labels such as creole (as well as 'language, dialect, patois, pidgin ... vernacular, [and] lingua franca'). For Mühlhäusler (1999:122), these 'descriptive categories [reflect] an artificial cultural selection of perceived similarities and dissimilarities'. Rather, Mühlhäusler (1999:122) argues that 'each way of speaking in use in any community is unique/singular'.
¹³³ To elaborate: Mufwene (2000:80) argues that creole languages can be categorised as separate on the basis of socio-historical factors (therefore not according to specific structural features). Similarly, DeGraff (2003:391) states: 'In my own recent work, I have adopted a language-external, sociohistorical definition of "Creole languages"' (referring to Mufwene [2000; 2001] in this regard).

¹³⁴ Mufwene (2000:70) emphasises Hjelmslev's (1938) argument, namely that every language is characterised by a degree of mixing. Mufwene (2000:81) argues: '[C]reolise and ... creolisation mean no particular kind of structural diachronic process, no special kind of restructuring. They identify globally various combinations of the normal kinds of evolutionary processes observable in diverse languages'.

¹³⁵ However, not all linguists regard the category semi-creole as valid. For example, Mufwene (2000:70) regards the category 'semi-creoles' as 'disputable'. Holm (2000:24) cites Kaye (1990:301) as rejecting the term semi-creole as 'imprecise'.

¹³⁶ Similarly, Holm (2000:20) defines 'partially creolised languages' as 'language varieties that combined features of creoles with those of non-creoles'.

¹³⁷ According to Holm (2000:21), Reinecke (1937:559) originally associated Afrikaans with 'semi-creolised'.

¹³⁸ Malay and Portuguese influences are cited (Schuchardt, 1885:468). However, Schuchardt (1885:469) questions Khoi influence: It is referred to as a key, contentious issue. Schuchardt (1885:469) regards the single Khoi words – such as '*abba*' ('piggyback') – as trivial (in terms of influence).

in depth was Dutch linguist Hesseling.¹³⁹ Hesseling (1899:155) regarded Afrikaans as a semi-creole/‘*een mengeltaal*’ (a mixed language) (Hesseling, 1899:15-16): The language developed due to the (main) influence of Malay-Portuguese¹⁴⁰ (Hesseling, 1899:69; 1923:vii). Du Toit (1905:5-6, 74) agrees with Hesseling’s theory (1899), but scholars such as Postma (1912:627); Bosman (1928:41); Smith (1952:9, 12-23); Raidt (1975:50); and Ponelis (1993:26, 69) dispute it.¹⁴¹ In general, earlier linguists found the view of Afrikaans as a creole problematic, especially during the eras of Afrikaner nationalism and apartheid.

Sebba (1997) and Willemse (2009; 2012a) emphasise that the connection between Afrikaans and ‘creole’ was viewed as problematic during afore-mentioned eras.¹⁴² Sebba (1997:161) affirms that the Afrikaner nationalism movement regarded the possible creole roots of Afrikaans as embarrassing; they were therefore minimised or ignored.¹⁴³ Willemse (2009) connects the historical conceptualisation of creolisation as defective, deviant and polluted, to dominant ‘notions of purity and cultural and linguistic essences’.¹⁴⁴ Willemse (2012a:74, 80) also cites the separation of so-called creolised Afrikaans¹⁴⁵ from so-called dutchified Afrikaans.¹⁴⁶ Willemse (2012a:74, 80) connects this entrenched divide/tension¹⁴⁷ to ‘the manner in which the language came to be standardised and whose varieties (or which region’s varieties) were valorised in the process’ (Willemse, 2012a:74).

The work of earlier white Afrikaans authors demonstrate the cited divide: ‘*Kreools-Afrikaans*’ (Creole Afrikaans) was separated from ‘*suiwer, beskaafde*’ (pure, civilised) and ‘white’ Afrikaans.¹⁴⁸ Nienaber

¹³⁹ In 1897, Hesseling published an essay titled ‘Het Hollandsch in Zuid-Afrika’. The book, *Het afrikaansch; bijdrage tot de geschiedenis der nederlandsche taal in Zuid-Afrika* (1899), is an elaboration of the theory proposed in Hesseling’s 1897 article. A second edition was published in 1923.

¹⁴⁰ According to Holm (2000:xviii-xix), Malayo-Portuguese is a Portuguese-based, extinct creole. Malay-Portuguese was the lingua franca of international seafaring trade in the Indian Archipelago at the time (Hesseling, 1899:34-35). In the Cape Colony, it was ‘first spoken as a port language [“*haventaal*”]’ before its spread via the slave population (Hesseling, 1899:37, 45, 69). Regarding Khoi influence, Hesseling (1899:153) only recognised Khoi words. Hesseling (1899:153; 1923:105), however, did not reject the possibility of structural influence; it is yet to be demonstrated.

¹⁴¹ However, Bosman (1928:61) differentiated between Malay-Portuguese as a trading language (‘*handelstaal*’) and Malay-Portuguese as a slave language (‘*slawetaal*’); the influence of the former is cited as ‘very small’. Influence during the 18th century of the slave language is acknowledged (Bosman, 1928:64).

¹⁴² Cohen and Toninato (2010:9) offer the reason why creole languages were historically disputed within linguistics: ‘[E]ven within linguistics, pidgin and creole languages were originally deemed unworthy of academic investigation, due to the ethnocentric view that they were simply “corrupted” versions of standard European languages’.

¹⁴³ Scholars like Van der Merwe (1968:247) and Raidt (1983:28) reject Afrikaans as a creole.

¹⁴⁴ However, Willemse (2009) argues that deviance or exoticism is *still* ascribed to the notion that Afrikaans is creolising; ‘white’ Afrikaans is still perceived as ‘the standard, the self-evident, implicit norm’ (my translation).

¹⁴⁵ So-called creolised Afrikaans is also considered uncivilised (‘*onbeskaafde*’) Afrikaans (Willemse, 2012a:74).

¹⁴⁶ So-called dutchified Afrikaans is also considered civilised (‘*beskaafde*’) Afrikaans (Willemse, 2012a:74). Earlier linguists such as Boshoff (1921:81); Nienaber (1953:320); and Scholtz (1980:67) utilised the label ‘*onbeskaaf*’ for Afrikaans spoken by so-called people of colour.

¹⁴⁷ Concerning “‘dutchified’ ‘civilised’ Afrikaans” and “‘creolised’ ‘uncivilised’ Afrikaans” (Willemse, 2012a:74, 80).

¹⁴⁸ Valkhoff (1966:6) rejects the division of Afrikaans into derogatorily labelled segments. Namely, ‘creolised’ Afrikaans (utilised by the Khoi or coloured people); and ‘good’/‘advanced’ Afrikaans (utilised by Europeans).

(1953:320), for example, regarded these language forms as different from one another. Bosman (1928:80) and Scholtz (1980:56, 89, 95-96) did not consider ‘*suiwer*’ Afrikaans as creolised.

Bosman (1928:80) and Nienaber (1953:280-281) furthermore coupled ‘*Kreools-Afrikaans*’ with ‘people of colour’. Bosman (1928:87) referred to forms of ‘*Kreools-Afrikaans*’ as ‘*Hottentots-Afrikaans*’ [Hottentot Afrikaans] [a pejorative term], ‘Malay-Afrikaans’, and ‘*Kaffer-Afrikaans*’ [a pejorative term].¹⁴⁹ Boshoff (1921:360-361) likewise emphasised creole influence on the language use of the slaves only.¹⁵⁰ The earlier, socio-linguistic connection between ‘*Kreools-Afrikaans*’ and ‘*suiwer, beskaafde*’ Afrikaans with ‘people of colour’ and ‘white’ people respectively, contrasts with the claim of *Afrikaans*: that the language Afrikaans is a ‘creole’ language. This contention was much debated throughout the twentieth century: according to Ponelis (1993:71), ‘[t]he socio-linguistic (creolist) perspective came to its own in the eighties’.¹⁵¹ In 1985 (the era of high apartheid), South African linguist Makhudu (1985:1) asserted in his thesis (*Is Afrikaans a creole language?*), that to consider Afrikaans a creole language is ‘controversial’ and part of a raging scholarly debate.

The argument that Afrikaans is a creole language has become more acceptable since 1994.¹⁵² Holm (2000:66) asserts: ‘Afrikaans studies have been further liberated politically by the coming of majority rule to South Africa in 1994, so that linguists who trace the language’s origins to contact and partial restructuring no longer risk being ostracized’. Similarly, Baker and Mühlhäusler (2007:97-98) affirm

¹⁴⁹ Therefore, ‘*Kreools-Afrikaans*’ was connected to ‘non-white’ people. More examples include: Bosman (1928:98) who connects Malay influence to what he terms ‘*rasdialektiese*’ (race dialectal) (my translation) Afrikaans. Boshoff (1921:74) regards Malay-Afrikaans as the ‘main remnant’ of ‘*slawe-Afrikaans*’ (slave Afrikaans). Boshoff (1921:74) agrees with Bosman’s distinction between Malay-Afrikaans and ‘*slawe-Afrikaans*’, as it reflects the slave population’s heterogeneity. Furthermore, ‘Hottentot-Afrikaans’ is cited as the forms spoken ‘[a]mong the indigenes’ (of which ‘Griekwa-Afrikaans’ forms part) (Boshoff, 1921:72-73). In addition, Bosman (1928:80) regards ‘*kleurling-Afrikaans*’ (coloured Afrikaans) as ‘*Kreools-Afrikaans*’. Bosman (1928:82) supports the finding of Du Toit’s (1905) comparison of Afrikaans with the creole Neger-Hollands of the Danish Antilles, namely, that the latter creole language shares similarities with the language of the Afrikaans ‘*kleurlinge*’ (coloureds).

¹⁵⁰ According to Boshoff (1921:360-361), Malay-Portuguese loanwords influenced the spoken ‘kitchen language’ and the ‘children’s language’ (‘*kindertaal*’) of the domestic servants, cooks and nannies.

¹⁵¹ In this regard, Ponelis (1993:71) emphasises ‘the work of Den Besten, who maintains that Afrikaans has been strongly and even decisively influenced by Khoi’.

¹⁵² Roberge (2009:209), however, affirms as recently as 2009 that, even after over a century of scholarship, ‘Afrikaans as a contact language’ is still ‘a contentious issue’, characterised by ‘perennial topicality’. As previously stated, Willemse (2009) similarly affirms that, from a socio-cultural standpoint, creolising Afrikaans is still associated with deviance or exoticism. Willemse (2009) offers a suggestion to counter such views: The notion of creolisation ought to be re-conceptualised within the contemporary South African socio-cultural context. To elaborate: Interaction with Afrikaans – on cultural and linguistic level – ought to be profoundly altered. For Willemse (2009), the more broad-minded, contemporary re-conceptualisation of Afrikaans includes – as a point of departure – the idea that the language’s future epitomises creolisation, an irreversible and enduring process. Similar to this thesis, Willemse (2009) affirms that he speaks from a contemporary, ‘polemical’, socio-cultural perspective (rather than from an academically-inclined linguistic or socio-linguistic standpoint) (my translations).

that ‘it is only in post-apartheid days that the characterisation of Afrikaans as a mixed language or a creole has become acceptable in South African linguistics’.¹⁵³

A brief discussion of examples of contemporary scholars connecting Afrikaans with notions of ‘creole’/‘creolisation’ follows. These scholars include Makhudu (1985); Ponelis (1993); Van Rensburg (1994); Shell (1994); Roberge (2002); and Den Besten (2012).

Makhudu (1985:52); Ponelis (1993:30); Van Rensburg (1994:173) and Roberge (2002:96) similarly situate Afrikaans on a creole/creolisation continuum/spectrum.¹⁵⁴ Dutch linguist Hans Den Besten (2012:272) conceptualizes Afrikaans as a ‘fort’ creole, a term utilised by Bickerton.¹⁵⁵ Den Besten (2012) furthermore proposed his Convergence Model during the 1980s.¹⁵⁶ This Model rests on the premise that Afrikaans originated from two kinds of Dutch, namely European Dutch/Netherlands Dutch (spoken by the colonists), and Pidgin Dutch (spoken by the slaves and the Khoi). These two types of Dutch steadily converged to form ‘Afrikaans and its dialects’ (Den Besten, 2012:279, 293).¹⁵⁷ Shell (1994:61) argues that Dutch was simplified and creolised ‘in early South Africa’.¹⁵⁸ ‘The creole language’ – namely the Cape slave lingua franca¹⁵⁹ – developed accordingly. It was ‘first introduced by imported slaves’, with subsequent acquisition by ‘Khoisan peoples’ (Shell, 1994:61-62).¹⁶⁰

¹⁵³ Holm (2000) and Roberge (2009) emphasise a significant meeting and a conference respectively where the deliberation on the origins of Afrikaans was the focus of discussion. Holm (2000:66) states: ‘A poignant moment in the history of creolistics came during the Amsterdam meeting of the Society for Pidgin and Creole Linguistics when white and black South African linguists sat down together at a round table to discuss the origins of Afrikaans’ (Makhudu 1993, van der Merwe 1993, Waher 1993 as cited in Holm, 2000:66). Roberge (2009:209) cites the First International Conference on Linguistics in Southern Africa as relevant within the context of Afrikaans socio-historical linguistics. The conference was hosted by the University of Cape Town (11-14 January 2000) (Roberge, 2009:209) (Papers regarding Afrikaans socio-historical linguistics are published in the *Journal of Germanic Linguistics* [volume 13, 2001 and 14, 2002] [Roberge, 2009:209-210]).

¹⁵⁴ Makhudu (1985:52) more specifically applies the concept of a post-creole continuum to Afrikaans. Ponelis (1993:30) emphasises ‘a spectrum of creolisation’ at ‘the multilingual Cape community’. Van Rensburg (1994:173) defines the Afrikaans interlanguages/learner varieties ‘as gradations within a pidgin- and creole spectrum’ (my translation). Roberge (2002:96) emphasises a continuum with respect to Cape Dutch: ‘[T]he Dutch language at the Cape of Good Hope formed a continuum from the most basilectal varieties within the Afro-Asian substrate to the extra-territorial Dutch of the European superstrate’.

¹⁵⁵ Den Besten (2012:273) highlights the main difference between a ‘fort’ creole and a ‘plantation’ creole: The former ‘differ[s] less radically from the superstrata’ (*ibid.*). Accordingly, Afrikaans can be considered a so-called non-radical ‘fort’ creole: ‘[T]he structure of Afrikaans has much in common with the structure of Dutch’ (*ibid.*). In contrast, Negerhollands (a ‘normal Caribbean creole’, namely the Dutch Creole) developed within the ‘typical “plantation” situation’ of the Virgin Islands (*ibid.*).

¹⁵⁶ Kotzé (2012), for example, supports this model.

¹⁵⁷ Roberge (2002:89) cites the development of a so-called Hottentot Dutch pidgin as ‘improbable’ (similarly argued by Ponelis [1993:33-34 as cited in Roberge, 2002:89]).

¹⁵⁸ Shell (1994:61) attributes two factors to these processes: Firstly, ‘the spontaneous development of new Dutch dialects’; and, secondly, the ‘domestic interaction among imported and creole slaves, Khoisan serfs, and people of European descent’.

¹⁵⁹ Shell (1994:61) also terms this creole language ‘[t]he new Cape language’.

¹⁶⁰ Shell (1994:62) attributes linguistic influence on ‘the emerging Cape lingua franca’ to ‘the polyglot composition of the slave-owning households’. Such households included a ‘mix of languages (such as Malayu, Portuguese, and Malagasy)’. Malayo-Portuguese transformed into Malay was utilised by Cape Muslim slaves as a religious language (Shell, 1994:63). Even though Malay had disappeared by 1923 – ‘dying out under the massive pressures of creolisation’ – Shell (*ibid.*) cites minimal linguistic influence on ‘many Afrikaans words and constructions’. Shell (1994:63) foregrounds ‘women, both slave and free’ as its actual creators. The home

Taking the entire socio-historical discussion into consideration: The discussed events gave rise to the contemporary notion of standard Afrikaans as the only ‘correct’ Afrikaans. As Bourdieu (1991:53) asserts: ‘All linguistic practices are measured against the legitimate practices, i.e. the practices of those who are dominant’. Marginalised and stigmatised Kaaps was and still is measured against standard Afrikaans utilised by white Afrikaners. Given this focus on the stigmatisation of Kaaps in relation to ‘pure’, ‘correct’ Afrikaans by *Afrikaaps*, it was interesting to note the ways in which members of the *Afrikaaps* collective labelled the former in relation to the latter.

2.9. ‘Standard’: ‘*Korrekte Afrikaans*’¹⁶¹

At the 2010 and 2014 shows, in the documentary and in interviews, members of the *Afrikaaps* ensemble (and a learner featured in the documentary) refer to ‘*suiwer*’ (pure) Afrikaans in various ways. The attributed labels reflect the hegemony of ‘*suiwer*’ Afrikaans in relation to Kaaps.

These labels include: ‘official’ Afrikaans (Valley, 2011); ‘*opregte, suiwer*’ Afrikaans (Adams, 2014 Artscape matinee Q&A session); and the ‘real’ Afrikaans (Valley, 2011). Jansen referred to standard Afrikaans as ‘this version, this is not how we speak at home’ (Jansen, 2012); ‘the ... ‘*Boere*’ [Boer] version of the language’ (Jansen, 2012); and ‘*die Afrikaans wat innie boeke is*’ (the Afrikaans that is in the books) (my translation) (Afrikaaps, 2010). A learner featured in the *Afrikaaps* documentary cites ‘*hoë*’ (high) Afrikaans (Afrikaaps, 2010). During the 2010 show, Goliath labelled standard Afrikaans as ‘Sewende Laan’ Afrikaans,¹⁶² and ‘job-interview’ Afrikaans.

Webb (1989; 2010) and Willemse (2012a) discuss similar social evaluations of standard Afrikaans. According to Webb (1989:431), many perceive formal standard Afrikaans as: the ‘best’; the ‘most correct’ form; and ‘the only “proper” ... way of speaking’¹⁶³ (Webb, 2010:118). For Webb (1989:431), this opinion is demonstrated by ‘the negative attitude of most of the Afrikaans teachers against non-standard forms of Afrikaans (such as Kaapse Afrikaans)’.¹⁶⁴ Standard Afrikaans is thereby perceived as ‘superior to “non-standard” Afrikaans whose speakers are somehow regarded as culturally backward

and kitchen are emphasised as the sphere of origin: ‘This explains the derogatory nineteenth-century term for Afrikaans: “kitchen Dutch”’ (*ibid.*). Shell (1994:64) cites ‘language in the early Cape households’ as a ‘little-explored issue’.

¹⁶¹ Correct Afrikaans.

¹⁶² The direct quote: ‘*Ons praat ’ie soos hulle op Sewende Laan praat ’ie, ma’ almal kyk ’it.*’ (We don’t speak like they do on Sewende Laan, but everyone watches it) (my translation). In the documentary, a learner featured in the Lavender Hill High scene echoes this standpoint taken by Goliath, namely that Kaaps is not spoken on television: ‘*Kinnes soes ons, dji sien nie vi’ hulle oppie TV Kaapse Afrikaans praat ’ie.*’ (Children like us, you do not see them on television speaking Kaapse Afrikaans) (my translation) (Afrikaaps, 2010).

¹⁶³ ‘Correct’ Afrikaans signifies ‘correct in the sense of the original Dutch norms’ (Donaldson, 1995:227).

¹⁶⁴ Deumert (2004:60) links ‘[s]ocial evaluations of language use and language varieties’ with ‘processes of standardisation’: The former ‘establish[es] clear and unambiguous boundaries between “acceptable” (standard) and “unacceptable” (non-standard) usages and speech forms’. Riley (2007:234) similarly refers to standardisation as ‘the complex social and historical process ... whereby one or more language variety ... is considered as superior in many ways to non-standard varieties’.

and cognitively inferior' (Webb, 2010:118). Similarly, Willemse (2012a:80) notes an outcome of the 'ideological proprietorship and broad educational and media propagandising of Afrikaans': The belief that 'all other speakers ... were unworthy of speaking the prestigious language'.¹⁶⁵

These purported 'inferior', 'unworthy speakers' include Kaaps-speakers. In the following section, the ways in which Kaaps are labelled by members of the *Afrikaaps* collective, are emphasised. These labels demonstrate the extent of the marginalisation and stigmatisation of Kaaps in relation to 'pure', 'correct', 'official', and 'legitimate' Afrikaans.

2.10. 'Street': 'Moetie rai gammataal gebrykie'¹⁶⁶

In the documentary, the 2010 show and in interviews, members of the *Afrikaaps* ensemble (and learners featured in the documentary) also refer to Kaaps in a myriad of ways. The attributed labels serve as introduction to issues pertaining to Kaaps in relation to the hegemony, examined in depth in Chapter Three.

Jansen, for example, referred to Kaaps in an interview and in the documentary as: ' 'n anner Afrikaans as wat innie boeke is.' (a different Afrikaans than what is found in books) (my translation) (Afrikaaps, 2010); 'die Afrikaaps wat julle praat. Afrikaans, "Afrikaaps"' (the Afrikaans that you speak. Afrikaans, 'Afrikaaps') (my translation) (Afrikaaps, 2010); 'gêngstertaal' (gangster language) (Afrikaaps, 2010) and 'his' Afrikaans as 'sort of a "stukkende" Afrikaans' (sort of a broken Afrikaans) (my translation), 'Englikaans', his 'version' of Afrikaans; 'gamtaal' (language of Ham) (my translation) (Jansen, 2012); and 'verdala' Afrikaans¹⁶⁷ (Afrikaaps, 2010). Learners in the documentary think of Kaaps as 'Cape Flats Afrikaans'; 'my huistaal' (my home language); and 'n bastard Afrikaanse taal' (a bastard Afrikaans language) (Afrikaaps, 2010).¹⁶⁸ Valley referred to the stigmatisation of Kaaps as 'a lower form of Afrikaans' (Valley, 2011). Goliath cited 'plat' (literal translation: flat) Afrikaans (2011 Dutch show).

The stigmatisation of Kaaps and the 'non-white' varieties of Afrikaans is a much cited phenomenon. Several authors note the stigmatisation of the latter, for example Webb and Kriel (2000:22); Stell (2011:68); Hendricks (2012b:43-44); and Willemse (2012a:80). Van Rensburg (1999:81) and Ponelis (1994:107) cite the labels of denigration and extreme stigmatisation respectively: 'plat' [literal

¹⁶⁵ Irvine and Gal (2000:37) and Joseph (2004:225) connect linguistic features/the standard language with social evaluations of social groups/individuals. More specifically, Irvine and Gal (2000:37) affirm: '[L]inguistic forms ... can index social groups'. Therefore, 'linguistic features are seen as reflecting and expressing broader cultural images of people and activities'. Similarly, Joseph (2004:225) argues: 'One of the key roles of the standard language is to establish a hierarchy for measuring individuals'.

¹⁶⁶ Do not use that language of Ham (my translation).

¹⁶⁷ Translation: A little messed up Afrikaans (Afrikaaps, 2010).

¹⁶⁸ This view was expressed by the same learner who stated: 'Suiwer Afrikaans lê boe, en Kaapse Afrikaans lê onne' (Pure Afrikaans is at the top, and Kaapse Afrikaans is at the bottom) (my translation) (Afrikaaps, 2010).

translation: flat] and unrefined;¹⁶⁹ and ‘*plat taal* [flat language],¹⁷⁰ *kombuistaal* [kitchen language],¹⁷¹ *straattaal* [street language], *onbeskaafde taal* [uncivilised language]’.¹⁷²

Willemse (2012a:80-81) attributes stigmatisation to standardisation:¹⁷³ Speakers are reluctant to speak Afrikaans in public ... and then express themselves poorly in a second language. First-language speakers are excluded: They become ‘outsiders in their own language’ (Willemse, 2012a:81). Valley and Valley (2009) explain the stigmatisation of Kaaps in relation to ‘*suiwer*’ (pure) Afrikaans as: ‘[T]he version of Afrikaans spoken in the coloured community is seen as a colloquial version of “pure” Afrikaans and is almost always represented as being comical and never taken seriously’. Kaapse Afrikaans was stigmatised as ‘*Kleurlingafrikaans* [Coloured Afrikaans]’ (KA): This ‘form of Afrikaans’ is deemed ‘substandard’ and socially inferior¹⁷⁴ (Carstens, 2003:290). KA refers to ‘the Afrikaans that the Coloureds (and Malays) speak in especially the Western Cape (in particular the Cape Peninsula and area)’ (Carstens, 2003:290).¹⁷⁵

In addition to this racialised stigmatisation, is that of ‘pronunciation phenomena’ (Hendricks, 2012b:55) of Kaaps.¹⁷⁶ Von Wielligh (1925:131-132), for example, stigmatise ‘pronunciation phenomena’ (Hendricks, 2012b:55) of Kaaps. He recounts his observation of language use as a student in Cape Town: He recorded ‘the language of the Malays’ (my translation) at the vegetable and fish market on

¹⁶⁹ Van Rensburg (1999:81) finds it ironic that the Dutch spoken by white Afrikaans-speakers was perceived as unrefined by speakers of European Dutch (hailing from the Netherlands).

¹⁷⁰ Many earlier scholars refer to ‘*plat*’ Afrikaans: For example, Du Toit (1905:27); Bosman (1928:80); Boshoff (1921:72, 81); and Nienaber (1953:277, 320).

¹⁷¹ The scholar Boshoff (1921:72) refers to ‘*kombuistaal*’ (kitchen language).

¹⁷² Ponelis (1994:107) asserts that the dialects of Afrikaans (and the vernacular) are stigmatised as such.

¹⁷³ Standardisation furthered the notion of ‘beautiful’, ‘pure’, ‘school’ Afrikaans and ‘correct’ language (Willemse, 2012a:80-81).

¹⁷⁴ Van Schalkwyk (1969:3-6) and Klopper (1976:19), for example, refer respectively to Afrikaans spoken by ‘coloured’ people at the Cape as ‘*Kleurling-Afrikaans*’ ‘*in die Kaapse gemeenskap*’ (Coloured Afrikaans in the Cape community); and ‘*Kaapstadse Kleurling-Afrikaans*’ (Cape Coloured Afrikaans) (my translations). Pienaar (1946:17) similarly refers to ‘*die kleurlingtaal van Kaapland*’ (the coloured language of the Cape) (my translation). In general, Bosman (1928:80) regards ‘*kleurling-Afrikaans*’ as ‘*Kreools-Afrikaans*’ (Creole Afrikaans). However, authors such as Dreyer (1986:3-4) and Kotzé (1983:4) question their use of the term and Carstens (2003:290) and Van de Rheede (1983:17; 1985:34-39) question and reject this racialised label for Kaapse Afrikaans.

¹⁷⁵ Kotzé (1983:5) separates the Malay speech community from the so-called Coloureds, a ‘geographically and socially ... heterogeneous group’ (in contrast to the so-called socio-cultural and religious homogeneity of ‘the Malay community’). Accordingly, ‘*Maleier-Afrikaans*’ (Malay Afrikaans) can be regarded as a variety of Afrikaans (Kotzé, 1983:5-6). Kotzé (1983:5) attributes ‘the strong Arabic component of the lexicon’ to ‘[t]he religious cohesion of the community’ (regarding the Islamic faith) (Kotzé, 1983:6). The ‘Malay community of Cape Town’ is thereby ‘a tight unit’ (*ibid.*). However, Kotzé (1983:4) affirms that ‘*Maleier-Afrikaans*’ ‘is a relative term’: ‘[M]any so-called “characteristics” are not limited to the Afrikaans of Malays, but can overlap with other ethnic groupings’ (my translations). However, Davids (2011:19) cites ‘*Maleier-Afrikaans*’ and Cape Malay Afrikaans as racially and culturally problematic. Davids (*ibid.*) describes Arabic-Afrikaans, rather than ‘*Maleier-Afrikaans*’ and Cape Malay Afrikaans, as ‘the literary tradition of Afrikaans written in Arabic script’. Davids (*ibid.*) discounts these names ‘for the distinctive literary tradition or the Afrikaans variety of the Cape Muslims’. He (*ibid.*) affirms that ‘Malay’ and ‘Cape Malays’ ‘have been used as a substitute for “Muslim” or a follower of the religion of Islam since the early part of the nineteenth century’, but argues that these terms ‘do not reflect either the religious or the ancestral origins of these people’.

¹⁷⁶ The stigmatisation of this characteristic is but a small part of the stigmatisation of Kaaps and speakers of this variety. Refer to Chapter Four (section 4.10) for the experiences of the *Afrikaaps* ensemble in this regard.

Saturdays. He noted the most striking feature of their speech, namely phonetic changes in words such as ‘gewees’ [‘was’] (*gawies*) and ‘kreef’ [‘lobster’] (*krief*).¹⁷⁷ He refers to this manner of speaking as impure, peculiar, and a deviation (my translation).¹⁷⁸ In addition: the pronunciation of ‘j’ as ‘dj’ is ‘stigmatised and an indication of low social status’ (my translation) (Klopper, 1976:51).¹⁷⁹

2.11. Conclusion

The fiction, hegemony and ideology of the standard language were discussed in this chapter in the socio-historical contexts of Afrikaner nationalism, apartheid, the standardisation of Afrikaans, and the racialised socio-linguistic divide. Afrikaans was established as a white language by these socio-historical forces.

An overview of the deliberations on Afrikaans as a ‘white’ language, an ‘African’ language or a ‘creole’ language contextualise the claim by *Afrikaaps* that Afrikaans is a ‘creole’, indigenous language. The hegemony of ‘pure’ Afrikaans is undermined by this claim. Accordingly, the stigmatisation of Kaaps is highlighted against the background of Afrikaans considered a ‘white’ language.

All these aspects serve as a background to the *Afrikaaps* response and its relevance: *Afrikaaps* responds to Afrikaans propagated as a marker of white Afrikaner ethnicity as ‘static and homogeneous notions of ethnolinguistic identity’ (Blommaert, 2005). Issues pertaining to a reconsideration of Kaaps are discussed in the next chapter to contextualise the celebration of a constructed ethno-linguistic identification by *Afrikaaps* (see Chapter Five).

¹⁷⁷ It is interesting to note that the *AWS* (2009) provides writing guidelines for such phonetic changes: ‘*Boeland*’ (pronounced ‘*Boeland*’); ‘*oop*’ [‘open’] (pronounced ‘*oep*’); ‘*twee*’ [‘two’] (pronounced ‘*twie*’); and ‘*wees*’ [‘was’] (pronounced ‘*wies*’) (*AWS*, 2009:551).

¹⁷⁸ Ponelis (1996:130) attributes such vowel raising – ‘specific to the south-west’ – to Malay influence. Vowel raising includes, for example, the pronunciation of ‘*beter*’ (better) and ‘*loop*’ (go, walk), as ‘*bieter*’ and ‘*loep*’ respectively. Ponelis (1994:113) highlights vowel raising as a stigmatised characteristic of Kaaps, which is argued similarly by Van de Rhee (1983:51).

¹⁷⁹ Similarly argued by Van de Rhee (1983:50). Ponelis (1987:7) attributes the use of ‘*dj*’ instead of ‘*j*’ (in words such as ‘*djy*’/‘*jy*’ [‘you’] and ‘*djamme*’/‘*jammer*’ [‘sorry’]) to Malay influence and states that these two features of ‘the old Cape dialect’ (my translation) of the South-western Cape were utilised by both non-white people and white people ‘a generation or so ago’ (my translation).

CHAPTER THREE: KAAPS: ‘DIE TAAL VAN DIE MENSE’¹⁸⁰

3.1. Introduction

The previous chapter focused on the construction of ‘pure’ Afrikaans: The imposed, legitimate, official language of the white Afrikaner nation/the oppressor. The labels attributed to Kaaps (discussed in section 2.10) foregrounded the extent of this vernacular variety’s marginalisation and stigmatisation, a key focus of *Afrikaaps*. However, in response, *Afrikaaps* celebrates the positive identification with Kaaps.¹⁸¹ The symbolic value of language is imperative to this discussion:

[L]anguage has symbolic value if it ... serves as marker of a speech community in a multilingual context. Symbolic value is characterized by ... association with, loyalty to and involvement with such a marker from the side of the speakers of the language.

(Kotzé, 2014:639)

The celebration of *Afrikaaps* is examined in detail in Chapter Five. This chapter contextualises issues pertaining to Kaaps, all of them emphasised by *Afrikaaps* (and linked to the discussions in Chapters Four, Five and Six). Firstly, the several varieties of Afrikaans are noted in order to demonstrate that Afrikaans does not only encompass Kaaps and ‘pure’ Afrikaans.

Given that *Afrikaaps* focuses on Kaaps speakers on the Cape Flats, Kaaps, as a variety of Afrikaans, is examined and contextualised as a ‘marker of communal membership’ (Stone, 2002:385). The mixed nature of Kaaps is identified as a key aspect leading to the stigmatisation of this variety. The Alternative Afrikaans movement of coloured Afrikaans speakers within an educational context is foregrounded: Firstly, given that *Afrikaaps* highlights the struggles of Kaaps learners and, secondly, to show that there are historical movements that protested against standard Afrikaans (thereby contextualising the *Afrikaaps* protest historically) (the historical ‘*Kaapse beweging*’ is thereby also foregrounded).

Another relevant issue for this chapter is the anglicisation of the coloured middle classes as an outcome of the hegemony of standard Afrikaans. Other contemporary issues include the question as to whom does Afrikaans ‘belong’ in relation to the hegemony?; whether the language will ‘die’, given the decline of its higher functions?; opposing views that Afrikaans is either a ‘colonial’ language or an ‘African’ language; and arguments for the restandardisation of Afrikaans through recognising varieties such as Kaaps.

¹⁸⁰ The language of the people.

¹⁸¹ Schuster (2016:35) affirms that ‘[t]he idea behind *Afrikaaps* was to re-entrench more positive aspects of identity in relation to the speakers of Kaaps’.

3.2. ‘Tune om by my wêreld in te pas’¹⁸²: Kaaps, Namakwalands, Flaaitaal

Afrikaaps is a case study in the heterogeneity of Afrikaans. In this Chapter I focus specifically on the symbolic value of Kaaps spoken on the Cape Flats (namely, the vernacular subvariety celebrated by *Afrikaaps* (refer to Chapter Five)). However, it is important to take note of the many varieties of Afrikaans and their relation to standard Afrikaans; the claims of *Afrikaaps* can therefore be placed within the broader context of the complete Afrikaans speech community. Commentators in the media and scholars alike emphasise the imperative need to recognise the heterogeneity of Afrikaans in relation to ‘pure’ Afrikaans. As previously stated, standard Afrikaans is regarded as the proper and canonic cultural variety of Afrikaans.

For example, Nico Koopman discounts the idea of standard Afrikaans as a ‘pure superior language and all the others are inferior’, emphasising the need for recognition of ‘*’n veelheid van uitdrukkingswyses*’ (diverse forms of expressions) and ‘*die vele bestaanswyses van Afrikaans*’ (the many ways of living in Afrikaans) (regarding Afrikaans varieties).¹⁸³ Van Rensburg (1991:24) affirmed: ‘*Veral word daar nie in Standaardafrikaans rekenskap gegee van die verskillende wêrelde wat in die agtergronde van dié varieteite opgesluit lê en deur ’n verskeidenheid taalvorme weerspieël word nie.*’ (The different worlds that are found in especially these varieties and which mirror diverse language forms are not recognised in standard Afrikaans). Webb (1989:433) similarly argues that ‘Afrikaans is a house with many homes’ (my translation). Hendricks (2012b:44) mirrors this argument: ‘[T]he variety diversity’ mirrors ‘the heterogeneity of the Afrikaans language’.

Ponelis (1994:112) accordingly differentiates between three Afrikaans dialects: Kaaps/South-western Afrikaans;¹⁸⁴ North-western Afrikaans; and Eastern Afrikaans.¹⁸⁵ South-western Afrikaans ‘is spoken in Cape Town and the Peninsula, the Sandveld, Boland, Overberg and Little Karoo’ (Ponelis, 1996:130).

The heterogeneity of Afrikaans substantiates the claim that not all Afrikaans speakers can identify with standard Afrikaans as a construct, as noted by Hendricks (2012b:43-4). Van Rensburg (1991:24) argues

¹⁸² Tune to fit into my world.

¹⁸³ Koopman made this point at a roundtable discussion concerning the ‘ownership’ of Afrikaans on 14 August 2015. This event, titled ‘*Ommietafel: Wie se Afrikaans?*’, was presented by the Afrikaans Language Monument, Paarl in collaboration with the ‘Vriende van Afrikaans’. Johan van Lill led the discussion. Other participants included Ena Jansen, Hemelbesem (Simon Witbooi), and Karien Brits. I obtained the audio-recording of this event from the Taalmuseum (Botha, 2015).

¹⁸⁴ For De Vries (2015:4), Kaapse Afrikaans differs from Kaaps. She indicates her preference for the term ‘*Suidwestlike Afrikaans*’ (South-western Afrikaans): The latter ‘refer[s] to the broader language area where Kaaps has a significant presence in the vernacular’ (my translation). Ponelis (1998:15) affirms similarly that ‘Kaaps’ and ‘Kaapse Afrikaans’ are used in different ways: Firstly, as loose synonyms for ‘South-western Afrikaans’ and, secondly, ‘to specifically indicate the subvarieties of Cape Town and the Peninsula’ (my translation). De Vries (2015:4) indicates that ‘the subvarieties of Cape Town and the Peninsula’ that Ponelis (1998:15) refers to, comprise Kaaps.

¹⁸⁵ Northwestern Afrikaans is centred in Namakwaland (Ponelis, 1994:112). Eastern Afrikaans encompasses the Cape interior, the Eastern Cape, Natal, the Free State, and the Transvaal (*ibid.*).

that standard Afrikaans discounts ‘the different worlds that are locked in the backgrounds of [the cited] varieties and [that] are reflected by a variety of language forms’ (my translation). Nwadeyi (2016) likewise affirmed recently in a highly politicised context: ‘*Die groter waarheid is: Afrikaans is baie tale, dit is baie verskillende kulture.*’ (The larger truth is: Afrikaans is many languages, it is many cultures). She emphasised the existence of the different forms of Afrikaans: ‘*Afrikaaps, Swartlandse Afrikaans, Bolandse Afrikaans, Overbergse Afrikaans, Weskus-Sandveldse Afrikaans, Karoo-Afrikaans, Oos-Kaapse Afrikaans, Oranjerivier- en Gariiep-Afrikaans, Boesmanslands, Griekwa-Afrikaans, Namakwalands and Richtersveld-Afrikaans*’.¹⁸⁶

More contemporary, topical acknowledgements of the heterogeneity of Afrikaans include, for example, the launch of ‘*Projek [Project] Afrikaans*’ in 2016, ‘supported by a campaign [‘*Veldtog [Campaign] Afrikaans*’] that encourages traffic to the new site, *www.afrikaans.com*’ (my translation) (Veldtog Afrikaans skop afl, 2016).

‘*Projek [Project] Afrikaans*’ is cited as ‘[a] new era ... for Afrikaans’: ‘Your culture, your dialect, your variant is YOUR Afrikaans ... come show us what YOUR Afrikaans looks like and talk together!’ (Veldtog Afrikaans skop afl, 2016).¹⁸⁷ This project also aims to make Afrikaans relevant within the current climate: ‘*Afrikaans is kleurryk, Afrikaans het ritme, Afrikaans het seggenskap en Afrikaans het nut! Afrikaans is uniek en Afrikaans is universeel. Afrikaans is ... oppiból!*’ (*ibid.*) (Afrikaans is rich, Afrikaans has rhythm, Afrikaans has a say and Afrikaans is useful! Afrikaans is unique and Afrikaans is universal. Afrikaans is on the ball!). *Afrikaans.com* encourages inclusivity: It ‘creates a space for everything Afrikaans and where anyone with a passion for Afrikaans and everyone that is interested in what happens in the Afrikaans lifeworld, can feel at home’ (*ibid.*). Its website encourages the celebration and exploration of the heterogeneity of Afrikaans, including ‘unique Afrikaans life-worlds’ and different ‘outlook[s] and experience[s] of Afrikaans’ (*ibid.*). Afrikaans as an inclusive, African

¹⁸⁶ Coetzee (2012:3) also lists such varieties. In addition to these varieties, Kotzé (2014:644) refers to ‘*Rehoboth-Afrikaans*’; ‘*Noordelike [Northern] Afrikaans*’; and ‘*Namibiese [Namibian] Afrikaans*’. Hendricks (2012b:49) also cites Black Afrikaans and Flaaitaal as varieties. It is important to note that even a variety such as ‘*Suidwestelike Afrikaans*’ [South-western Afrikaans] is heterogeneous. For example: Van Rensburg (1997:15) states that ‘[a]ll the speakers of Kaapse Afrikaans do not speak alike’ (my translation). Stell (2011:124) cites ‘variation in the Cape Peninsula’ regarding so-called Southwestern Coloured Afrikaans usage. Stell (2011:113) affirms that the ‘Southwestern Coloured’ sample from the Cape Peninsula ‘reflect[s] Ponelis’s observation that Peninsula Coloureds are speakers of the historical variety he refers to as Southwestern Afrikaans’. More specifically, Stell (2011:119) points to heterogeneity of ‘Coloured Afrikaans usage’: ‘[M]any informants [claimed] that Coloured Afrikaans usage ... differs from the Cape Flats to Bellville’. Likewise, Ponelis (1998:14) emphasises that, for example Overbergs, ‘the spoken language of the Swartland’, and ‘the varieties of the Cape Flats’ are dissimilar (my translation) (*ibid.*). De Vries (2015:4) specifies that ‘the varieties of the Cape Flats’ that Ponelis (1998:14) refers to, is Kaaps. De Vries (2015:4) also points out that ‘*Kaapse Vernikulêre Afrikaans*’ (Cape Vernacular Afrikaans) (Ponelis, 2009:2 as cited in De Vries, 2015:4), is also Kaaps. De Vries (2015:4) asserts her preference for ‘the collective term’ [‘*versamelterm*’] Kaaps’ (my translations).

¹⁸⁷ ‘*Project Afrikaans*’ includes the campaign, ‘*Veldtog [Campaign] Afrikaans*’. The campaign asks: ‘What does YOUR Afrikaans look like?’ (my translation).

language is suggested: The ‘character’ of Afrikaans is highlighted as ‘distinct as each person whose roots are anchored in this continent’ (*ibid.*) (my translations).¹⁸⁸

McKaiser (2016) emphasises the heterogeneity of specifically coloured Afrikaans communities. He describes his mother-tongue as: ‘[O]ur own coloured dialect and tongue. It is a mix of Afrikaans and English, and words from other languages, and we pronounce words, not as “standaard Afrikaans” demands that we do, but of our own choosing. Even parts of our vocabulary are specific to the communities in which we live’.¹⁸⁹

Kotzé (2014), Le Cordeur (2011) and Webb (1989) underscore the role that Afrikaans varieties play in their speakers’ identities. To elaborate: Kotzé (2014:644) states that varieties are ‘cherished by the speakers as communal possessions. In Afrikaans, such varieties are often named with reference to the geographical region in which they occur, such as Kaaps’. Le Cordeur (2011:758-777) emphasises the role that the different varieties of Afrikaans play in socio-cultural identities. Webb (1989:432) foregrounded the value of, for example, Griekwa-Afrikaans for the life-world of the Griquas.

An excerpt from a poem by Ronelda Kamfer suggests that one’s spoken language expresses one’s ‘life-world’: ‘*Ek het respect vir die taal wat ek praat/ Ek like dit net beter as ek dit kan flex/ En tune om by my wêreld in te pas.*’ (I have respect for the language that I speak/ I only like it better if I can flex it/ And tune it to fit in with my world) (as cited in Van der Waal, 2012:456-457).¹⁹⁰ The symbolic value of Kaaps is discussed in more detail in section 3.3. However, a brief description of Kaaps/Cape Vernacular Afrikaans is now needed.

Ponelis (1996:131), De Villiers (1987:44-45), Van de Rhee (1983:17) and Adhikari (2005:69) utilise the term Cape Vernacular Afrikaans,¹⁹¹ a subvariety of South-western Afrikaans (Ponelis, 1996:131; Hendricks, 2012b:97).¹⁹² Roberge (2002:83) cites ‘the *Kaapse Afrikaans* of the Cape coloureds and the

¹⁸⁸ *Huisgenoot.com* published an article celebrating characteristics of Kaapse Afrikaans, titled ‘*Kaapse Afrikaans is so kleurryk – hoe lyk jôu Afrikaans?*’ (Cape Afrikaans is so rich – how does your Afrikaans look like?) (Wessels, 2016). The *Afrikaans.com* competition, *Hoe lyk jou Afrikaans?* (How does your Afrikaans look like), is advertised as part of this article.

¹⁸⁹ However, McKaiser (2016) asserts: ‘I am not referring here exclusively to “Afrikaaps”, which has received some attention over the past few years, referring to the Afrikaans spoken on the Cape Flats by coloured communities there’.

¹⁹⁰ Translation of the entire poem, titled ‘*Kuns en Culture*’ (Art and Culture): ‘It is weird why I am ashamed of a language that I speak/ It is even more weird that I and my friends/ Are never invited to the “cultural” events/ There is a big panic attack happening about a language/ But they will never ask for our assistance.../ I have respect for the language that I speak/ I only like it better if I can flex it/ And tune it to fit in with my world’ (translated by Van der Waal, 2012:457).

¹⁹¹ Van de Rhee (1983:17) utilises the specific term ‘*Kaapse omgangstaal*’ (Cape vernacular) for ‘Afrikaans in the Cape area’ (my translation).

¹⁹² De Villiers (1987:45) differentiates between the cited vernacular and Kaapse Afrikaans: ‘*Die duidelikste vorm van Kaapse Vernakular-Afrikaans kom in Kaapstad voor, maar dit is wyd deur die gebied van Kaapse Afrikaans versprei.*’ (The clearest form of Cape Vernacular Afrikaans is found in Cape Town, but it is widely distributed throughout the area of Cape Afrikaans) (my translation).

Cape Muslims’ as the ‘most extreme form’ of Cape Afrikaans.¹⁹³ *Kaapse Afrikaans* ‘is based on the varieties of the early slave and Khoekhoe communities in the western Cape’.¹⁹⁴ Historically, Kaaps originated in the Bo-Kaap¹⁹⁵ and District Six;¹⁹⁶ these Capetonian neighbourhoods were in close proximity to one another (Pretorius, Faida, 1995, as cited in Hendricks, 2012a; Hendricks, 2012a). Kaaps spread to the Cape Flats due to the effect of the Group Areas Act.

Carstens (2003:291) and Hendricks (2012a) regard Kaaps as a geolect¹⁹⁷, primarily utilised in the Cape (Carstens, 2003:291)¹⁹⁸ and its surroundings (Van de Rhee, 1985:34). Hendricks (1978:20; 2012), Dyers (2008:53) and De Vries (2015:3) link Kaaps to the Cape Flats.¹⁹⁹

Various authors connect Kaaps with the working class. Dyers (2008:53), Hendricks (2012a) and (Pokpas, 1985:47)²⁰⁰ are included here. Many authors link Kaaps with specifically working-class coloured people, for example Stone (2002:381), Van de Rhee (1985:34),²⁰¹ Adhikari (2005:69), McCormick (2002b:88) and Scheffer (1983:103, 105). De Vries, however, (2015:3) argues that Kaaps is not ‘limited to a particular class’ (my translation).²⁰²

¹⁹³ Roberge (2002:83) cites the reason for ‘[t]he differences between Cape and Orange River Afrikaans: ‘[H]istorically, the greater the distance from Cape Town, the larger the proportion of Khoekhoe among the speakers of Cape Dutch’. Cape Afrikaans ‘is regarded as the oldest [variant of Afrikaans]’ (Davids, 1990:36).

¹⁹⁴ Van Rensburg (1989) and Ponelis (1996) note the large influence of the language of the slaves on South-western Afrikaans. The two languages ‘most prominent ... amongst slaves’, namely Malay and Low Portuguese, were significant for ‘the early divergence of Afrikaans from seventeenth-century colloquial Dutch’ (Ponelis, 1996:130). Van Rensburg (1989:463) states that Kaapse Afrikaans ‘...is especially spoken and influenced by the language of the slaves and their descendants’. (Hendricks [2011:111] states that Van Rensburg ‘uses the designation “Kaapse Afrikaans” as alternative for Ponelis’s understanding “Suidwestelike Afrikaans” [South-Western Afrikaans]’) (Van Rensburg [1989:463] describes Kaapse Afrikaans as ‘*die variëteit van Afrikaans wat in die gebied aan die suidpunt van Afrika gepraat is wat voor 1700 bewoon is.*’) (the variety of Afrikaans that was spoken in the area at the southern tip of Africa that was inhabited before 1700) (my translation).

¹⁹⁵ The historical and cultural heart of the Cape Muslim community and the home of freed slaves from approximately 1836 (Pretorius, Faida, 1995 as cited in Hendricks, 2012a). Ponelis (1993:60) affirms that ‘the Group Areas Act displaced the oldest urbanised Afrikaans community by closing District Six in Cape Town and resettling its predominantly Afrikaans-speaking population’.

¹⁹⁶ Established in 1867, this neighbourhood was characterised by its cosmopolitan character, being inhabited by merchants, artists, immigrants, freed slaves, and workers (Pretorius, Faida, 1995, as cited in Hendricks, 2012a).

¹⁹⁷ Hendricks (2012a) argues that Kaaps speakers do not only encompass native Capetonians. People originally hailing from other geographic areas may also acquire this variety whilst residing in Cape Town.

¹⁹⁸ In addition to the Cape Flats, Hendricks (2012a) situates Kaaps primarily in Cape Town and the Cape Town suburbs (therefore, the Cape Peninsula [Pretorius, Faida, 1995, as cited in Hendricks, 2012a]). Hendricks (1978:20) situates Kaaps more specifically ‘in District-Six’ and ‘the Malay neighbourhood’ (*‘die Maleierbuurt’*).

¹⁹⁹ Dyers (2008:53) suggests a connection between Kaaps and ‘the poor, working-class townships of the Cape Flats’. Hendricks (1978:20) specifies ‘certain neighbourhoods in the Cape Flats such as Bonteheuwel, Bishop Lavis, Heideveld, Manenberg, Hanoverpark, etcetera’ (my translation). However, De Vries (2015:3) argues that Kaaps is not *only* located on ‘the Cape Flats and surrounding suburban areas’ (my translation).

²⁰⁰ Carstens (2003:291) and Hendricks (2012a) regard Kaapse Afrikaans as a sociolect (characterised by social stratification) (Carstens, 2003:291).

²⁰¹ However, Van de Rhee (1985:34) discounts colouredness as an ‘inherent characteristic of Cape Afrikaans’ (my translation).

²⁰² Refer also to Klopper’s (1983:80-100) examination of the stratification of Kaapse Afrikaans including working-class and high-class (*‘hoëklas’*) *‘Blankes’*, *‘Christen-Kleurlinge’*, and *‘Moslems’* (Whites, Christian-Coloureds, and Muslims).

Hendricks (2012a) and Van de Rheede (1985:34) discount the link between Kaaps, and coloured identity and ‘colouredness’ respectively.²⁰³ Carstens (2003:290) rejects ‘a direct connection between language and race/skin colour’ (my translation. Italics removed from quote).²⁰⁴

Authors discount Kaaps as being a so-called homogeneous variety, indicating that as a misconception (De Vries, 2015:3). Examples include Kotzé (2012), De Vries (2015:3), Hendricks (personal communication, 2006 and as cited in Dyers, 2008:52) and McCormick (2002b:88).²⁰⁵

De Vries (2015:14) affirms: ‘*die een groep se Kaaps is nie die ander of die res se Kaaps nie*’ (the Kaaps of one group is not the Kaaps of the rest). To demonstrate this, De Vries (2015:3-4) cites ‘[h]er Kaaps’ as ‘the Kaaps from the northern suburbs of Cape Town – Ravensmead close to Parow to be exact’ (my translation).²⁰⁶ De Vries (2015:3-4) emphasises that her Kaaps is also influenced by – via daily contact – ‘the cultures and subcultures *and* other varieties and sub-varieties of Afrikaans’ (my translation).²⁰⁷ Cape Muslim Afrikaans, for example, is regarded as a subvariety of south-western Afrikaans or Kaaps (Davids, 2011:19, 33; Kotzé, 2012; Hendricks, 2012b:97; Ponelis, 1993:65; McCormick, 2002b:121).²⁰⁸

²⁰³ Hendricks (2012a) thereby discounts Kaaps as an ethno-lect, i.e. ‘a marker of coloured identity’ (my translation): Both coloured and white people speak Kaaps. In his thesis, Hendricks (1978:245) specifies that ‘different Afrikaans-speaking ethnic groups’ (my translation) utilise Kaapse Afrikaans, namely ‘Blankes, Maleiers en “Kleurlinge” [White, Malays and Coloureds]’. For Van de Rheede (1985:34), Kaaps is not a marker of ethnicity: It is not spoken *only by*, or *by all* coloured people. Ponelis (1996:139) refers to the historical ‘white’ usage of Kaaps: In the (earlier) twentieth century, a substantial amount of mainly so-called lower-class white people utilised Cape Vernacular Afrikaans in the South-Western Cape.

²⁰⁴ In contrast, Stell (2011:103, 113) connects ethnicity/race with language use at the Cape. More specifically, Stell (2011:14) focuses on ‘the Afrikaans speech community and the effect of ethnicity in its speech norms’. The ethnic groups include ‘White Afrikaans speakers’ and ‘Coloured Afrikaans speakers’. The following terms are utilised: ‘Southwestern Coloured Afrikaans varieties’; ‘[Cape] Peninsula Coloured [Afrikaans] speakers’; ‘Southwestern Cape Coloured varieties’ (Stell, 2011:163); and ‘Coloured Afrikaans usage’ on the Cape Flats and in Bellville (Stell, 2011:119). Roberge (2002:83) similarly connects Kaaps with ‘the Cape coloureds and the Cape Muslims’.

²⁰⁵ In addition to heterogeneity, McCormick (2002b:88) also suggests fluidity in the so-called Cape Flats vernacular.

²⁰⁶ Divergent vocabulary is utilised, for example, on the Cape Flats; in the northern suburbs of Cape Town; and in the Boland and Klein Karoo respectively (De Vries, 2015:5).

²⁰⁷ Cited examples of sub-cultures (within communities) influencing Kaaps varieties (plural) include: gangs (‘*bendetaal en/of tronktaal*’ [language of gangs and/or prisons]); ‘the language of gays’ (namely Gayle); and ‘the Muslim religion and culture’ (De Vries, 2015:5). More specifically, De Vries (2015:5) emphasises influence of ‘other sub-varieties of South-western ... and other languages such as English and Xhosa’ (my translations).

²⁰⁸ More specifically: Davids (2011:33) considers Cape Muslim Afrikaans ‘an important component of Cape Afrikaans’: The former is ‘the spoken Afrikaans variety of the Cape Muslim community’ (Davids, 2011:19). Similarly, Kotzé (2012) regards Cape Muslim Afrikaans as ‘the core dialect of Kaaps’. Cape Muslim Afrikaans is also specifically cited as ‘the most prominent sub-variety of Kaaps’ (my translation) (Hendricks, 2012b:97). Ponelis (1993:65) links Cape Muslims with so-called vernacular subvarieties of South-western Afrikaans. McCormick (2002b:121) affirms that her District Six informants cited Muslims as a so-called linguistically distinctive subgroup. Kotzé (2000:11) also refers to the term Malay Afrikaans as ‘the language spoken by the Cape Muslims or Malay community of Cape Town’. Characteristics of this variety include, for example, ‘a large component of Islamic vocabulary (Arabic and Malay loan words), as well as a rapidly expanding percentage of English loan words’.

In her study of language in District Six ('the Chapel Street community'),²⁰⁹ McCormick (2002b:88, 197-198) situates 'the local vernacular' within 'the broader Cape Flats vernacular' (utilised 'in and around Cape Town'). The so-called local dialect of Afrikaans is referred to as '*kombuistaal* [kitchen language] ... or, less commonly, as Kaaps' (McCormick, 2002b:91).²¹⁰

Background to the heterogenous nature of Kaaps was provided to show that, as Van der Westhuizen asserted, '*[D]a's te veel different influences. En ons represent eintlik ma' net een kant vannie taal.*' (There are too many different influences. And we actually represent only one side of the language) (my translation) (Jansen and Van der Westhuizen, 2015). *Afrikaaps* focuses on Kaaps utilised on the Cape Flats, discussed in the following section.

3.3. The Cape Flats: '*Ons is geneig om hierdie mense te vergeet*'²¹¹

As noted in Chapter One, the *Afrikaaps* ensemble – most hailing from the Cape Flats²¹² – wrote their own lyrics for the show. A sense of so-called 'authentic language as used by those people' (Kaganof, 2011) is thereby conveyed. Accordingly, Kaaps is utilised as a language of expression to convey social experience. Prah alludes to Kaaps as a language of expression, considering it a 'dynamic part of the language', and 'the pulsating heart and most creative section of the Afrikaans language' (in Prah, 2012:vii). Le Cordeur (2013) emphasised the misrecognition of these speakers in language debates:

Ek het nou die dag 'n boek gelees oor hoeveel Afrikaanse mense is op die Kaapse Vlakte, en die jongste syfers is iets soos 2,5 miljoen mense, vir wie Afrikaans 'n huistaal, 'n godsdienstaal, 'n kulturele taal, 'n emosionele taal is, en ons is geneig dat wanneer ons praat oor taal, hierdie mense op die Kaapse Vlakte te vergeet.

(I read a book the other day about how many Afrikaans people there are on the Cape Flats, and the newest figures is something like 2.5 million people, for whom Afrikaans is a language in the home, a language of religion, a cultural language, an emotional language, and when we talk about language, we tend to forget these people on the Cape Flats) (my translation).

²⁰⁹ The so-called Chapel Street neighbourhood is 'the only surviving remnant of District Six' (McCormick, 2002b:xii). McCormick's (2002b:xii) research focuses on 'language use in a bilingual working-class community in inner-city Cape Town'.

²¹⁰ Hendricks (cited in Dyers, 2008:52) prefers the more accurate term 'Kaaps', instead of the more common term 'Cape Flats Afrikaans' ('Kaaps' signifies heterogeneity for him). Becker and Oliphant (2014:5), for example, utilise the term Cape Flats Afrikaans.

²¹¹ We tend to forget these people.

²¹² It is important to note that Afrikaans is not the only language spoken on the Cape Flats. In addition, it is not only coloured people who live on the Cape Flats. Standing (2006:2) affirms that the Cape Flats consists of 'distinct areas which are considered coloured, both by outsiders and residents, just as there are areas which are considered almost entirely to be the home of black South Africans'.

Members of the *Afrikaaps* ensemble hail specifically from the following suburbs: Mitchells Plain²¹³ (Van Rooy-Overmeyer, Adams and Goliath); Eersterivier²¹⁴ (Van der Westhuizen); and Grassy Park²¹⁵ (Jansen).



Figure 3. Map of Cape Town and the Cape Flats (the yellow segment) (AREA MAP, 2016)

Dyers (2008:52) asserts that ‘the majority [of ‘Coloured’ Afrikaans speakers in the Western Cape] identify closely with the vernacular variety of Afrikaans which they use every day’.²¹⁶ Dyers (2008:53)

²¹³ Indicated as the yellow segment of the map.

²¹⁴ Indicated as the pink segment of the map.

²¹⁵ Indicated as the green segment of the map.

²¹⁶ Dyers (2008:50) focuses on ‘how “Coloured” South African high school children in Wesbank negotiate their individual and collective identities through language’ (Wesbank Township is on the Cape Flats (Dyers, 2008:53)). Regarding ‘the variety of Afrikaans spoken in the township’, one of Dyers’s (2008:52) informants stated: ‘We don’t actually speak proper Afrikaans. We speak Cape Afrikaans, a mixture of English and Afrikaans’. Dyers (2008:52) affirms: ‘For this informant, her variety of Afrikaans was not proper, standard Afrikaans, but an informal mixture of Afrikaans and English’.

cites the utilisation of ‘vernacular “Cape Flats” Afrikaans’ by poet and playwright Adam Small, hip-hop artists such as Prophets of Da City and Brasse Vannie Kaap and theatre productions, for example *Joe Barber*.²¹⁷ Stone (2002:381) similarly asserts: ‘The dialect is a marker of the community’s identity’:

The dialect is also beloved by speakers as the sacramental marker of communal membership and style, and vehicle of underdog intimacy and love between members. Use of the dialect powerfully signifies the sharing of subjective communal consciousness and reality ... speakers are entertained at the metaphoric creativity, connotative wealth and wit of much of its lexis.

(Stone, 2002:385)

McCormick (2002b:110) similarly emphasises the community’s ‘local vernacular’ and ‘its function as the socially binding code’. She (2002b:98) elaborates: ‘[I]t is valued as warm, intimate, expressive of emotions, rooted in the community’s past, and a sign of current neighbourhood bonds’. McCormick (2002b:98) thereby finds the notions of overt and covert prestige as argued by Trudgill (1978 as cited in McCormick, 2002b:98) of value: High covert prestige or low overt prestige is attributed to local dialects. McCormick (2002b:98) connects this view to the local vernacular in District Six:

Such dialects are too valuable to be abandoned. The perception of different dialects of Afrikaans as group markers ... was typical of relationships of hostility and inequality between two groups of speakers of a language. For some people the local dialect of Afrikaans was not only an in-group marker, but had the additional merit of dissociation from what was then the ruling bloc who were seen as speakers of *suiwer* [pure] Afrikaans.²¹⁸

Le Cordeur (2013) also emphasises the passion for Afrikaans as epitomised in the rhythm of the Kaapse Klopse, the prayers of the Muslims at the mosques every Friday, and the ‘*nederlandsliedjies*’ of the Malay choirs. He furthermore affirms how people support their language (‘*hoe mense uitkom vir hulle taal*’), as evidenced by, for example, the packed theatres at David Kramer’s and Taliep Peterson’s *Ghoema*: ‘*Dis ’n teken vir my dat hierdie taal is ’n taal waar die mense ideologies en emosioneel identifiseer, wat vir my sê, dit is ’n baie goeie indikator van identiteit van hierdie mense.*’ (It is a sign for me that this language is a language wherein people ideologically and emotionally identify with, this tells me that it is a very good indicator of identity of these people) (my translation).

Adam Small likewise cites positive identification with Kaaps: ‘*Kaaps is nie ’n grappigheid of snaaksigheid nie, maar ’n taal.*’ (Kaaps is not a joke, it is a language) (my translation) (Small, 1973:9 as cited in Willemsse, 2012b). In spite of this, Ronelda Kamfer suggests a feeling of shame towards Kaaps in her afore-mentioned ‘*Kuns en Culture*’ (Art and Culture) poem: ‘*Dis weird hoekom ek skaam is vir ’n taal wat ek praat*’ (It is weird why I am ashamed of a language that I speak) (Kamfer as cited in Van der Waal, 2012:456-457). A poem by Peter Snyders titled ‘*Of Hoe?*’ (Not so?) also indicates a

²¹⁷ Carstens (2003:290) also refers to the writings of Peter Snyders as examples of Kaapse Afrikaans.

²¹⁸ McCormick (2002b:98) cites views ranging from very negative to very positive regarding ‘[t]he degree to which the language and its standard dialect were associated with the oppressive political system’ (i.e. the ‘white nationalist government’).

negative identification with Kaaps. Snyders cites Kaaps as a ‘*gammataal*’: ‘*Moetie rai gammataal gebrykie:/ dit issie mooi nie:/ dit dieghreid die coloured mense.*’ (Do not use that ‘*gammataal*’:/ it is not pretty:/ is degrades the coloured people) (my translation).²¹⁹ Part of the stigma of Kaaps as ‘*gamtaal*’ relates to its stigmatisation as a ‘mixed’ language. Given the great emphasis of *Afrikaaps* on the stigmatisation of Kaaps as, for example, ‘*Englikaans*’ (Afrikaans mixed with English) (refer to Chapter Two and Chapter Four), background to this label is needed.

3.4. ‘*Gemixte taal*’²²⁰

The notion of ‘mixed’ language²²¹ is contrasted with that of ‘pure’ Afrikaans (Deumert, 2004:275-276). For example, Scheffer (1983:98, 100) states that the ‘*mengtaal*’ (mixed language) of the so-called Peninsula Coloured community is not considered ‘[t]he purest language use’ (my translation).²²² Deumert (2004:275-276) adds a racialised aspect to the stigmatisation of mixed language: ‘The bilingual linguistic practices of other ethnic and/or social groups ... were denigrated as “*gemixtetaal*” (mixed language)’ (*ibid.*). Deumert (*ibid.*) thereby emphasises the historic link between coloured Afrikaans-speakers and ‘bilingual linguistic practices’: ‘[L]ow social status’ was ascribed to these practices (*ibid.*). This further supported the marginalisation, especially of coloured and black speakers of Afrikaans, which was in line with their political exclusion under apartheid (Deumert, 2004:276).

McCormick (2002a:216) noted, however, that ‘frequent switching [has] become a marker of the community’s sense of identity’ in District Six. McCormick (2002a:223) thereby notes the influence of English on Kaaps, citing it as ‘a mixed code’: ‘The deft weaving of English and Afrikaans ... is a feature of those Cape Town speech communities in which code-switching (CS) and mixing are common’

²¹⁹ The entire poem: ‘*Moetie rai gammataal gebrykie:/ dit issie mooi nie:/ dit dieghreid die coloured mense –/ of hoe?/ Wat traai dji/ Om ’n coloured culture te create?/ Of dink dji is snaaks/ Om soe te skryf?/ Of hoe?/ Traai om ôs lieweste op te lig:/ Ôs praat mossie soe nie..?/ Of hoe?*’ (Do not use that ‘*gamma*’ language;/ it isn’t nice:/ it degrades the coloured people –/ not so?/ What are you trying/ to create a coloured culture?/ Or do you think you are funny/ To write like that/ How come?/ Rather try to uplift us;/ We don’t actually talk like that...?/ Not so?) (my translation) (Du Toit, Hugo, Snyders and Van Heerden, 1981:22).

²²⁰ Mixed language.

²²¹ Afrikaans mixed with English (Scheffer, 1983:98). Similarly, ‘English-Afrikaans code-mixing/switching’ (Deumert, 2004:275-276).

²²² Scheffer (1983:30) cites ‘the general use of English words and expressions’ (my translation) as non-standard Afrikaans; therefore, not ‘*suiwer*’ (pure) Afrikaans.

(McCormick, 2002a:216), as had similarly been argued by Scheffer (1983:39)²²³ and Ponelis (1996:136).²²⁴

McCormick (2002b:95) accordingly notes that the speakers of ‘[t]he local non-standard dialect of Afrikaans ... did not (and still do not) have a principled objection to borrowing from English’.²²⁵ However, ‘Such an objection did develop among the white Afrikaans speakers who worked assiduously to raise the status of their dialect and its speakers from 1870 onwards’ (McCormick, 2002b:95).²²⁶ Accordingly, McCormick (2002b:98) cites an opinion of an interviewee: “‘*Boere*’ [Boers] don’t switch. If they speak Afrikaans it’s strictly Afrikaans’.²²⁷

McCormick (2002b:96) suggests that ‘[t]he language mixing and switching found in working-class coloured communities’ might indicate an unconcern with ‘purity’: ‘[It] may perhaps constitute part of a rejection of those values by people who have been marginalized by those who promote them ... mixing and switching are consonant with a rejection of concern for racial, ethnic, or linguistic purity, and with a concomitant acceptance of heterogeneous roots’. This point is especially relevant to the deliberate unconcern for racial and linguistic purity and the celebration of so-called heterogeneous roots (discussed in Chapter Five and Chapter Six respectively) by members of the *Afrikaaps* collective (and the production).

An overtly emphasised rejection of racial and linguistic purity suggests protest against the racialised hegemony of ‘pure’ Afrikaans. To place these assertions of *Afrikaaps* into context, historical background to similar protests is needed.

²²³ Other (earlier) scholars noting the influence of English on so-called Kaapse/‘*Kaapstadse Kleurling* [Cape Coloured]-*Afrikaans*’ include Van Schalkwyk (1969:3-6) and Klopper (1976:22). Pfeiffer (1996:157) also notes this influence on Kaaps, stating, however, that ‘it is not limited to the coloured population or the working class’ (my translation). Ponelis (1994:120) argued similarly that anglicisms were stigmatised, especially in the vernacular. The reason: The exaggerated purism and hyper-conservatism of the standard (Ponelis, 1994:120, 123). The vernacular is characterised by extensive code-switching and a high degree of informality: Less formal language use correlates with greater English influence (Ponelis, 1994:122).

²²⁴ Ponelis (1996:137) affirms ‘the massive degree to which lexical incorporation of English into older Cape Vernacular Afrikaans has occurred. It is this which at present sets Cape Vernacular Afrikaans apart from other varieties of the language, even though they have also been subject to extensive lexical incorporation from English’.

²²⁵ McCormick (2002b:99-100) cites receptiveness towards ‘new English loanwords’: ‘They do not have to have been established over time to be acceptable. In fact, being innovative in this regard is highly valued’.

²²⁶ McCormick (2002b:98-99) cites positive and negative viewpoints of her 1980s respondents regarding ‘pure’/standard Afrikaans and its association with apartheid. ‘Pure’ Afrikaans was referred to by various respondents as: ‘The Afrikaans like the white nationalist Afrikaners speak – that pure Afrikaans’; ‘properly spoken among the “*Boere*” [Boers]’; ‘It’s a nice language if you speak it good’; and ‘I like to speak Afrikaans if someone speaks it the right way’ (McCormick, 2002b:99).

²²⁷ McCormick (2002b:98) explains that “‘*Boere*’ [Boers] refers to white nationalist Afrikaners’.

3.5. ‘*Alternatiewe Afrikaans*’²²⁸

Pieterse (1998/1999:59) cites the Alternative Afrikaans movement as part of ‘a counter-hegemony’ (*‘teen-hegemonie’*) by especially coloured people during the 1980s. This historical ‘counter-hegemony’ relates to the contemporary protest against the racialised hegemony of ‘pure’ Afrikaans by a group of hip-hop artists utilising the label ‘coloured’ in their counter-hegemonic protest. Background to the historical counter-hegemony is needed to place that of *Afrikaaps* into context.

For Sonn (1990:12), ‘*Alternatiewe Afrikaans*’ aims to demonstrate that other variants other than the standard exists and are all equal. Kriel (2006:108-109)²²⁹ notes that this movement ideologically rejected Standard Afrikaans. Kriel (2006:109) cites it as ‘pedagogical’, established by educators. The school textbook of one of the leading figures, Randall van den Heever (*Tree na Vryheid*, 1987), ideologically ‘deviated from the nationalist-orientated Afrikaans textbooks of the time’. Ponelis (1993:60) cites Van den Heever (1987) as an example of the ‘use of Afrikaans as an anti-apartheid tool’: ‘Afrikaans speakers involved in the struggle against apartheid declared their ideological commitment to Afrikaans as a language of the struggle’.²³⁰ Van den Heever (1987:3) refers to the ‘identity crisis’ of the coloured Afrikaans speaker in relation to Afrikaner domination, in this way prefiguring the claims of *Afrikaaps*:

Alternatiewe Afrikaans is van wesenlike belang in die demokratiese beweging omdat die konflik tussen sy Afrikaanse moedertaal en sy visie van bevryding van Afrikaner-dominansie ’n intense ambivalensie in die gemoed van die Afrikaanssprekende verdrukke ontketen. Veral die bruin Afrikaanssprekende wat hom midde ’n intens gepolitiseerde gemeenskap bevind het wat dikwels op Afrikaans as die verdrukkerstaal van die boer neergesien het, het ’n sielsverskeurende identiteitskrisis ten opsigte van sy moedertaal ontwikkel.

(Alternative Afrikaans is of utmost importance in the democratic movement because the conflict between his Afrikaans mother-tongue and his vision of liberation from Afrikaner domination has unleashed an intense ambivalence in the mind of the oppressed Afrikaans-speaker. Especially the coloured Afrikaans-speaker who finds himself amid an intensely politicised society that often looked down on Afrikaans as the language of the oppressor of the ‘boer’, has developed a soul-wrenching identity crisis regarding his mother-tongue) (my translation).

In Chapter Five, I discuss the ways in which three members of the *Afrikaaps* collective only identified with Kaaps *after* their participation in *Afrikaaps*. Their previous lack of identification alludes to the consequences of the afore-mentioned ‘identity crisis’. The assertion of Van den Heever (1987:3) shows that such an identity crisis is still prevalent decades after this statement was published; in turn, the extent of the crisis is evidenced by members of the *Afrikaaps* collective.

²²⁸ Alternative Afrikaans.

²²⁹ Kriel (2006:108) also notes the ‘predominantly white’ Alternative Afrikaans Music Movement/the Voëlvy Movement) of André Letoit (Koos Kombuis) and the late Johannes Kerkerrel.

²³⁰ Inside the cover of *Tree van Vryheid*, it states that ‘*Alternatiewe Afrikaans*’ endeavours to be ‘*los van die Afrikaner establishment*’ (apart from the Afrikaner establishment), and propagates a ‘*nie-rassige volkskultuur*’ (a non-racial culture of the people) (my translations).

Another movement that protested against establishment Afrikaans, was the so-called ‘*Kaapse beweging*’ (the Cape Afrikaans movement) (my translation). Du Plessis (1987:100) foregrounds the Cape Afrikaans movement as a political movement.²³¹ Kaapse Afrikaans ‘was [thereby] manipulated’ (Du Plessis, 1987:106): In contrast to the use of ‘white establishment-Afrikaans’ in other political movements, this variety was mobilised (Du Plessis, 1987:100). This movement of intellectuals was ‘inspired by the “ideology of [black] liberation”’ (Du Plessis, 1987:100, 105), aiming to socially, politically and economically liberate the oppressed (Du Plessis, 1987:103). Afrikaans accordingly ‘became the symbol of liberation’ (Du Plessis, 1987:104). Du Plessis (1987:105) suggests that this ‘movement can be considered as just another manifestation of [the black liberation movement]’ (Du Plessis, 1987:105). Rather than “brown” political sentiments’, ‘Black Consciousness sentiments’ were of concern (Du Plessis, 1987:104-105) (my translations).

Furthermore, Du Plessis (1987:107) regards the ‘*Kaapse beweging*’ as ‘anti-imperialistic’ (my translation) given ‘a strong sentiment against establishment-Afrikaans’ and ‘the strong identification with Africa’ (thereby ‘responding to any kind of white domination and exploitation’).²³² This movement aimed to further ‘identification with Kaapse Afrikaans’ (*ibid.*). However, Du Plessis (1987:108) emphasises that this movement did not originate ‘from an exaggerated sentiment for Cape Afrikaans’ (my translations), citing Gerwel (1985:193) in this regard: ‘*Duisende [Kaapse Afrikaanssprekendes] sal in Afrikaans sterf, maar dis twyfelagtig of enigeen vir Afrikaans sal sterf.*’²³³ (Thousands of Kaaps-speakers will die *in* Afrikaans, but it is doubtful whether any one of them will die *for* Afrikaans) (my translation). This aspect of the movement differs from the aim of *Afrikaaps* to cultivate pride in Kaaps.²³⁴

However, this movement and the Alternative Afrikaans movement provide historical context to the current protest of *Afrikaaps*. Resistance against so-called establishment Afrikaans was present even in

²³¹ This movement concerned literature (such as plays (*Die Vaderland*, 1 Oktober 1984)) and ‘academic discourse’ (for example the 1985 ‘*Swart skrywers in Afrikaans*’ symposium at the University of the Western Cape (*Die Vaderland*, 4 Maart 1985)) (Du Plessis, 1987:107). Du Plessis (1987:108) discounts this movement as one ‘that wants to liberate Afrikaans from its exclusivity’. Such a view is cited as Afrikaner nationalist, only concerned with establishment-Afrikaans and ‘anxious obsessing about all the possible dangers that could harm the survival of Afrikaans’. Du Plessis (1987:108) also discounts the view that the movement ‘is an important start to liberate Afrikaans from its image as the language of the oppressor’ (*Die Volksblad*, 5 Julie 1985 as cited in Du Plessis, 1987:108). Du Plessis (1987:108) cites ‘a paradox’ in this regard. Afrikaans is utilised by the movement as a tool of liberation ‘from the oppressor’: Kaapse Afrikaans is thereby liberated ‘from its image of oppressed-ness [“*verdruktheid*”]’ (*ibid.*). The ‘image’ of establishment-Afrikaans (of the Afrikaners) is thus reinforced (*ibid.*) (my translations).

²³² The black liberation movement endeavours to liberate black people from the so-called white coloniser (Leatt, Kneifel and Nürnberger, 1986:117-118 as cited in Du Plessis, 1987:107).

²³³ Gerwel (1985:193) states: ‘*By [“bruinmense”] is daar, oor die algemeen, nie dieselfde toe-eiening van die kommunikasiemedium vir ideologiese doeleindes nie.*’ (‘Coloured’ people, in general, do not have the same appropriation of the communication medium for ideological aims) (my translation). Except, however, in hip-hop (Haupt, 2012:160-161).

²³⁴ Schuster (2016:68) asserts: ‘Indeed, the cast broke ground, popularising a movement that instilled pride and consciousness in the history of their people, embracing both ancient traditions and using state-of-the-art technology to impart their message’.

the era of high apartheid. In addition, it illustrates that ‘pure’ Afrikaans and Kaapse Afrikaans were used as languages of protest, similar to the use of Kaaps by *Afrikaaps* as a political tool (discussed in Chapter Four).

A topical issue regarding ‘white establishment-Afrikaans’ and resistance to it, concerns the struggles of Kaaps-speaking learners with ‘*skoolafrikaans*’ (school Afrikaans), discussed in the following section.

3.6. ‘*Skoolafrikaans*’²³⁵

In Chapter Four the ways in which *Afrikaaps* foregrounds the struggles of Kaaps learners in the school environment are discussed. It is needed to discuss background to this point of contention. Odendaal (2013b) confirmed that Afrikaans varieties, except the standard, are marginalised within the educational sphere. She asserted that learners do not feel at home in the standard language. Their way of speaking is perceived as not good enough. Odendaal (2013b) noted the concurrent psychological disempowerment of learners. Le Cordeur (2013) emphasised that standard Afrikaans as a medium of instruction in schools hinders the academic achievement of specifically Kaaps speakers. For Le Cordeur (2013) education in one’s mother-tongue is vital for ‘academic success’: ‘This is especially true of the coloured child [marginalised by poverty, location and race] who grew up with Kaaps on the Cape Flats of Cape Town’ (my translation).²³⁶ Davids (as cited in *RGN*, 1981:40-41) argues that standard Afrikaans is ‘a foreign language’, especially for coloured children from the Cape Peninsula coloured communities (when first starting school) who speak Kaapse Afrikaans.²³⁷

²³⁵ School Afrikaans. A term borrowed from Esterhuysen (1986).

²³⁶ He argued: ‘The language issue is still one of the main challenges standing in the way of academic success’ (my translation) (Le Cordeur, 2013). Le Cordeur (2013) cited the main points of contention: ‘[C]hildren are forced to study in standard Afrikaans, and they have to read from prescribed books that portray a world far different from their own reality.’ He argued for ‘a transformed curriculum’: ‘*Hulle word nie getoets in die taal waarin hulle aanbid, die taal waarin hulle sing, en die taal waarin hulle emosioneel leef nie.*’ (They are not tested in the language in which they pray, the language in which they sing, and the language in which they live emotionally) (my translation). He, however demonstrated the presence of Kaaps in the school curriculum in the form of poetry, dramas, and novels. Furthermore, Kaaps learners are tested in standard Afrikaans. Academic achievement regarding, for example, literacy levels, is thereby hindered: they underachieve with regard to reading and writing ability. Le Cordeur (2013) argued furthermore that ‘curriculum is how knowledge is being conceived’, therefore learners need to ‘understand the language in which the curriculum is being presented to them ... if ... not ... he or she will not have access to the information, hence they will not have the same success as some of the other kids will have’ (my translations).

²³⁷ During the early 1980s, Achmat Davids advocated the use of Kaapse Afrikaans as the medium of instruction in particular schools. Davids referred to spoken Kaapse Afrikaans as ‘totally different’ and ‘the only medium used as a mode of expression’. At school, initial contact with ‘the standard form’ results in learners being at a complete loss (*RGN*, 1981 as cited in Van Wyk, 2012; Van Wyk, 2012; Davids as cited in *RGN*, 1981:40-41). Davids offers an example of a misunderstanding between learners and teachers because of language differences: An Afrikaans teacher from Stellenbosch University could not understand the request of a learner at the Vista High School (in the Bo-Kaap). The learner’s request was: ‘*Meneer kan ek na die djamang gaan kanalla?*’ (Sir may I go to the toilet please?) Davids proposes a solution, namely ‘a bi-cultural approach in education’. It constitutes the utilisation of ‘Afrikaans as ... medium of instruction’. Accordingly, the vernacular Afrikaans ought to be utilised for ‘the content subjects’. Standard Afrikaans should be the medium of instruction for the language subject (i.e. Afrikaans class). This is needed for preparation ‘for the broader society’. Being taught in the vernacular – regarding ‘the content subjects’ – would be beneficial for learners: They would have a more

Adhikari (2005:16, 195) demonstrates the racialised hegemony of standard Afrikaans within an educational context by recounting a negative experience as a teacher in 1976. At Bonteheuwel High School, he was reprimanded by ‘[a]n Afrikaner school inspector’ for speaking ‘the vernacular’²³⁸ to his learners: ‘[H]e admonished me, in a gentle but paternalistic tone, for using ‘*daardie gebasterde taal*’ (that bastardised language) and perpetuating uncultured practices among my students’ (Adhikari, 2005:16).²³⁹

Hendricks (2012b:58) suggests a solution to this point of contention, foregrounding the need to destigmatise non-standard varieties; he thereby suggests the adaptation of Afrikaans language teaching in schools²⁴⁰ to aid destigmatisation. Hendricks (*ibid.*) suggests the incorporation of the non-standard varieties ‘[i]n subject components such as oral and creative writing ... and also as testing ground for communicative competence’.

The afore-mentioned issues (amongst others) may attest to ‘the coloured community’s difficult relationship with Afrikaans’ (Orman, 2008:112). This ‘difficult relationship’ with the language is cited as one of the reasons that urban coloured people in the Western Cape are shifting ‘away from Afrikaans towards English’ (*ibid.*), discussed in the following section.

3.7. English-speaking middle-class

In Chapter Four, the struggles of Valley being raised in English by Afrikaans parents, are noted. Given that Valley directed the *Afrikaaps* documentary from his personal perspective as a so-called coloured English-speaker²⁴¹, this section provides background to this issue.

The language shift ‘away from Afrikaans towards English’, especially amongst the urban coloured population of the Western Cape, is a much observed phenomenon (Orman, 2008:112).²⁴² Orman (*ibid.*)

thorough and improved grasp of the subject and its associated concepts. Furthermore, the learner would not have to cope with the acquiring of ‘a new language’ in tandem with the learning of new concepts (which Davids cites as frustrating for these learners) (Davids as cited in *RGN*, 1981:41; *RGN*, 1981:38, 40-41) (my translations).

²³⁸ Adhikari (2005:16, 195) refers to the Afrikaans vernacular that he spoke as ‘distinctive to the Coloured community’. It is referred to in a variety of ways, namely as ‘*Capey*, *Gam-taal* (language of Ham), or *kombuis* (kitchen) Afrikaans’. Given the reference to this vernacular as ‘*Capey*’ (i.e. Afrikaans as spoken in the Cape by a coloured person), and the indication that it was spoken in Bonteheuwel, it can be reasonably assumed that the variety that is referred to, is Kaaps.

²³⁹ Adhikari (2005:16) states that this inspector ‘exemplified white attitudes toward the dialect’.

²⁴⁰ As part of the ‘[d]estigmatisation measures as preparation for mainstreaming’ (Hendricks, 2012b:51-58). For Hendricks (2012b:58), Afrikaans language teaching should play an important future role in this regard. He proposes the upholding of ‘a fine balance between mastering of the standard variety and the validity of “speaking like my people at home”’. He thereby foregrounds the imperative need for a change of perception regarding the use of non-standard varieties. According to Hendricks (2012b:58), the use of these varieties ‘is not degrading but rather a necessary and enriching addition to the standard varieties’.

²⁴¹ In Chapter Five, I discuss Valley’s identification with ‘black’, rather than ‘coloured’.

²⁴² Edwards (2009:259) defines language shift as ‘the process undergone by speech and language communities who move from one language to another – typically because the usefulness of their original variety has weakened in the face of powerful external linguistic and cultural pressures’.

cites two joint factors contributing to this long-term language shift, namely ‘the coloured community’s difficult relationship with Afrikaans’²⁴³ and ‘the socio-economic allure of the English language’.²⁴⁴ Scheffer (1983:105) likewise suggests that English is possibly ‘also used as a buffer with which the higher social class ... visibly distances himself from the lower class that is largely Afrikaans speaking’ (my translation).²⁴⁵ Webb (2010:113) also asserts that English is socio-politically fully legitimised’.²⁴⁶ Van Rensburg (1999:85) also affirms: ‘[Afrikaans-speakers] who do not choose to use the language ... seek a home among the English speakers’.²⁴⁷ Neville Alexander (2013:56) notes another aspect of this shift: ‘[W]hereas older middle-class Coloured people speak Afrikaans to one another, they tend increasingly to rear their children in English’,²⁴⁸ which has similarly been noted by McCormick (2002a:225). Sonn (1990:3 as cited in Van Rensburg, 1991:27) emphasises the reason: ‘*Afrikaanssprekendheid in my gemeenskap [is ’n] bevestiging ... van die mindere status wat ideologie op ons afdwing.*’ (Speaking Afrikaans in my community means acknowledgement of the lesser status enforced on us by ideology) (my translation).

McKaiser (2016) suggests that even coloured (fluent) Afrikaans speakers ‘become anglicised’, although the process is uneven: ‘Everyone in my family speaks Afrikaans at home, and I am pretty much the only one who has been thoroughly anglicised because of my attendance at an English-medium former Model-C school, followed by English-medium university education’. He indicates the reasons for this anglicisation of coloured people whose mother-tongue is Afrikaans: The ‘battle for linguistic equality is so off the radar for many of us that we become anglicised when we access economic power and

²⁴³ Such speakers shun Afrikaans given the politicised nature of the language (Van Rensburg, 1991:27): ‘In many homes where the people are much more politically conscious ... Afrikaans is simply not spoken’ (McCormick, 2002b:98).

²⁴⁴ McCormick (2002b:101-104) cites similar reasons. Webb (2010:113) also refers to ‘[t]he enormous strength of English’: ‘English is generally regarded as the most important instrument of access to symbolic and material resources’.

²⁴⁵ Scheffer (1983:103) emphasises that ‘the Afrikaans speaking Coloureds in the Peninsula’ regard English as a language of status. In addition, authors cite various associations with English: ‘[F]ormal English [is] easier to understand than formal Afrikaans’ (McCormick, 2002b:104); ‘the status of Standard English is even higher than that of Standard Afrikaans’ (my translation) (Klopper, 1976:126); and English is generally favoured above Afrikaans (Van Rensburg, 1999:83; McCormick, 2002b:101).

²⁴⁶ Van Schalkwyk (1969:3-4, 6) notes several socio-political factors in ‘the early Cape [coloured] community’ (Van Schalkwyk, 1969:6) that led to the connection between ‘the Brit’ and the ‘liberation and equality [“*gelykstelling*”]’ of the so-called coloureds (Van Schalkwyk, 1969:3), which, ‘today [is] still largely the case’ (my translation) (Van Schalkwyk, 1969:3-4).

²⁴⁷ Van Rensburg (1999:85) likewise states: ‘They associate themselves with English language and culture and send their children to English schools. They have already set their sights on a future South Africa in which they believe English will serve them better’. Similarly, Adhikari (2005:8) terms this shift an aspiration to ‘acceptance into English-speaking, middle-class culture’, which was similarly argued by Scheffer (1983:103). Gerwel (in Van den Heever, 1987:26-27) termed this phenomenon ‘the anglicisation of the coloured middle-classes’, which was similarly argued by Scheffer (1983:103-105).

²⁴⁸ Van Rensburg (1991: 27) cites Sonn (1990:3), asserting: ‘I speak English to my children at home, and not only in our home, also Afrikaans poets such as Sydney Petersen, Pieter Philander and Adam Small speak English to their children’.

escape our communities. Until a journalist asks us to code-switch, and we freeze, trapped between rehearsed anglicised identities and Afrikaans authenticity'.²⁴⁹

The anglicisation of the coloured middle-class is connected to the purported lack of 'ownership' of Afrikaans by coloured Afrikaans-speakers due to the racialised hegemony of 'pure' Afrikaans, discussed in the following section.

3.8. 'Wie se Afrikaans?'²⁵⁰

The question to whom Afrikaans belongs is a topical debate. In March 2016, the *Afrikaaps* documentary was screened (followed by a panel discussion) at SU. This joint English and Sociology and Social Anthropology Department Research Seminar was titled 'Wie se Afrikaans?' (Whose Afrikaans?).²⁵¹ In 2015, the 'Wie se Afrikaans' roundtable discussion took place at the *Afrikaanse Taalmuseum* (Afrikaans Language Museum) in Paarl. This deliberation is relevant, given the historical white appropriation of Afrikaans and the extent of the racialised hegemony of 'pure' Afrikaans whereby varieties other than the standard were not recognised. The phrase 'Whose Afrikaans?' questions the 'ownership' of Afrikaans (discussed in relation to *Afrikaaps* in Chapter Four). Several commentators and scholars deliberate to whom Afrikaans belongs, making the claim of *Afrikaaps* (namely that coloured Afrikaans-speakers 'didn't have any ownership over their language' (Valley, 2011)) very relevant.

For example, Nwadeyi (2016) responds to the question of to whom Afrikaans belongs with 'Die eenvoudige antwoord is dat dit behoort aan Afrikaners' (The straightforward answer is that it belongs to Afrikaners) (my translation), but she asserts: 'The "Kaapse Klopse" [Cape Minstrels] with their Khoema-"musiek" [music] should rightfully own Afrikaans. The people of District Six and the Bo-Kaap should rightfully own Afrikaans'. This assertion connects to that of *Afrikaaps*: Kaaps-speakers are encouraged to reclaim ownership of their language.

Prah (in Prah, 2012:vii) accordingly suggests the 'broadening [of] the ownership base of the language' in order to further inclusivity, and to 'deracialise the social character of the language'. Consequently, Afrikaans would be 'more representative of its users and unburden it of its nettlesome history as "the language of the oppressor"' (*ibid.*). The 'various varieties' are foregrounded in this regard. Le Cordeur²⁵² (in Van Rensburg, 2012:10) asserts: 'Afrikaans is the property of everyone that speaks Afrikaans' (my translation) and asserts that the history of Afrikaans is shared.

²⁴⁹ McKaiser (2016) discusses his personal struggle as a coloured Afrikaans speaker in this regard: 'My mother tongue is Afrikaans'. However, he cites his 'hesitation to speak Afrikaans publicly': 'The Afrikaans which I speak with my family isn't the Afrikaans which you mostly hear in the media and popular culture'. Therefore, 'I do not speak Afrikaans with the same comfort as I do when I speak English'.

²⁵⁰ Whose Afrikaans?

²⁵¹ The panel included Emile Engel (PhD student, Language Coalition), Greer Valley (Visual Arts), Riaan Oppelt (English Department) and Nathan Trantraal (poet).

²⁵² Le Cordeur (in Van Rensburg, 2012) wrote the preface to *So Kry Ons Afrikaans* (Christo van Rensburg, 2012) in his capacity as the chairman of the *Afrikaanse Taalraad* (ATR). The ATR was established in 2008 'to

The claims of *Afrikaaps* connects to these arguments. *Afrikaaps* conceptualises Afrikaans as an indigenous language; therefore, not a ‘white’ language of the oppressor (refer to Chapter Six). The production also furthers the inclusive notion that the history of Afrikaans is shared (also refer to Chapter Six) and places emphasis on the symbolic value of the vernacular variety Kaaps (refer to Chapter Five). Another current issue that relates to revitalised endeavours to ‘re-recognise’ varieties of Afrikaans other than ‘pure’ Afrikaans spoken by white Afrikaners, is the topical debate whether Afrikaans will ‘die’. The general perception is that this fear is from the perspective of ‘standard’ Afrikaans speakers, specifically, ‘Afrikaners’.



Figure 4. The 2010 *Die Burger* headline projected onto the screen during an *Afrikaaps* stage performance (Photograph by Aryan Kaganof) (Henegan, 2016)

3.9. ‘*Afrikaans sterf*’²⁵³

Approximately a week before *Afrikaaps* performed at the 2010 KKNK, a front page article in *Die Burger* read: ‘*Afrikaans sterf, sê Breyten.*’ (Afrikaans is dying, says Breyten) (my translation). *Afrikaaps* projects an image of this article at the back of the stage (refer to Figure 4).

The debate on the ‘death’ of Afrikaans has recently resurfaced. Before the current debate is discussed, I note that the ‘future’ of Afrikaans has been questioned for decades. In the late 1970s, Jakes Gerwel

promote [as well as protect and empower] Afrikaans amongst all its speakers’ (Le Cordeur in Van Rensburg, 2012:9).

²⁵³ Afrikaans is dying.

(in Van den Heever, 1987:23-27) questioned whether Afrikaans ‘has a future’. Gerwel (in Van den Heever, 1987:26) asserted: ‘If I am distressed about the future of Afrikaans, then it is because I am distressed about what the Afrikaner is busy doing to the future of its descendants and its cultural products [“*geestesprodukte*”]’ (my translation). However, Gerwel (*ibid.*) asked whether the language’s future was not rather in the hands of coloured people, namely ‘the Afrikaans speakers who are not Afrikaners, who are not white’ (my translation).²⁵⁴ Gerwel thereby suggests that it is Afrikaner hegemony that threatens the ‘future’ of the language. Webb (2010:118) links more current deliberations on the ‘survival’ of the language to the ‘survival’ of ‘Afrikaner cultural identity’.

To elaborate, Webb (2010:118) foregrounds the *perception* that the preservation and protection of the Afrikaans language²⁵⁵ is imperative for the preservation and protection of Afrikaner cultural identity (this point was made during the 2015 *Afrikaaps* documentary screening and discussion by Open Stellenbosch, discussed in Chapter Six).²⁵⁶ Webb (2010:118) argues that supporters of the aforementioned ideologies²⁵⁷ are generally prejudiced against non-standard Afrikaans due to their view of it as undesirable and deviant. However, De Kadt (2006:45-46) emphasises the opposite, namely the recognition of non-standard Afrikaans spoken by ‘non-white’ people: ‘In a twist of history, [numerous Afrikaans dialects ... spoken by non-whites] were recently ‘re-recognised’ as Afrikaans when it was realised that the language’s survival in a democratic South Africa required that it [should] have a large

²⁵⁴ Gerwel cites several reasons for this. Firstly, he foregrounds Jan Rabie’s standpoint: ‘Afrikaans is one of South Africa’s proud multiracial feats [“*prestasies*”]’. In the second instance, Gerwel cites ‘people of colour’ as ‘the most indigenous, the most “*Afrika*” [Africa]-aans element of Afrikaans’. Thirdly, Gerwel highlights ‘the people who just speak Afrikaans’, namely the Afrikaanse ‘*proletariaat*’ (so-called working-class). He refers to these speakers as: ‘[T]he people who just speak Afrikaans, like they just breathe, without a self-conscious fixation. It is, just like breathing, not something for which they will die or for which they will vote; it’s simply a medium in which they live naturally’ (Gerwel in Van den Heever, 1987:26). However, Gerwel disparagingly refers to the anglicisation of the middle-class. He cites observed interactions between parents and children in public spaces: Parents speak Afrikaans to one another, but address their children in English. He asserts, ‘It is in them wherein Afrikaans ought to see its biggest danger signs. The writers and intellectuals, the people that had to fight for the language to the death, had to come from that’ (Gerwel in Van den Heever, 1987:26-27) (my translations). Gerwel (1985:192-194) criticises the ‘socio-political fears of language death’ (*‘kommer oor die toekoms van Afrikaans’* [concern about the future of Afrikaans]) within Afrikaner camps (in contrast to ‘this part of the Afrikaans speech community’, the coloured people who do not share this fear) (my translation). Considering the latter part of the speech community, Gerwel asserts: ‘Afrikaans is alive and well and living in Africa’. Brink (1985:168-169) expresses his wish for the liberation of Afrikaans; surviving (not against or at the expense of others), but ‘with all those who are with us [“*Afrika*” (Africa)-ners] from Africa’. Brink (1985:168) also asserts that Afrikaans will and should ‘perish’ (*‘vergaan’*) if it is not disconnected from the ‘establishment’ (my translations).

²⁵⁵ Thereby safeguarding against outside influence and preserving the language ‘in its existing form’ (Webb, 2010:118).

²⁵⁶ Refer to Chapter Six for a discussion of this issue, raised by the Open Stellenbosch student collective. Pilane (2016) argues that it is not Afrikaans (‘the third-most widely spoken language in South Africa, mostly by coloured people, who have ... been systemically marginalised in this country’) that must ‘fall’, but Afrikaans functioning as ‘a tool of whiteness, used to discriminate against and exclude those who are not white Afrikaners’. Pilane (2016) asserts: ‘Until Afrikaans can free itself of whiteness, the call for the fall of Afrikaans will continue’.

²⁵⁷ The other being the perception ‘[t]hat standard Afrikaans is the only “proper” and “correct” way of speaking and that it is superior to “non-standard” Afrikaans whose speakers are somehow regarded as culturally backward and cognitively inferior’ (Webb, 2010:118).

number of speakers from a range of racial backgrounds'.²⁵⁸ I discuss the current 're-recognition' of Afrikaans varieties in relation to *Afrikaaps* in Chapter Seven. This re-recognition is rooted in the recent #AfrikaansMustFall protests at universities across South Africa.

The 2015 and 2016 student protests demanding that Afrikaans 'must fall' as a medium of instruction at universities have led to renewed deliberations in the public sphere about whether Afrikaans 'will die'. Carstens (2016), for example, asks '*Het die doodsklok reeds vir Afrikaans begin lui?*' (Is Afrikaans dying?), whilst Hattingh (2015) asserts: '*Maties-taaldebat: "Dis nie Afrikaans se dood"*' (Maties language debate: 'It's not the death of Afrikaans') (my translations). This 'fear' is connected to the scaling down of the highest functions of standard Afrikaans within the sphere of the university.

To elaborate: Carstens (2016) highlights one of the issues that 'can have an impact on the survival of Afrikaans', namely '*[d]ie afskaal van funksies.*' (the scaling down of functions) (my translation).²⁵⁹ The two so-called highest functions correlate. Namely, as a medium of instruction in one's own language and the language as '*wetenskapstaal*' (language of science): 'Several experts warn [that] the functions of Afrikaans will be reduced due to the language decisions at universities. This is the main reason why there are protests against the downscaling of Afrikaans at UV, UP and US' (my translation).

Another issue that can have an impact on the 'survival' of the language is the politicised nature of Afrikaans: '*Afrikaans sit met 'n stuk politieke bagasie wat die taal nog baie lank met hom gaan saamdra.*' (Afrikaans is burdened with political baggage that the language will be carrying along with it for a long time) (my translation) (Carstens, 2016).²⁶⁰ Carstens (2016) asserts that the politicised nature of Afrikaans is 'emphasised once again' by, for example, the so-called 'Afrikaans Must Fall' slogan at universities (refer to Figure 5), including SU (Carstens, 2016).

²⁵⁸ Kamfer (as cited in Van der Waal, 2012:456-457) asserts the opposite in her poem, '*Kuns en Culture*' (Art and Culture): '*Daar is 'n groot panic attack aan die gang oor 'n taal/ Maar hulle sal nooit ons hulp vra nie*' (There is a big panic attack happening about a language/ But they will never ask for our assistance). Numerous Afrikaans institutions – for example the *Suid-Afrikaanse Akademie vir Wetenskap en Kuns* and the *Stigting vir Bemagtiging deur Afrikaans* – collaborated to establish a new Afrikaans language movement (Webb, 2010:107, 118). The third language movement endeavours to unify all Afrikaans speakers within one community (Webb, 2010:107-108). Inclusivity, cohesiveness, and possession of power are emphasised (Webb, 2010:108). The main goal is the preservation and promotion of Afrikaans 'as a high function language' (*ibid.*). Approaches to realise this objective are numerous, one of which is the inclusion of Afrikaans first-language speakers across racial lines. This objective includes the procurement of support from coloured, white, black and Indian people (when the Afrikaans council is to be formed) (Webb, 2010:108). Since 2004, the *Stigting vir Bemagtiging deur Afrikaans* has played a primary role in this third movement. The predominant objective of this organisation is to attend to coloured Afrikaans-speakers; imperative needs in the educational and social sphere are underscored (Webb, 2010:118).

²⁵⁹ Carstens (2016) links the standard language to the higher functions of a language: The standard language is 'a language that can be widely used for a variety of purposes. These purposes are the functions that the language executes for the language community, such as providing education in that language' (my translation).

²⁶⁰ McKaiser (2016) refers to 'the tight hold of racism's history on our language'. Furthermore: '[F]or Afrikaans-speaking coloured South Africans, who obviously do not self-identify as white, and many who do not self-identify as black (although some of us do so politically), the politics of Afrikaans remains a knotted affair'.

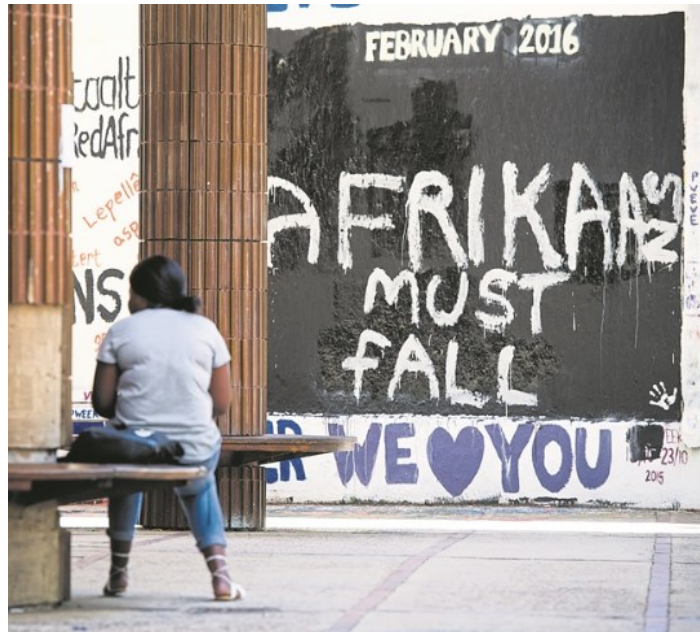


Figure 5. The caption for this photograph in Carstens (2016) reads: ‘Die grootste taak vir die volle Afrikaanse gemeenskap is om die politieke flaters van die verlede reg te maak’ (The biggest task for the entire Afrikaans community is to fix the political mistakes of the past (my translation))

Carstens (2016) asserts that the so-called political baggage includes the perception that Afrikaans is the white Afrikaner’s language, one of the main contentions of *Afrikaaps*. *Afrikaaps* overtly responds to this perception, regarding Afrikaans as an indigenous language.

3.10. (Afrika²⁶¹)ans: Go back to the sea?

A main claim of *Afrikaaps* is that Afrikaans is not a ‘white’ language; it is an indigenous language (discussed in Chapter Six). The #AfrikaansMustFall protesters regard ‘pure’ Afrikaans’ – ‘the Afrikaans’ that furthers and maintains white Afrikaner hegemony – as a colonial language. This conceptualisation of Afrikaans has led to commentators in especially the media voicing their view that Afrikaans is an African language. This response mirrors that of *Afrikaaps*, making the claims of the production very relevant.

Several commentators regard Afrikaans as an African language. For example, Boezak (2016) largely attributes the hindering of ‘the attempt of Afrikaners to Africanisation’, to the prolonged positing of Afrikaans as a white man’s language’: ‘The 1875 movement’s deliberate omission of recognition to the ... Khoi and slave co-creators was and is still fatal’ (my translation). As previously mentioned,

²⁶¹ Africa.

Afrikaans is still generally perceived, outside the white Afrikaans-speaking language community, as a so-called colonial, white man's language, demonstrated by this photograph taken during a student protest:



Figure 6. 'The latest demand of student protestors at the University of Pretoria – to stop using Afrikaans as a language of instruction' (Simelane, 2016)

According to Mulder (2015), the view that Afrikaans is a 'white man's language' (and therefore not an indigenous language) is a misconception.²⁶² Nathan Trantraal (2016) emphasises that Afrikaans is not a colonial language: '*Afrikaans isse African taal*' (Afrikaans is an African language).²⁶³ Likewise, Pawson (2015) argues that Afrikaans, ironically, is not a language of exclusion, but an African language. Bozzoli (2015) argues similarly that the Afrikaans language was 'developed locally', consisting of 60% speakers who are not white. It is therefore not a 'white' language.

McKaiser (2016) asserts: 'It's time to decolonise Afrikaans': 'We need to decolonise and liberate Afrikaans, yet'.²⁶⁴ Boezak (2016) affirms that '[i]n our current climate, it is imperative that we must rediscover our African roots': '*[O]ns [moet] eerder proaktief ons moedertaal met ons kontinent soos 'n naelstring verbind.*' (We should rather proactively connect our mother-tongue to our continent like

²⁶² Mulder (2015) argues that another misconception about Afrikaans is that it is not spoken by many people (in relation to English) (Mulder [2015] also cites the perception that Afrikaans is the language of the oppressor as a misconception). Similarly, Bozzoli (2015) asserts that Afrikaans 'is the third most widely spoken language in SA [South Africa]'.

²⁶³ At the 2015 '*Wie se Afrikaans?*' (Whose Afrikaans) discussion at the *Taalmuseum*, Koopman also asserted that Afrikaans is an African language (Botha, 2015).

²⁶⁴ McKaiser (2016) affirms: 'As coloured people, we have yet to assert our linguistic power on Afrikaans' [Italics removed].

an umbilical cord) (my translation).²⁶⁵ Boezak (2016) accordingly suggests that thinking around ‘the status of our language ought to change: ‘English, Afrikaans and an African language. No – two African languages plus English. Therefore, Afri-kaans, and not Euro-kaans’ (my translation).²⁶⁶

Statements supporting Afrikaans as an African language – therefore not a ‘white’ language – connects to historical and contemporary calls for the restandardisation of Afrikaans. The restandardisation of Afrikaans focuses on the vernacular varieties of the language. For example, Van Rensburg (1991:13) suggests the absorption of ‘more of the African varieties of Afrikaans ... into Standard Afrikaans’. It is important to take note of calls for restandardisation especially regarding Kaaps. In Chapter Six, I discuss the ways in which my notion of Kaaps was challenged by members of the *Afrikaaps* ensemble: Kaaps is fluid, heterogenous, and its speakers are not concerned with prescriptive rules.

3.11. The restandardisation of Afrikaans?

Ponelis (1993:60) defines restandardisation as ‘the revaluation of Standard Afrikaans’. This ‘insistence’ is ‘[a]n aspect of the alternative ideological use of Afrikaans’. This alternative ideological use also encompasses ‘a higher appreciation of the vernacular varieties, especially the Afrikaans of the South-western Cape’ (*ibid.*).²⁶⁷ Kotzé (2014:637) similarly asserts:

The possibility of the restandardisation of Afrikaans has been suggested as a way to address differences in accessibility to the standard register ... vernacular speakers of various geolects should be enabled to recognise much more of their own lexis (and possibly grammar) in what is regarded as Standard Afrikaans. In this way, the symbolic value (and status) of the vernaculars would be enhanced.

Van Rensburg (1991:23) accordingly argues that standard Afrikaans ‘serves speakers of the African varieties with difficulty’²⁶⁸ and proposes (1991:13) the absorption of ‘more of the African varieties of Afrikaans ... into Standard Afrikaans to create a ‘New Afrikaans’, i.e. a newly standardised Afrikaans. It is argued that the broadening of the foundation of standardised Afrikaans will narrow ‘a [racialised] divide that has become tóó wide’ (Van Rensburg, 1991:24); it ‘will build a new image of Afrikaans’ and unify its speakers (*ibid.*). In addition, Van Rensburg (1991:28) suggests that the creation of a new

²⁶⁵ Gerwel (in Van den Heever, 1987:25) asks whether Afrikaans will ‘survive’ ‘the Afrikaner kingdom’ (*die Afrikanerryk*).

²⁶⁶ It is interesting to note that the *Etimologiewoordeboek van Afrikaans (EWA)* conceptualises Afrikaans as an ‘African’ language: The word ‘Afrikaans’ includes the word ‘*Afrikaan*’ (African), meaning ‘indigenous inhabitant of Africa’ (*inheemse bewoner van Afrika*) (my translation). The language is ‘named as such because the language developed locally [*inheems*] as independent language in Africa’ (my translation) (2003:12).

²⁶⁷ In the late 1980s, Webb (1989:433) asserted: ‘If the social order changes, the variety that we call Standard Afrikaans today can be replaced’.

²⁶⁸ The standardised variety of Afrikaans is cited as the variety ‘with the majority of European features’ (Van Rensburg, 1991:23). Van Rensburg (*ibid.*) defines the African varieties as ‘the contemporary forms of the original learner varieties of the slaves and the Khoi [namely] Cape Afrikaans and Orange River Afrikaans’.

symbol, ‘New Afrikaans’ will liberate the language ‘of the apartheid stigma that has already been pointed out by many people as the single biggest enemy of Afrikaans’.

De Wet (1997:144) proposes the notion of ‘*Aktuele Afrikaans*’ (Topical Afrikaans), encompassing ‘a “new” standard’ (my translation).²⁶⁹ De Wet (1997:145) emphasises the instrumental function of language: Afrikaans as ‘*gebruikstaal*’ (instrumental language), free from ‘exclusive ideological markers’ (my translation).²⁷⁰ Afrikaans will thereby be renewed and normalised (De Wet, 1997:144).²⁷¹

Kotzé (2014:650) agrees with Hendricks’s (2011:113 as cited in Kotzé, 2014:650) argument that the standard variety should *not* undergo ‘radical historical corrective action’ and replace the foundation of this variety with either South-western Afrikaans or North-western Afrikaans (as proposed by Ponelis, 1998:64, 68). Hendricks (2014:16 as cited in Kotzé, 2014:650) suggests that afore-mentioned dialects can rather expand or enrich the standard variety by ‘freely and increasingly gain[ing] access to the standard variety’.²⁷² Kotzé (2014:650) thereby highlights ‘an important aspect of standardisation’, namely ‘the enrichment of the standard variety, also by way of lexical expansion from the regional varieties’.

²⁶⁹ So-called ‘*Aktuele Afrikaans*’ (Topical Afrikaans) would thereby encompass ‘topical norms for Afrikaans’ (De Wet, 1997:144). De Wet (*ibid.*) refers to the contrast between ‘*Aktuele Afrikaans*’ and ‘*Nuwe Afrikaans*’ (New Afrikaans): The latter proposes the utilisation of ‘the existing standard form as basis ... supplemented by other varieties’. In contrast the basis of his argument is that ‘*die wese van ’n taal [kan] nie in ’n vorm gegiet ... word nie – dit ontwikkel spontaan*’ (the essence of a language cannot be cast in a mold – it develops spontaneously). ‘*Aktuele Afrikaans*’ thereby ‘reflects the pulse of Afrikaans’ (De Wet, 1997:145) (my translations).

²⁷⁰ The new standard will be ‘formed by language-in-use ... language as it is used in reality; the language form that is preferred in practice by the speakers; and indeed on the basis of the frequency of this use’ (my translation) (De Wet, 1997:144).

²⁷¹ De Wet (1997) rejects several associations with standard Afrikaans, arguing, for example (1997:149-150) that the ‘formal image of Standard Afrikaans’ does not reflect the ‘rich variety of influence by other languages’. ‘*Aktuele Afrikaans*’ thereby rejects ‘Calvinist values such as prudery and purism’ (De Wet, 1997:148-149). Furthermore, ‘*Aktuele Afrikaans*’ rejects linguistic purism (De Wet, 1997:150); ‘albo-centric/Eurocentric thinking’ concerning the origins of Afrikaans (*ibid.*); ‘romantic nationalist ideologies [Christian-Nationalist] and the adverse manipulation of political ideologies emanating from it’ (De Wet, 1997:145, 150); and the labelling of Western Cape and the Northern Cape varieties as ‘non-standard’/‘uncivilised’ (De Wet, 1997:150). In addition, ‘*Aktuele Afrikaans*’ calls for ‘*die destigmatisering van Afrikaans as die Verdrukkingstaal*’ (the destigmatisation of Afrikaans as the Language of the Oppressor) (De Wet, 1997:144); the depoliticisation of Afrikaans (i.e. ‘disconnected from ideological agendas’) (De Wet, 1997:150); and ‘the study of dialects’ (for example ‘from the Western Cape, the West Coast’, etc.) (De Wet, 1997:145). ‘*Aktuele Afrikaans*’ also rejects the notion of ‘*konserwatiewe taalbewakers*’ (conservative language guards): ‘All speakers of the language should be part of decisionmaking about “standard” aspects’. Afrikaans is thereby ‘the property of any speaker’ (De Wet, 1997:150) (my translations).

²⁷² Hendricks (2012b:43-44) similarly argues for the expansion of the standard variety via non-standard variants; he thereby suggests the de-stigmatisation of so-called varieties of people of colour. For Hendricks (2012b:43), the stigmatisation of varieties of ‘people of colour’ in relation to Standard Afrikaans – the accorded ‘prestige variety’ – reflects ‘a hierarchical view of varieties’. Hendricks (2012b:44) suggests ‘an alternative’ for the destigmatisation of said varieties: Rather than the hierarchical view, he argues for ‘an egalitarian view of varieties’. Consequently, ‘the standardisation or mainstreaming of dialectic or non-standard variants’ will be within reach (Hendricks, 2012b:44). Hendricks (*ibid.*) recommends a specific ‘form of standardisation’: ‘[T]he expansion of the standard variety by the sanctioning of some (phonetic, lexical or grammatical) variants from non-standard varieties’.

Alexander (2012b:10) asks: ‘Can we re-standardise, or reinvent, Afrikaans? Should we do so?’²⁷³ His notion of re-standardisation includes: ‘[T]o recast the standard in a more flexible mould ... in which ... a larger, more representative, space is provided for the contribution of Kaaps, *Oranjerivier* [Orange River] Afrikaans and other varieties’ (*ibid.*).²⁷⁴ He deliberates: ‘Are we not provided with a historic opportunity’ (*ibid.*). Prah (in Prah, 2012:vii) suggests the mainstreaming of ‘the various [Afrikaans regional] varieties ... into the existing standard’.²⁷⁵ The objective includes ‘processes for greater inclusivity and democracy in the continuous construction of the standard’ (*ibid.*).²⁷⁶ Gerda Odendaal (2013a:197) conceptualises restandardisation as including ‘the correction of some or other social injustice in the speech community by standardising the language from a broader varietal base, thereby making the standard language more inclusive in order to empower all speakers’. In Chapter Seven, I deliberate on whether restandardisation will be ‘enough’ to further inclusivity and empowerment given the extent of the hegemony (as evidenced by members of the *Afrikaaps* collective, discussed in Chapter Four).

3.12. Conclusion

The discussion of the many varieties of Afrikaans – including Kaaps – shows that ‘pure’ Afrikaans is not the ‘only’ Afrikaans. Afrikaans is heterogenous, as *Afrikaaps* suggests.

Kaaps, disparaged by language ‘purists’ as a ‘mixed’ language, was also discussed to demonstrate a key reason for its stigmatisation, something that will be further discussed in Chapter Four.

The discussion of the ‘*Alternatiewe Afrikaans*’ (Alternative Afrikaans) and ‘*Kaapse beweging*’ (Cape Movement) movements sought to demonstrate that coloured Afrikaans-speakers also protested against the hegemony of standard Afrikaans in the past, which provides a historical context for the analysis of the *Afrikaaps* protest. One of the foci of *Afrikaaps* is the misrecognition of Kaaps in the educational sphere and the attendant struggles of Kaaps learners. The discussion of ‘*skoolafrikaans*’ (school Afrikaans) shows that this issue is still relevant, decades after it was noted by scholars.

The discussion of the anglicisation of the coloured middle classes showed it being a consequence of the racialised hegemony of ‘pure’ Afrikaans. The white appropriation of Afrikaans led to coloured

²⁷³ Alexander deliberates whether it is ‘enough simply to “democratise” the language (citing Christo Van Rensburg in this regard) (Alexander, 2012b:10). Schuster (2016:43-44) affirms that ‘[s]tandardisation is almost impossible as there are different usages across the Western Cape region’.

²⁷⁴ Alexander (2012b:10) affirms: ‘Such an undertaking would, for example, give equal value to the use of “*tramakassie*” as to “*dankie*”’.

²⁷⁵ Prah (cited in Prah, 2012:vii) is concerned that the exclusion of dialectal variants would eventually lead to more detachment, ‘and ultimately assume the status of distinct speech forms’.

²⁷⁶ Prah (cited in Prah, 2012:vii) emphasises inclusivity: The language ought to be ‘more representative of its users’.

Afrikaans-speakers being ‘dispossessed’ of their language, as claimed by *Afrikaaps*. The question of to whom Afrikaans ‘belongs’ is therefore relevant (discussed in relation to Afrikaaps in Chapter Four).

The debates around the ‘death’ of Afrikaans, including the decline of its higher functions, relate to the view that the language will not ‘die’ as long as it is a ‘*spreektaal*’ (spoken language), spoken at home and as a mother-tongue. This debate especially came to the fore at the 2015 screening of the *Afrikaaps* documentary at SU, which will be analysed in Chapter Six.

Views regarding Afrikaans as a ‘colonial’ language or as an ‘African’ language connect with the claims of *Afrikaaps*: Afrikaans is an indigenous language. Their claim challenges the perception of Afrikaans as a ‘colonial’ language, discussed in depth in Chapter Six.

The arguments for the restandardisation of Afrikaans include the recognition and valuing of varieties such as South-western Afrikaans (including Kaaps). The standard may thereby become more accessible, and aid in bridging the socio-linguistic divide. This context is significant in the discussion of Kaaps in Chapter Six: my notion that Kaaps can be ‘preserved’ in a dictionary was challenged by members of the *Afrikaaps* ensemble. They demonstrated that Kaaps is valued as fluid; it is not ‘policed’ by prescriptive norms, as one can be subjected to as a ‘pure’ Afrikaans-speaker.

With background information to the hegemony in relation to Kaaps delineated, I discuss the ways in which *Afrikaap* resist the racialised hegemony of ‘*suiwer*’ (pure) Afrikaans.

CHAPTER FOUR: ‘OM DIE TAAL TERUG TE VAT’:²⁷⁷ RESISTING THE HEGEMONY

4.1. Introduction

The lyrics in a song in the *Afrikaaps* production, ‘to take back the language’, suggest the objective to reclaim the stigmatised and marginalised Kaaps. Accordingly, *Afrikaaps* addresses the root of this stigmatisation and marginalisation: The racialised hegemony of ‘korrekte’ (correct), ‘mooi’ (beautiful) Afrikaans. *Afrikaaps* lays bare, problematises, undermines and contests this hegemony. This response is an act of resistance. In an interview with a Dutch journalist, Van Rooy-Overmeyer emphasised the importance of laying bare and acknowledging the hegemony and its effects: ‘We can’t go back and change what has been done, but we can change where we’re going. But we need to know what has been done’ (Meeuw, 2011).²⁷⁸

A scene in *Afrikaaps* that aims to undermine the racialised hegemony of ‘pure’ Afrikaans is the staging of the 1976 Soweto uprising. Language contact during colonialism is also staged; the hegemony is thereby also opposed. Given these scenes of resistance, I conceptualise *Afrikaaps* as a post-colonial play (Gilbert and Tompkins, 1996) utilising South African hip-hop (‘a form of postcolonial text’ (Battersby, 2003:109)). To elaborate, the ‘violence of the colonial encounter’ (Erasmus, 2001) is subverted in the ‘*Land en Taal*’ (Country and Language) scene: The ‘hijacking’ of Afrikaans by European colonists at the Cape is staged. In addition, the utilisation of a non-standard linguistic form as a political tool (therefore signifying ‘linguistic resistance to imperialism’) (Erasmus, 2006; Gilbert and Tompkins, 1996), is discussed. This staged ‘violence of the colonial encounter’ is offset by a positive celebration of the creolised Cape as the locale of origin of Afrikaans. I discuss the views of various scholars who help contextualise this celebration that refutes the perception that Afrikaans originated with the ‘*Boere*’ (Boers).

Members of the *Afrikaaps* ensemble foregrounded the racialised hegemony in various ways. For example, Valley claimed that coloured Afrikaans speakers do not ‘own’ the language: Afrikaans is not in the hands of all its speakers. Henegan affirmed that the presence of *Afrikaaps* at the KKNK – a predominantly white Afrikaner festival – signified an explicit protest to the racialised hegemony. Furthermore, the show, the documentary and statements by members of the ensemble suggest that the hegemony is sustained within the spheres of education, media, literature, and dictionaries. In addition, Van Rooy-Overmeyer asserted that the hegemony influenced the representation of the history of Afrikaans.

²⁷⁷ To take back the language (my translation).

²⁷⁸ Van Rooy-Overmeyer specifically referred to the perpetuation of the hegemony of standard Afrikaans by the schooling system (Meeuw, 2011). Refer to Chapter Four for more of Van Rooy-Overmeyer’s viewpoints in this regard.

Another key aspect of the hegemony is laid bare: The stigmatisation of ‘*stukkende*’ (broken) Afrikaans in relation to ‘*suiwer*’ (pure) Afrikaans. Accordingly, it is claimed that Kaaps is ridiculed and perceived as inferior. *Afrikaaps* claims that Kaaps speakers are stigmatised as criminals (gangsters and thieves) and drug addicts. Effects of the stigma include feelings of shame towards Kaaps, and not being encouraged to speak Kaaps at home and at school. Lastly, the social phenomenon of coloured, middle-class Afrikaans parents raising their children in English (leading to a ‘disconnect’ with Afrikaans), is discussed as a reaction to the unequal power relations between Kaaps and the standard form of Afrikaans.

4.2. Staging resistance: ‘*Hierdie Kaap is mos, gekoop*’²⁷⁹

‘I see *Afrikaaps* as total protest theatre’, Henegan affirmed in a personal interview (Henegan, 2012). *Afrikaaps* as protest theatre is symbolised by, for example, the raised fist with the silhouette of the *Afrikaans Taalmonument* (Afrikaans Language Monument) in Paarl in the background:

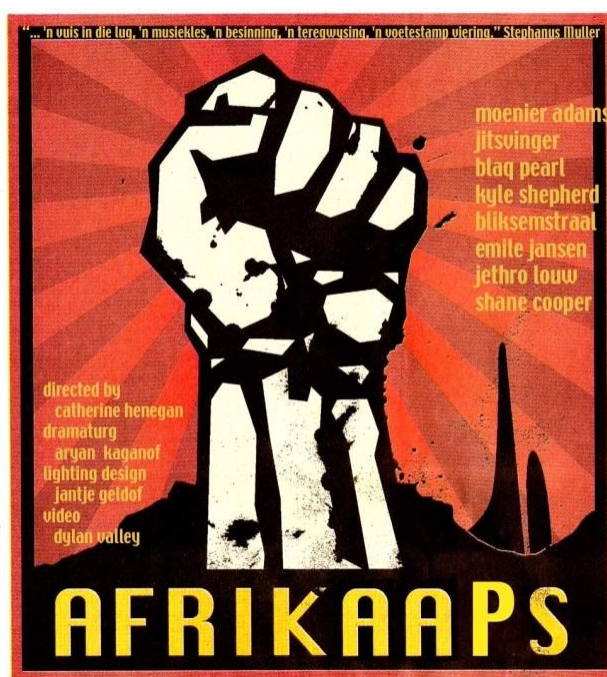


Figure 7. A graphic encapsulating the symbolism of *Afrikaaps* (Kaganof, 2010).

This symbolic gesture – ‘a signifier of individual as well as collective defiance’ (Kelly, 2012) – was also encouraged during *Afrikaaps* shows: During the performance, members of the ensemble encouraged members of the audience to raise their fists. The objective to reclaim Afrikaans is

²⁷⁹ This Cape is indeed, hijacked (my translation).

expressed²⁸⁰ by the lyrics: ‘*Die taal is gekoop in ons slaap/ Nou vat ons ’n stap met Afrikaaps/ Om dit terug te vat.*’ (The language was bought in our sleep/ Now we are taking a step with *Afrikaaps*/ To take it back) (my translation).

Furthermore, the *Afrikaanse Taalmonument* has a highly symbolic design, acknowledging the European (such as Dutch, Portuguese, German and English), African (including Khoi), and Malay influences on Afrikaans (Taalmonument-simboliek, 2016). The inclusion of such a symbol inclusively celebrating all the roots of Afrikaans (and therefore not exclusively ‘white’ Afrikaans), resonates with *Afrikaaps* that wants to ‘reclaim the language for all who speak it’. This brings the discussion to the characteristics of resistance, as discussed by Hollander and Einwohner (2004).

The so-called targets of resistance (Hollander and Einwohner, 2004:536) are manifold. Firstly, *Afrikaaps* disputes the ‘institutions and social structures’ (*ibid.*) of Afrikaner hegemony by ‘uncovering’ several aspects of it in relation to the marginalisation and stigmatisation of Kaaps and its speakers (discussed in subsequent sections in this chapter). In the second instance, *Afrikaaps* targets the white Afrikaner ethnic consciousness held by white Afrikaans-speakers. In Chapter Six, I discuss my identification as an Afrikaans-speaker and my ascribed social identity as an Afrikaner in relation to my interpretation of *Afrikaaps* (and the paradox of inclusion and exclusion that the claims of the production offer). Thirdly, *Afrikaaps* targets coloured Kaaps-speakers, especially youths from gang and crime ridden Cape Flats coloured communities (discussed in depth in Chapter Six). In the fourth instance, the production targets Dutch audiences (given that Afrikaans was formed in a Dutch colonial context), also discussed in Chapter Six. The so-called scale of resistance (Hollander and Einwohner, 2004:536) is not ‘locally confined’.

The production has several so-called goals of resistance, ‘aimed at achieving some sort of change’ (Hollander and Einwohner, 2004:536). These goals are examined in depth in Chapters Five and Six. The resistance of *Afrikaaps* is also ‘identity-based’ [Italics removed]: ‘[W]hat is resisted is not (or not only) political or social conditions but also the resister’s expected or attributed identity’ (Hollander and Einwohner, 2004:537), discussed in depth in Chapter Five.

Recognition is intertwined with resistance (Hollander and Einwohner, 2004:541). In Chapter Six (sections 6.3 and 6.4), I identify two groups of targets (*ibid.*). Firstly, audience members that identified with the claims of *Afrikaaps*, namely white standard Afrikaans-speakers and coloured Kaaps-speakers. In the second instance: my personal recognition of the claims of *Afrikaaps* is, as previously stated,

²⁸⁰ A poster advertising the *Afrikaaps* documentary for the 2010 Encounters International Documentary Film Festival reads: ‘The film reclaims and liberates Afrikaans from its reputation as the language of the oppressor, taking it back for all who speak it’ (Documentary Filmmakers’ Association, 2010).

discussed against the background of my identification and ascribed social identity, therefore, as a target of the production's resistance.²⁸¹

Afrikaaps is so-called overt resistance. As the afore-mentioned discussion attests, it is intended as such by the actors, and it is recognised as such by the targets as well as the observers (Hollander and Einwohner, 2004:544). The resistance of *Afrikaaps* is a 'political action' (Hollander and Einwohner, 2004:537). The '[c]ore elements' of resistance are '[a]ction and [o]pposition': It disrupts, opposes, challenges, etc. (Hollander and Einwohner, 2004:538). *Afrikaaps* overtly disrupts the general perception of Afrikaans as a 'white' language on the post-colonial stage. The production claims that Afrikaans was 'hijacked': Historically, it was appropriated as a white language of the oppressor. Coloured people were thereby dispossessed of their language. In an interview with a Dutch journalist, Valley affirmed that *Afrikaaps*'s advocacy stems from this alleged hijacking of language: 'People ... didn't have any ownership over their language' (Valley, 2011).

This hijacking is overtly staged in the '*Land en Taal*' (Land and Language) scene. According to Henegan, this scene is her 'ode to protest theatre':

That whole style of having props ... this agit-prop, it's like driving the message home in a kind of almost cartoon-like style ... and then you got the colonial aggressor, and you've got the meek *Boesman* ... that whole scene is in that language of agit-prop (Henegan, 2012).²⁸²

²⁸¹ Hollander and Einwohner (2004:541) identifies 'members of the media' and researchers as 'other observers' with regard to recognition and resistance. The South African and Dutch media generally received *Afrikaaps* extremely well (the production has also won several local and international awards). On the *Afrikaaps* blog (AFRIKAAPS, 2016), many media reviews can be consulted. The researchers concerned are Van der Waal (2012), Becker and Oliphant (2014) and Schuster (2016). Schuster (2016:iv, 1-2, 4) identifies as a Kaaps-speaker, highlighting the value of *Afrikaaps* for her as a 'Cape Coloured' Kaaps-speaker (Schuster, 2016:2). Schuster (2016:67) asserted: '*Afrikaaps* provided the platform for breaking ground in revealing (while also elevating and affirming) the Black, Coloured, creole, untold contribution and innovation to an ever-evolving language and making the language open for all to use once again'.

²⁸² 'Boesman' is a dated, pejorative term for the indigenous San. I believe that Henegan used this term in an ironic way to illustrate the 'colonial aggressors'' treatment of the San.



Figure 8. Louw in the ‘Land en Taal’ scene. (Photograph by Aryan Kaganof) (Wentzel, 2011b)



Figure 9. ‘Land en Taal’ (Country and Language) scene with Adams and Van der Westhuizen as the ‘colonial aggressors’ A painting of Jan van Riebeeck’s arrival at the Cape in 1652 is projected onto the screen (Photograph by Menán van Heerden)



Figure 10. This painting depicts the colonialists’ first encounter with the indigenes. Painted by Charles Bell (1852) (Mountain, 2003)

In this short scene, the ‘colonial aggressors’ are represented by Adams and Van der Westhuizen, dressed in colonial attire. Louw represents the ‘Boesman’. Shepherd is playing the indigenous bow (‘*xaru*’), a symbol of the peaceful, pre-contact era.

Louw enters the stage, carrying two straw bags with the words ‘*Land*’ (Land) and ‘*Taal*’ (Language) sewed onto them. Van der Westhuizen and Adams crawl onto the stage (due to apparent dehydration upon arriving onto the shore and symbolising their need for help by the locals). Louw offers them water from the two bags. They shake his hand in appreciation, a gesture of seeming cordiality and respect. Van der Westhuizen walks to the left side of the stage, where he places the Dutch flag. Adams cunningly creeps up from behind Louw and dangles a gold necklace in front of his face. He then hangs it around his neck, puts sunglasses on his face, and offers him alcohol.²⁸³ While Louw is drinking the alcohol, Adams and Van der Westhuizen try to grab the bags away from Louw. Louw tries to take them back. As he grabs them, Van der Westhuizen gestures in a violent, threatening way that he is going to slice his neck.

Shots are suddenly fired; Van der Westhuizen smiles and seizes the bags. Adams points his gun at Louw, whilst Van der Westhuizen hangs a cardboard sign around Louw’s neck. The sign proclaims ‘illegal’. Adams and Van der Westhuizen grab the bags. Adams then mimes kicking Louw. Van der Westhuizen grabs bunches of grapes from the bags and mimes eating them.²⁸⁴ Goliath enters the stage: ‘*Da’ het julle dit nou. Hierdie Kaap ... is mos, gekaap.*’ (There you have it. This Cape is, indeed, hijacked) (my translation).²⁸⁵

The ‘*Land en Taal*’ (Land and Language) is an overt expression of the colonial relations: The Dutch ‘colonial aggressor’ vs the ‘meek indigenes’. The *Afrikaaps* performances in the ‘space’ of the Netherlands are especially symbolic: The effects of the ‘colonial encounter’ (Erasmus, 2001:28) in relation to language are engaged with explicitly. I therefore conceptualise *Afrikaaps* as a post-colonial play.²⁸⁶ Gilbert and Tompkins (1996:2) describe post-colonial plays as ‘textual/ cultural expressions of resistance to colonialism’.²⁸⁷ Gilbert and Tompkins (1996:11) outline four general characteristics of post-colonial performance, three of which are relevant for this thesis.

²⁸³ A possible reference to the ‘*dop*’ (tot) system.

²⁸⁴ Possibly referring to the Cape wine industry established by colonists.

²⁸⁵ The hijacking of the Cape symbolises the hijacking of Afrikaans: Cape Town is where the language originated.

²⁸⁶ Becker and Oliphant (2014:14) situates ‘*Afrikaaps* in a particular tradition of theatre in South Africa, which was articulated by performers connected to the Black Consciousness movements from the 1970s’.

²⁸⁷ Post-colonialism – a ‘historical-analytical movement’ – challenges the ‘discourses, power structures, and social hierarchies’ of colonialism (Lawson, 1992:156 as cited in Gilbert and Tompkins, 1996:2; Gilbert and Tompkins, 1996:2). According to Gilbert and Tompkins (1996:2) the term ‘post-colonialism’ itself is too narrow, resulting in the frequent misinterpretation of this critical discourse as constituting ‘a naïve teleological sequence which supersedes colonialism’. The *temporal* conceptualisation of post-colonialism refers to the era succeeding either the cessation of colonisation or political independence (*ibid.*). This conceptualisation does not take into account that post-colonialism as a theory constitutes a political agenda (Gilbert and Tompkins, 1996:2-3). This agenda focuses on the deconstruction and exposing of unequal power relationships perpetuated by

Firstly, post-colonial performance constitutes either an overt or covert reaction to the imperial experience (Gilbert and Tompkins, 1996:11). *Afrikaaps* overtly places ‘the violence of the colonial encounter’ (Erasmus, 2001:28) centre stage. The binary opposition ‘coloniser’ (‘us’) and ‘colonised’ (‘them’) (Gilbert and Tompkins, 1996:3) is explicitly foregrounded in the ‘*Land en Taal*’ (Land and Language) scene. In the second instance, post-colonial performance endeavours to preserve and/or renew ‘colonised (and sometimes pre-contact) communities’ (Gilbert and Tompkins, 1996:11). In the third instance, post-colonial performance questions the foundation of ‘imperial representation’, namely hegemony (*ibid.*). Accordingly, Gilbert and Tompkins (1996:166) discuss the post-colonial stage in relation to European hegemony and ‘non-standard linguistic forms’. They argue that colonial power is, amongst others, enforced through language (*ibid.*).²⁸⁸ This European hegemony constitutes an imposed language of the coloniser, and/or the prohibition of indigenous languages. The post-colonial stage is utilised as a space for the expression of ‘linguistic resistance to imperialism’ (*ibid.*). So-called post-colonial agency is attained through language (*ibid.*). The coloniser undermines imperialism through the use of, for example, local, ‘non-standard linguistic forms’, indigenous languages or creolised languages (*ibid.*).²⁸⁹

The utilisation of Kaaps – a ‘non-standard linguistic form’ – in *Afrikaaps* is an overt response to ‘white Afrikaans’ hegemony, including the ‘Europeanization of Afrikaans’.²⁹⁰ The staging of the historical relations between the language varieties functions as a political tool, according to Erasmus (2006:16, 84).²⁹¹ Erasmus (2006:26) argues that, given the politicised nature of Afrikaans, the utilisation of varieties (which ‘deviate ... from the standard’) constitutes a very effective political tool. Standard Afrikaans is the symbol of Afrikaner hegemony (*ibid.*). Therefore, protest against this hegemony is indicated by its use (*ibid.*). The *choice* to use Cape Afrikaans – rather than standard Afrikaans – becomes

‘colonialist power structures and institutions’ (in the political and cultural spheres) (Gilbert and Tompkins, 1996:3). The ‘hegemonic boundaries’ that contribute to them are undermined (*ibid.*). The foundation of the afore-mentioned inequality are binary oppositions, for example “‘us and them’ ... “white and black”, [and] “coloniser and colonised”” (*ibid.*).

²⁸⁸ Language is a fundamental marker of imperialism (Gilbert and Tompkins, 1996:164).

²⁸⁹ However, the post-colonial stage is not utilised for the simple enactment of these linguistic forms/languages (Gilbert and Tompkins, 1996:166). Language does not only function ‘as a basic medium through which meaning is filtered’ (*ibid.*). Language ‘also acts as a cultural and political system that has meaning in itself’ (Gilbert and Tompkins, 1996:166-167). The space of the post-colonial stage is utilised for its articulation (Gilbert and Tompkins, 1996:167).

²⁹⁰ The racialised hegemony of ‘pure’ Afrikaans is encapsulated in the afore-mentioned lyrics: ‘*Die taal is gekoop in ons slaap*’ (The language was bought in our sleep). However, agency is asserted (as affirmed by Adam Haupt in his introductory talk at the 2012 Joule City performance): ‘*Nou vat ons ’n stap met Afrikaaps/ Om dit terug te vat.*’ (Now we are taking a step with Afrikaaps/ To take it back) (my translations).

²⁹¹ Erasmus (2006:16) emphasises the political function of language varieties in theatre. Erasmus (2006:82) applies this function to her analysis of socio-political dramas, for example *Kanna hy kô Hystoe* (in which Kaaps is used).

‘a symbol of an oppressed group’s protest against discrimination and other social circumstance’ (Erasmus, 2006:84).²⁹²

The use of South African hip-hop – ‘a form of postcolonial text’ (Battersby, 2003:109) – in the production is also an act of protest against the hegemony. Watkins (2004:124) affirms: ‘Hip hop in Cape Town emerged mainly as a platform for articulating resistance to the apartheid regime.’²⁹³ Presently, hip hop is still in the forefront of raising the concerns of those who feel excluded from various domains of power’. According to Henegan (2012), the symbolic use of Kaaps as a political tool connects to the ‘global language’ of hip-hop. Henegan (2012) accordingly asserts: ‘*Afrikaaps* is also speaking in another language’, ‘a language that should [not] be ignored’.²⁹⁴ This form of hip-hop can be termed ‘indigenised’/localised hip-hop, encompassing the ‘use of local dialects and idiomatic expressions’ and ‘address[ing] very local concerns’ (Haupt, 2012:34). For Haupt (2012:160-161), the utilisation of ‘*gamtal*’ in hip-hop signifies:

[I]dentities that were negated within neocolonial discourses are validated by the appropriation of the very dialects that were framed negatively within these dominant discourses. Subverting the standard [dialect] of Afrikaans ... also subverts the power of historically dominant discourses that positioned subjects as marginal and, therefore, without agency.

(Haupt, 2012:161)

Battersby (2003:114) similarly notes:

The standardisation of Afrikaans by whites played a decisive role in the discourse of power during apartheid, through its exclusion of the variants of Afrikaans spoken by black/Coloured speakers. The use of the vernacular subverts the impacts of colonialism ... The use of the vernacular creates a unifying force among the colonised and a site of intercultural conflict.

²⁹² Erasmus (2006:84) argues that the ‘symbolic value’ ascribed to this variety enables its use as a political instrument. Refer to Chapter Five for an in-depth discussion of the symbolic value ascribed to Kaaps by members of the *Afrikaaps* ensemble.

²⁹³ Hip-hop emerged during the 1980s in Cape Town: ‘Since the early 1980s, youths in the margins of Cape Town have been using rap music and other aspects of hip hop culture as a form of political strategy and pleasure. Rap music and hip hop were initially associated with resistance politics and male coloured youths’ (Watkins, 2005:124). However, Becker and Oliphant (2014:3) affirm that the ‘hip-hopera’ that is *Afrikaaps* ‘differs considerably from earlier attempts of bringing attention to this dialect and its speakers, which were embarked upon by Cape Town rappers in the 1990s’. Becker and Oliphant (2014:15-16) argue: ‘Ethnically-specified “heritage” dynamics appear to have replaced the black consciousness politics of earlier musical Cape Flats lingo activism as the icon of both content and aesthetics. The renaming of *gamtal* as *Afrikaaps* by a new generation of cultural activists ostensibly resonates with an aestheticised culturalisation, moving the goalpost from an activism focused on claim-making from the ghetto to one that authenticates claims through the reclamation of (real or imagined) repressed forms of cultural and historical heritage’.

²⁹⁴ Henegan (2012) argues: In addition to the production’s engagement with ‘colonialism ... the colonial influence’, ‘the *real* colonialism ... in the piece [is] hip-hop’, given that it is ‘an American invention’. However, Henegan (2012) affirms that ‘hip-hop is about the mash-up as well’ (Henegan (2012) cited *Afrikaaps* as ‘creole theatre. It’s a total mash-up of all these different things. And because the roots are also a mash-up’). Schuster (2016:28) makes a similar point: ‘It is ironic that in order to bring attention to Kaaps, a truly South African creation, the producers of *Afrikaaps* used a western form of Hip Hopera (or musical show) incorporating Conscious Hip Hop specifically to fuse and produce something intelligible not only to Kaaps-speakers but to a universal audience, thus underscoring Pennycook’s [2003:524] discussion of the globalisation of language’. Refer to Schuster (2016:26) for a discussion on ‘[I]nguistic identity construction through Hip Hop’ with regard to *Afrikaaps*.

Invariably in South African hip-hop the vernacular is used in such a manner as to challenge the logic presented by power structures.²⁹⁵

4.3. The post-colonial stage: The Cape and creolisation

In contrast to the view of the Cape as a ‘negative’ setting of the so-called violence of the colonial encounter, there is the more positive celebration of Cape Town as the creolised locale of origin of Afrikaans. Furthermore, the latter view disputes the *perception* that Afrikaans originated with the ‘*Boere*’ (Boers) on farms and with the ‘*Voortrekkers*’. This section provides a discussion regarding the general settings in which creole languages originated, followed by an examination of Afrikaans in this regard.

According to Garrett (2006:58), creoles and pidgins originated in the era of European colonial contact on predominantly tropical islands and coastlines with a range of different inhabitants. These inhabitants included the indigenous, and the subsequent introduction of enslaved and indentured populations (from other areas, such as East Asia). From the early sixteenth to the late nineteenth century the Portuguese, Dutch, French, Spanish and British “‘discovered,” explored, conquered, missionised, plundered, exploited, ruled, administered, and settled’ these territories. The type of society within which a creole language develops, is the ‘classic’ locale of the colonial plantation (albeit not exclusively) (Garrett, 2006:58).

In 1652, the Dutch East India Company established a refreshment station at the Cape. The Cape was subsequently colonised. The colonists encountered the indigenous Khoi population, and subsequently imported slaves from various territories. McCormick (2002b:7) states that ‘[t]he coast of Cape Town’s Table Bay was the first site of interaction in South Africa between speakers of African, European, and Asian languages’. Ponelis (1996:129) attributes ‘[t]he rapid rise of Afrikaans in the latter half of the seventeenth century’ to ‘the linguistic diversity of the early Cape settlement’. Roberge (2002:79) identifies ‘[t]he three groups primarily responsible for the formation of Afrikaans’: ‘European settlers (from 1652), the indigenous Khoekhoe and enslaved peoples of African and Asian provenance (from 1658)’.²⁹⁶

²⁹⁵ Watkins (2005:137) cites the use of Cape Afrikaans in hip-hop as ‘a social code ... with multiple forms of representations’.

²⁹⁶ Roberge (2002:79) states that ‘[d]escendants of these groups had further come to share in a common vernacular that was unique to southern Africa’.



Figure 11. ‘Land en Taal’ (Country and Language) scene, with a projection of a painting of a Dutch ship arriving at the Cape. Photograph by Menán van Heerden (Amersfoort, the Netherlands)

Various scholars have referred to the Cape as a creole community: Roberge (2009:209) conceptualises the Cape Colony during the era of the Dutch East India Company – from 1652 to 1795 – as a creole community.²⁹⁷ Martin (2013:67) echoes Roberge’s (2009) assertion, referring to the colonial Cape as ‘the cradle of creolisation’: ‘Creolisation processes’ in South Africa originated at the Cape in the seventeenth century due to ‘initial contacts and exchanges between European colonists, Khoikhoi inhabitants ... slaves and Bantu-speaking Africans’ (Martin, 2013:90). Martin (1999:3) asserts that a creole culture first developed at the Cape during the era of slavery: ‘[A]n original mixed culture at the Cape ... of which language (Afrikaans), cuisine, music, festivals and, to a certain extent, Islam, are different facets’.²⁹⁸ Achmat Davids (1994:110) similarly states: ‘A creole culture developed at the Cape – and therein Afrikaans has its origin’.²⁹⁹

Martin (2013:54) cites Shell (1994) as ‘probably one of the first scholars who applied the notion of creolisation to South African history, situating the origins of the creolisation process within the context

²⁹⁷ Ponelis (1993:12) affirms that ‘the Cape was not a plantation society’, a view followed by Roberge (2009:213). Den Besten (2012:272) offers a slightly different perspective: The (western) Cape Colony constituted a joint ‘extended “fort”’ and “plantation” situation’.

²⁹⁸ This Cape creole culture is significantly celebrated by *Afrikaaps*: Apart from Kaaps, *Afrikaaps* celebrates the ‘*Kaapse Klopse*’ (the Cape Minstrels), ghoema, and Afrikaans phonetically transcribed into Arabic script (originating in the madrassas of the Bo-Kaap in Cape Town). This celebration of Cape slave heritage is discussed in more depth in Chapter Five.

²⁹⁹ The Cape’s diverse ‘social circumstances’ – in terms of languages and cultures – is attributed to ‘language contact and acculturation’ (Davids, 1994:118). Afrikaans originated in this social setting (*ibid.*).

of slavery at the Cape: ‘From ... imported and local cultures arose the imperfectly understood but richly textured, syncretistic, domestic creole culture of the Cape’ (Shell, 1994:40 as cited in Martin, 2013:54). Shell (1994:65) points out that the Cape slaves who originated from diverse locales, contributed to the heterogeneity at the Cape: For almost two centuries of colonial occupation and slavery, ‘Cape slave-owning households’ were somatically, ethnically, culturally, and linguistically heterogeneous (Shell, 1994:65). Den Besten refers to the conditions at the Cape Colony between 1652 and 1658 as ‘a classical “fort” situation’ (2012:272) within which Afrikaans, a fort creole, emerged (Den Besten, 2012:273).

Hesseling (1899:33-35) conceptualises the early Cape as a trading hub. In the 17th century, a refreshment station was established at the Cape for ships – predominantly of the East India Company – sailing back and forth between the Netherlands and India. During this era, Dutch trade expanded on a vast scale. Due to the consequential shortage of Dutch sailors, sailors of various nationalities boarded these ships. The language utilised for interaction between these sailors and the people at the Cape (with whom they interacted) was Malay-Portuguese (Hesseling, 1899:33-35), the *lingua franca* of international seafaring trade in the Indian Archipelago at the time (1899:34-35).

A more recent conceptualisation of the Western Cape as a creole region, and Cape Town specifically as a creole community, was offered in an opinion editorial published in the *Cape Times* (7 June, 2011) by the convenors³⁰⁰ of the ‘2011 Locations and Locutions³⁰¹ Lecture Series: Which Africa, Whose Africa?’³⁰¹ Titled ‘Opinion: The Cape must embrace its rich mix’, the convenors stated: ‘The Western Cape is one of the most creolised regions of South Africa. A fulcrum between the Atlantic and Indian Ocean worlds, it has never ceased to be a site where North-South, East-West axes and the land mass of the African interior collided and intersected’ (Mbembe, Samuelson, Nuttall and Musila, 2011).

The city of Cape Town is emphasised as:

[A] living legacy of this entanglement of multiple worlds ... Under the sign of race, black, brown, white and all hues and shades have ... invented a rich, syncretic social mosaic; an astonishing tapestry of human forms, an interlocking topography of cultures, sounds and senses not unlike what is to be found in places such as New Orleans in the United States or similar urban formations in the Caribbean.

(Mbembe *et al.*, 2011)³⁰²

³⁰⁰ Namely Achille Mbembe, Meg Samuelson, Sarah Nuttall and Grace Musila.

³⁰¹ Presented by the Graduate School of the Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences (University of Stellenbosch) in partnership with the *Mail & Guardian*. The public lecture series encompassed three lectures with respective panellists: ‘*Thinking Africa from the Cape; Atlantic Locations; and Indian Ocean Africa*’.

³⁰² Similar to the afore-mentioned standpoint of Mbembe *et al.* (2011), Meg Samuelson, a founder of the lecture series (in conjunction with Grace Musila), asserts: The Cape is ‘the convergence point of the continent and the two oceans that flank it: as the place in which historical trade routes intermesh, as a site of cultural collision and entanglement’.

4.4. 'To h*** with Afrikaans'

Afrikaaps stages a short scene presenting a so-called watershed moment in South Africa's history, the 16 June 1976 Soweto uprising. According to H.J Pieterse (1998/1999:64), '[d]ie 1976-opstande was een van die grootste bevraagtekenings van Afrikanerhegemonie.' (the 1976-uprisings was one of the biggest questionings of Afrikaner hegemony) (my translation).

Whilst Adams, Jansen and Van der Westhuizen breakdance, a voice-recording of a policeman rings out: 'Stop this illegal gathering immediately!' A toyi-toyi scene follows; the ensemble chants several names of apartheid activists and F.W. de Klerk.³⁰³

Nelson Mandela! ... Robert Sobukwe! ... Ashley Kriel! ... Coline Williams! ... Anton Fransch! ... De Klerk, 'voetsek' [go away] (x3)! De Klerk, 'voetsek'! (x3)

The scene is broken up by loud gunshots. Whilst Shepherd is playing a dramatic piano piece, silent black and white footage is projected onto the screen: People run whilst being shot at. A graphic of the poster 'To Hell with Afrikaans' then appears onto the screen whilst Adams and Van der Westhuizen sing: 'Voel 'ie pyn/ bring 'ie wyn na Mitchells Plein/ skryf a number lat 'ie pyn verdwyn.' (Feel the pain/ bring the wine to Michells Plein/ write a song so that the pain disappears) (my translation).



Figure 12. This photograph projected onto the screen is utilised in the production as part of this scene (Photo/All sizes, 2016)

Historically, the Soweto uprising has become a fundamental symbol of protest against the language of the oppressor.³⁰⁴ In the documentary, heritage activist Patrick Mellet affirms:

The rebellion against Afrikaans in 1976, was Afrikaans, the white oppressor's language. Forced on people as a language, a medium of instruction in schools. You're hearing commands, you're

³⁰³ F.W. de Klerk was the last president in the apartheid era. 'Voetsek' means 'go away'.

³⁰⁴ The 2015 student uprising against Afrikaans as a university medium of instruction is often compared to the 1976 uprising in public discourse.

hearing abusive language, and so on, and you're supposed to learn in this. So it was a natural thing for young people to say: 'To hell with Afrikaans'.

(Afrikaaps, 2010)³⁰⁵

However, *Afrikaaps* differentiates between the spoken Afrikaans of coloured people and the standard Afrikaans of the white oppressor. For example: Mellet, in the documentary film, asserts in relation to the 1976 rebellion: 'We mustn't make a mistake to say that people were saying this about the Afrikaans that they spoke' (Afrikaaps, 2010). Valley and Valley (2009) assert that, in contrast to the 1976 protest of black students, coloured youth activists resisted apartheid in Afrikaans:

[W]hile black students in Soweto were protesting against the use of Afrikaans as the language of instruction, Afrikaans-speaking coloured youth joined in the fight against the government, and used their Afrikaans to mobilise communities to fight against the injustices of the day. Members of the UDF, Ashley Kriel, Allan Boesak and Cheryl Carolus come to mind as some of the youth who were at the forefront of resistance politics in Cape Town in the 1970s and '80s.

(Valley and Valley, 2010)³⁰⁶

Therefore, Mellet and Valley and Valley suggest that historically, it is the *standard* Afrikaans of the oppressor that was the point of contention, not the Afrikaans spoken by coloured people. In a radio interview, Jansen affirmed that Kaaps-speakers on the Cape Flats have never protested against the use of standard Afrikaans (in contrast to the 1976 uprising of black students):

And the funny part is that ... when you look at the history of black people standing up in protest against learning Afrikaans, but ... in the Cape Flats, nobody has ever stood up and said we don't want to speak this version, this is not how we speak at home. That's not how they speak to their Mom and Dad. You understand, like how they communicate, *met liefde pra't hulle die taal wat hulle pra't, vestaan djy, en hoeko' kan hulle nie soe pra't'ie* [they speak the language that they speak, do you understand, and why can't they not speak like that] [my translation].

(Jansen, 2012)

During the performance at Jule City, Jansen reiterated: There has not yet been an uprising such as the youth uprisings of 1976. He asserted that *Afrikaaps* is that uprising against the racialised hegemony of 'pure' Afrikaans. To illustrate his point, Jansen highlighted the difference between 'another Afrikaans' and 'that Afrikaans': People speak Kaapse Afrikaans – '*n anne' Afrikaans*' (another Afrikaans) – on the Cape Flats. However, to pass in school and go to university, one has to speak '*daai Afrikaans*' (that Afrikaans). Jansen affirmed that 'we do not speak like that'. Jansen also addressed the rejection of Kaaps by its speakers: '*Ons praat'ie onse taal'ie*' (We do not speak our language). He asserted that

³⁰⁵ McKaiser (2016) affirms: 'As we approach Youth Day this week and commemorate the Soweto Uprising of 1976, it struck me that that uprising, sparked in the first instance by a rejection of Afrikaans as a medium of instruction, has not led, 40 years later, to the complete liberation of Afrikaans from its roots of shameful political domination'.

³⁰⁶ McKaiser (2016) similarly argues: 'The year 1976 is often reduced to a black-and-white narrative'.

Afrikaaps encourages one to speak Kaaps: ‘*Djy kan praat soes djy wil*’ (You can speak any way you want) (my translations).

4.5. ‘People did not have any ownership over their language’

Afrikaaps claims that coloured people’s lack of ownership of Afrikaans is an aspect of the hegemony. Valley, for example, asserted in an interview with a Dutch journalist: ‘People ... didn’t have any ownership over their language’ (Valley, 2011). At a roundtable discussion at the *Theater aan het Spui* before the premiere,³⁰⁷ Valley similarly affirmed, ‘Afrikaans is really not in the hands of all the speakers’,³⁰⁸ namely ‘everybody who’s brown and speaks Afrikaans’. Valley explained that the objective of *Afrikaaps* is for the majority of the speech community – namely coloured people – to reclaim ‘ownership’ of Afrikaans (and stigmatised Kaaps). He also referred to his parents deciding to *not* raise him in Afrikaans *because* of the stigma:

So *Afrikaaps* is all about putting Afrikaans back in the hands of everybody. The majority who speak it is actually not white, which some of us really take notice of. And the importance of that is people who grow up Afrikaans, speaking the Afrikaaps dialect, don’t see the way they speak Afrikaans as the real Afrikaans. And so they grow up with a little bit of an inferiority complex, so like my parents, the language hasn’t been passed down, so, like me, my Afrikaans is really bad, so it’s getting better.

4.6. ‘We’re trying to change a whole mentality’

Henegan emphasised the symbolic value of the *Afrikaaps* performance within the space of the KKNK. In the documentary, Henegan suggests the significance of the *Afrikaaps* performances within the KKNK’s milieu of ‘Afrikaner culture’ exclusivity. She addresses the collective during a rehearsal: ‘The big success will be if the show ... works at the KKNK ... I don’t know who we’re dealing with ... realize that what we’re doing at KKNK, is seriously groundbreaking stuff. We’re trying to change a whole ... mentality’ (*Afrikaaps*, 2010).

In the documentary, Valley similarly addressed this challenge: ‘Legalizing Afrikaans at the Baxter was easier than the mission that we were about to do. The Klein Karoo Arts Festival’ (*Afrikaaps*, 2010). In a radio interview, Jansen recounted his feeling of apprehension before *Afrikaaps* was performed at the KKNK: ‘When we went to the KKNK in Oudtshoorn ... I was actually afraid, because I expected people to be upset, but the truth is that people were actually ... very welcoming’.³⁰⁹ He referred to ‘*anties*’

³⁰⁷ Valley gave a short speech as an introduction to *Afrikaaps*.

³⁰⁸ Valley cited ‘very one-sided media representation’ as an example.

³⁰⁹ This statement was made within the context of Jansen explaining the historical appropriation of Afrikaans as a white language [by Afrikaners]. In Jansen’s words, they endeavoured ‘to create the “*Boere-gemeenskap*” [Boer community]’ and decided, ‘[Afrikaans] is our language, now we are going to establish a “*volk*” [a people]

(older ladies) who responded to the show by saying, ‘Wow, I understand now where the language comes from’³¹⁰ (Jansen, 2012).

4.7. ‘*Wa’sie “Afrikaaps” innie boeke*’³¹¹

Afrikaaps claims that the hegemony is upheld within the spheres of education, media, literature, and dictionaries. The (perceived) misrecognition of Kaaps by the so-called Afrikaner establishment³¹² is thereby addressed.

Jansen addressed the audience in this regard during the 2012 Joule City performance: ‘*Nou in die skole om te pass, moet djy ’aai Afrikaans praat. En as jy university moet ga ’n, moet jy ’aai Afrikaans praat.*’ (To pass in school, you have to speak that Afrikaans. And if you go to university, you have to speak that Afrikaans) (my translation). Jansen thereby foregrounds the absence of Kaaps within the educational sphere. He also referred to this absence on television and in books. In an interview with a Dutch journalist, Goliath alluded to the hegemony of ‘pure’, white Afrikaans literature during apartheid: ‘If you look at the written language, it will always be in a style known to be by the ... ones who write the books, and at that time it was the oppressor that wrote the books’ (Meeuw, 2011).

Van Rooy-Overmeyer, in an interview with a Dutch journalist, foregrounded the claimed exclusion of Kaaps from the standard Afrikaans dictionary: ‘They decided these particular words and this structured book that we are creating, will be the standard Afrikaans language’. According to Van Rooy-Overmeyer, ‘the majority of the people from ... Cape Town’ was thereby excluded. She cites the concurrent ‘psychological and emotional shift’: ‘Now people felt that the way they speak ... just isn’t right’ (Van Rooy-Overmeyer, 2011).

In the Lavender Hill High scene, Adams addresses the learners regarding the claimed misrecognition of Kaaps within textbooks, on the radio and on television: ‘How will you feel [if] “Afrikaaps” [is] ... a legal language ... or an official language, your language that you speak at home. You get it in a textbook maybe. Or you hear it on the radio every day, or you see it on a [television] channel every day’³¹³ (Afrikaaps, 2010).

During a dialogue in the 2010 Baxter matinee, Adams foregrounded the misrecognition of ghoema songs on the television and radio: ‘*Jy hoor ’ie die songs op tv of radio nie.*’ (You do not hear the songs

around the language’. The ‘*taal*’ (language) was needed ‘in order for them to really rally around something’ (Jansen, 2012).

³¹⁰ My translation.

³¹¹ Where is the Afrikaans in the books.

³¹² Namely institutions that perpetuate ‘pure’ Afrikaans.

³¹³ My translation.

on the television or the radio). He encouraged the learners to ask their older relatives – the ‘old folks’ – about the origin of these songs. They will thereby ‘gain another understanding of the language’.³¹⁴

4.8. ‘Die Afrikaans wat o’s hie’ doen issie my huistaal’ie’³¹⁵

Afrikaaps addresses a general point of contention regarding the hegemony: Kaaps learners struggle with standard Afrikaans as a medium of instruction. This issue is addressed in a scene in the documentary. Members of the *Afrikaaps* collective visit an Afrikaans class at Lavender Hill High to – according to Valley – ‘get a sense about kids who speak “Afrikaaps” every day, feel about the language’ (Afrikaaps, 2010). Jansen addresses the learners, emphasising the difference between spoken Kaaps and written standard Afrikaans: ‘*Sodra die klokkie lui dan praat julle ’n anner Afrikaans as wat innie boeke is né.*’ (As soon as the bell rings, you speak another Afrikaans, not so?) (my translation). He asks them how they feel about it, whether they are all right with it, and what is easier to speak, ‘*die Afrikaans wat innie boeke is, of die “Afrikaaps” wat julle praat. Afrikaans, “Afrikaaps”.*’ (the Afrikaans that is in the books, or the ‘Afrikaaps’ that you speak. Afrikaans, ‘Afrikaaps’) (my translation).

One learner responds that Cape Flats Afrikaans is his home language: ‘Cape Flats Afrikaans. *Ek verkies om Afrikaans te praat want dis my huistaal.*’ (I choose to speak Afrikaans because it is my language). She emphasises the difference between her home language and the Afrikaans utilised as a medium of instruction: ‘*Die joke van alles is, hie’ by die skool sê hulle: “Afrikaans is jou huistaal”, ma’ die Afrikaans wat o’s hie doen issie my huistaal’ie. Ek gannie vi’ my ma sê, die woorde gebryk, as ek saam met my ma praat by die huis’ie. Ek gaan Kaapse Afrikaans praat!*’ (The joke is, here at school they say ‘Afrikaans is your home language’, but the Afrikaans we do here isn’t my home language. I will not speak to my mother, use the words, when I am talking to my mother at home. I will speak Cape Afrikaans!) (my translation).

One learner alluded to a lack of proficiency in standard Afrikaans: ‘If you grew up in pure Afrikaans, then you would understand it better’.³¹⁶ The Afrikaans teacher jokes that if her learners were to be educated in Kaaps, ‘these children will pass Afrikaans so well!’ (Afrikaaps, 2010).

4.9. ‘Be open to the alternative story, not the story that was written’

In an interview with a Dutch journalist, Van Rooy-Overmeyer claimed that the hegemony influenced representation of the history of Afrikaans. She asserted: Hegemonic representation was perpetuated by

³¹⁴ According to Van Wyk (2012), neither national radio nor television prominently features the annual, big ‘*Maleier*’ (Malay) competitions.

³¹⁵ The Afrikaans that we do here is not my home language.

³¹⁶ My translation.

the government, for whom it ‘was appropriate ... to tell an appropriate story at that time’. Accordingly, ‘a whole lot of other truths and facts’ were ‘excluded’.

Furthermore, Van Rooy-Overmeyer affirmed: ‘The alternative story’ of Afrikaans is not found in prescribed books ‘fed to us throughout our schooling and educational years’. According to Van Rooy-Overmeyer, these books only include ‘a minimum part of our history’. The unwritten story includes the important role ‘of the Khoi people, of the ancestors’; Van Rooy-Overmeyer specifically cited the Khoi interpreters of the colonial era. She asserted: *Afrikaaps* aims for people from the Cape Flats/ Cape Town/ South Africa, and from ‘around the world’, to ‘get a different side of the story’. She suggested that audiences ‘be open to the alternative story, not the story that was written’ (Van Rooy-Overmeyer, 2011).³¹⁷

In a radio interview, Jansen (2012) also alluded to hegemonic historical representation. He asserted that the content of knowledge ought to change. He affirmed the need for its creation by their own communities for sharing:

[O]ns de l’ie inligting, want [we share the information, because], for me ... they keep saying, knowledge is power, but it’s the content of that information, that constitutes knowledge, the content needs to change, the content needs to be information from here. We’re tired of working for, ve’staan. O’s moet nou hie’ iets self bou, iets self begin, ve’sta’, dies belangrik (understand. We have to build something here ourselves now, we have to start something ourselves, understand, this is important).

4.10. ‘*Stukkende*’³¹⁸ Afrikaans: The stigma

In addition to the afore-mentioned labels, members of the *Afrikaaps* ensemble foreground their experiences of stigmatisation and marginalisation as Kaaps-speakers. The claimed negative effects of this stigmatisation and marginalisation are also discussed. Regarding the stigmatisation of vernaculars in relation to the ‘official’ language(s) in general, Le Page and Tabouret-Keller (1985:236) state:

[T]he vast majority of the people of the world live in multilingual communities in which the language of the law, of politics, of education – that is, the language (or languages) recognised as official, as the vehicle of government, is not the same as that of their own vernacular community ... Sometimes the vernacular has comparatively low prestige or is even stigmatised in comparison...

Le Page and Tabouret-Keller (1985:5) highlight communities in which ‘the vernacular behaviour of most of the population has been looked down on, stigmatised, in comparison with a linguistic standard set by the education system which has acted as a yardstick for formal social acceptability and prestige’.

³¹⁷ In an interview with another Dutch journalist, Van Rooy-Overmeyer similarly asserted that ‘our school books, our education’ perpetuated misinformation (Meeuw, 2011).

³¹⁸ Broken.

4.10.1. ‘*Hoekom as ons so praat automatically lag’ie mense?*’³¹⁹

A key point of contention is the perceived ridiculing of Kaaps. For example, Valley affirms in the documentary: ‘Kaaps is always represented in the media as laughable³²⁰ and somehow lower than the official Afrikaans’ (Afrikaaps, 2010). Valley and Valley (2009) similarly assert: ‘It seems that the version of Afrikaans spoken in the coloured community is seen as a colloquial version of “pure” Afrikaans and is almost always represented as being comical and never taken seriously’.³²¹

The afore-mentioned *characterisations* of the Kaaps variety are connected to the claimed stigmatisation of Kaaps-speakers. According to Jansen, one is perceived as inferior and ridiculed: ‘*Hoekom as ons so praat ... automatically lag’ie mense?*’ During the Q&A session after the 2014 matinee,³²² Jansen stated: ‘*Daar is ’n stigma wat kleef aan Afrikaans, en sodra mense hoor jy praat Afrikaans, dan dink hulle automaties jy is van ’n mindere soort mens.*’³²³ (There is a stigma clinging to Afrikaans, and when people hear you speaking Afrikaans, they immediately think of you as a lesser kind of human being) (my translation). During the same Q&A session, a learner connected the perceived inferiority of Kaaps with a racialised aspect: ‘Constantly, we are told that ... we are “gam”’. In a dialogue in the 2011 Dutch show, Van der Westhuizen alludes to the stigmatisation of Kaaps speakers as unintelligent. He asserts that even though they speak Kaaps, ‘*Dit will’ie sê o’s is gebroke a’n intellek’ie.*’ (It doesn’t mean we lack intellect) (my translation).

4.10.2. ‘*Gêngstertaal*’³²⁴

Afrikaaps claims that Kaaps speakers are stereotyped as criminals (gangsters/thieves), and as drug addicts. This stereotyping is alleged to be disseminated within a variety of domains: The media, the occupational sphere, and the higher education sphere.³²⁵

Adams, for example, recounts his experience as a student in the documentary: ‘[E]ven when I got to college ... and I spoke like I did, I got ... looks and stuff. They label *jou sommer as a gangster*’ (you as a gangster) (Afrikaaps, 2010). The stereotype of a gangster and drug addict is also foregrounded by a learner featured in the documentary’s Lavender Hill High Afrikaans class scene. He affirms that

³¹⁹ Why do people automatically laugh when we speak this way?

³²⁰ To illustrate this point, a caricature of a Kaaps coloured man in a newspaper cartoon is shown (Afrikaaps, 2010).

³²¹ In my own experience, Kaaps is ridiculed by some white, ‘pure’ Afrikaans-speakers. They especially mock the ‘*dj*’ sound and the vowel raising (in words such as ‘*wiet*’ (know), pronounced as such instead of ‘*weet*’).

³²² During the Q&A session after the 2014 matinee, Jansen thanked the entire group for attending, (especially) given the difficulty ‘to motivate Afrikaans with the children’ (my translation).

³²³ In the documentary, Van der Westhuizen asserts: ‘*Djy issie minder as iemand wat Afrikaans praat nie. Djy wat “Afrikaaps” praat.*’ (You’re not less than someone who speaks Afrikaans. You who are speaking ‘Afrikaaps’) (my translation) (Afrikaaps, 2010).

³²⁴ Gangster language.

³²⁵ In my own experience, white Afrikaans-speakers can stereotype a coloured Afrikaans criminal as a ‘*skollie*’.

gangsters and drug addicts featured in documentaries always speak Kaaps; the perception is thereby created that all Kaaps speakers are gangsters and drug addicts.³²⁶

Another learner affirms that, even though one may have a degree or is ‘intelligent’, one is judged as a gangster according to the language one utilises in a job-interview. He asserts that it ‘can impact’ his life³²⁷ (Afrikaaps, 2010). Being perceived as a criminal/thief is also a key point of contention in the show. For example, Van Rooy-Overmeyer asks Adams in a dialogue: ‘*Hoekom enter dji nie pop idols nie, dji sing dan mooi.*’ (Why do you not enter pop idols, you sing so well). Moenier replies: ‘*Soos ek nou hie praat, hulle sal seker dink ek’t ingebreek of ’n ding ... Julle ken mos al die storie man.*’ (Like I’m speaking here, they’ll probably think I broke in or something ... you know the story, man) (my translation).

In an interview with a Dutch journalist, Valley suggested that the origins of the stigma are colonialism and apartheid:

I would say ... it started in slavery, and it went into apartheid, and when people have always been meant to feel that they’re lesser than ... and they speak a certain way ... the way they speak is going to be attached to a lower form of being, and it comes from way back in the day until now ... now the easiest thing to say is because it comes from apartheid, where you would be a second-class citizen, you were non-white and if you speak anything except [standard Afrikaans].

(Valley, 2011)

4.10.3. ‘I’m scared to speak like I really do’

In the documentary, Adams, Jansen and Van Rooy-Overmeyer express their feelings of shame as Kaaps-speakers. For example, Adams imparts his reluctance to speak Kaaps: ‘I’m scared to speak like I really do’.³²⁸ Jansen shares his self-conscious feelings of shame; he affirms that before *Afrikaaps*, he ‘always made excuses when speaking Afrikaans’. Van Rooy-Overmeyer conveys feelings of confusion regarding Afrikaans-English code-switching:³²⁹ She asserts that she feels ‘mixed up’, ‘because I don’t speak proper Afrikaans enough. I also don’t speak proper English enough’ (Afrikaaps, 2010).

³²⁶ This statement is a response to a question posed by Jansen. Jansen asks whether the learners think that coloured Kaaps-speakers – ‘our community’ – are represented on television (*Afrikaaps* – Baxter Theatre Centre, Cape Town, 2010).

³²⁷ My translation.

³²⁸ In the documentary, Adams recounts being asked by an ‘Indian’ teacher in college whether he has received speech therapy for ‘the way [he] speaks English’ (my translation); the teacher allegedly suggested that he attend such classes. Adams affirms that his ‘way’ of speaking English is not too formal: ‘*Nou my Engels issie so glad’ie, vestaan dji. En my tone ennie way ek praat is op ’n relaxed buzz man.*’ (Now my English is not so smooth, do you understand. And my tone and the way I speak is relaxed) (Afrikaaps, 2010).

³²⁹ As discussed in Chapter Three, Afrikaans-English language mixing is characteristic of Kaaps. ‘Mixed language’ is disparaged by advocates of ‘pure’ Afrikaans; it is not perceived as ‘proper’ Afrikaans.

4.10.4. ‘We are programmed to *not* speak in our mother-tongue’

In the show and in interviews, members of the ensemble claim that Kaaps speakers are *not* encouraged to speak their ‘mother-tongue’. Rather, ‘pure’ Afrikaans or English are perceived as ‘acceptable’ within the home environment, the classroom, higher education environments, and during job interviews.

In an electronic communication interview, Jansen (2014) recounted his experiences in the sphere of the home: ‘I was forced to speak “correctly” in front of my mother because she grew up speaking “*suiwer Afrikaans*” [pure Afrikaans], while my dad is from Bo-Kaap, so “*gamtaal*” or “Afrikaaps” was the order of the day for him’.³³⁰ In the documentary, Jansen cites the general effect of this dissuasion: ‘We inhibit ourselves from speaking because we were taught how we speak is not good enough to be spoken, and it’s our parents and everyone else’ (Afrikaaps, 2010).³³¹ Jansen made a similar point in relation to the general school environment at the 2014 Artscape matinee: ‘*Ons is so grootgemaak op die skole. Net die wat suiwer Afrikaans praat, hulle moet geluister word.*’ (We were brought up like this at school. Only those who spoke pure Afrikaans were to be listened to) (my translation).

In an electronic communication interview, Jansen recounted similar experiences as a school learner: ‘My schooling ... forced me to speak in [*suiwer*] [pure] Afrikaans’ (Jansen, 2014).³³² Jansen affirmed in a radio interview that it was expected to codeswitch within the school environment: When one entered the classroom, one had to ‘switch’ from speaking Kaaps to one another (and to teachers) on the playground, to speaking ‘*suiwer*’ in the classroom (Jansen, 2012).³³³

In an interview with a Dutch journalist, Van Rooy-Overmeyer described comparable experiences as a learner. According to Van Rooy-Overmeyer, Kaaps – ‘the way we talk at home, the way we talk with our friends, the way we have leisure’ – was not encouraged:

[T]hroughout school, because of the system that has been put in place by the previous government, we had to ... speak standard Afrikaans ... which was crazy, then we would leave school and we would go home and we would talk [in Kaapse Afrikaans] ... [T]he way we talk comfortable is to express ourselves, so it’s a very funny thing basically.³³⁴

³³⁰ In my own experience: A coloured student from Mitchells Plain once told me that he, as a child of Afrikaans parents, was scolded when he spoke Afrikaans.

³³¹ In a radio interview, Jansen asserted that one is expected to speak ‘*suiwer*’ (pure) Afrikaans, rather than Kaaps (Jansen, 2012). In an interview with a Dutch journalist, Van Rooy-Overmeyer expressed a similar view: ‘It’s like you have to conform, speak English or speak standard Afrikaans, because you won’t be accepted’ (Van Rooy-Overmeyer, 2011).

³³² However, Jansen asserted that when he was a teacher, he encouraged Kaaps in his classroom: ‘As soon as I started teaching, I spoke to the learners in the manner we daily spoke, until the principal would enter the classroom’ (Jansen, 2014).

³³³ In the same interview, Jansen similarly affirmed that ‘pure’ Afrikaans – the medium of instruction – is not spoken outside of the classroom: ‘[A]lthough I learnt to speak the language at school ... I was [taught] how to speak the “*suiwer, Boere*” [pure, Boer] version of the language. I mean nobody spoke it outside of the classroom, nobody does that’ (Jansen, 2012).

³³⁴ In an interview with another Dutch journalist, Van Rooy-Overmeyer similarly recounted: At school, one had to speak ‘a very pure Afrikaans, very standardised Afrikaans’. According to Van Rooy-Overmeyer, this Afrikaans was implemented by the government; one was expected to speak it (Meeuw, 2011).

(Van Rooy-Overmeyer, 2011)

For Van Rooy-Overmeyer, having to express herself in standard Afrikaans was ‘not nice ... not pleasant’. According to her, standard Afrikaans encompasses ‘very strange [words]’, and more formal, ‘stuffy’ speech. Van Rooy-Overmeyer offered an example: Even the pronunciation of ‘*ja*’ (yes) and ‘*nee*’ (no) in the utterance ‘*Ja Meneer, Nee Meneer*’ (Yes Teacher, No Teacher), is very different in Kaaps. For Van Rooy-Overmeyer, the standard Afrikaans way of speaking one is expected to speak at school diverges from the more informal Afrikaans one speaks at home, where one ‘unwind[s]’ (Meeuw, 2011).

In a personal interview, I asked Jansen (2015), a former teacher, to share his experiences regarding code-switching within a school environment. His experiences as a teacher mirror his experiences as a learner. Jansen explained that teachers and learners speak ‘*suiwer*’ Afrikaans within the classroom context. I inquired whether learners speak Kaaps on the playground. He confirmed, ‘Yes, then they change’. After playing sports with learners, he would return to class and change ‘that code that you speak on the sports field’. The learners would note this change and mention it to him.

Jansen also foregrounded his experience as a student at Wesley College of Education in Salt River, Cape Town: When one is in ‘an academic environment, now [one has] to speak correctly’.³³⁵ He offered another example within a higher education environment: At a University of the Western Cape (UWC) talk about *Afrikaaps*, he raised the issue of ‘speaking correctly’ as part of his presentation. He addressed the attending Kaaps academics: even though they understand him, he knows and senses that they expect him ‘to speak correctly ... within this context’. Jansen affirmed the reason for this expectation:

[T]he fear is, who is there to keep them in check ... not predominantly our community ... the guy that ... decides ... this is who gets tenure, this is who plays along, this is who pushes the bigger agenda. That does not fit here. That does not belong here. That is from outside. That superiority complex of before is still there.

(Jansen, 2015)

In addition to discouraging Kaaps within educational environments, both Jansen and Goliath suggested similar dissuasions within work environments. In a radio interview, Jansen affirmed that people are not encouraged to speak Kaaps during NGO meetings on the Cape Flats:

[When people go to meetings on the Cape Flats] ... and NGOs call meetings and they ask them to speak English, and so they don’t speak, you know, so it appears to be that most of the people who are attending, like *hoekom wil ’ie la ’ities dannie praat ’ie. Want hulle willie praat ’ie want [hulle is te skaam]* (why don’t the guys want to speak. Because they do not want to talk because they are too shy).³³⁶

(Jansen, 2012)

³³⁵ My translation.

³³⁶ My translation.

In the 2010 Baxter matinee, Goliath addressed the learners: As adults, they would be expected to speak ‘Sewende Laan’ Afrikaans.³³⁷ They would have to change the way they speak within the work environment: ‘*Baie van ons gaan deur ’ie selle problem. Eendag gaat julle ga’ werksoek da’ en julle ga’ sien waavan praat hy da’.* *Julle dink julle is oraait, ma da’ innie grootmensewêreld wil hulle hê jy moet die way jy praat, change.*’ (A lot of us go through the same problem. One day you are going to look for work and you will see what he is talking about. You think you are all right, but there in the adult world they want you to change the way you speak) (my translation).

Goliath suggested the reason for this discouragement: Kaaps speakers view their own language as substandard, ‘second-class’. Accordingly, speakers reprimand each another when not speaking so-called ‘*Sewende Laan Afrikaans*’.

4.10.5. ‘I never thought of Afrikaans as part of my heritage’

Valley narrates the *Afrikaaps* documentary from his perspective: A ‘coloured’ English-speaker raised by Afrikaans parents. In the documentary, Valley recounts:

As a child of two Afrikaans parents, I grew up speaking English. My parents spoke Afrikaans to each other, and English to us. The history of Afrikaans wasn’t passed down, and we certainly didn’t learn it in school. I never thought of Afrikaans as part of my heritage (Afrikaaps, 2010).³³⁸

According to Henegan and Kaganof, they became aware of these issues when they met with Valley during the first stages of the production’s development (Henegan, 2012; Kaganof, 2011). When Henegan and Valley met, he, in Henegan’s words, discussed ‘the whole question of Afrikaans, how the language is perceived ... and ... having a distance from their mother-tongue’ (Henegan, 2012). According to Kaganof, he and Henegan ‘became very aware of the kind of class aspirations of people in that community, who chose not to speak Afrikaans, as a kind of social mobility, to get upwards’ (Kaganof, 2011).

In the interview, Henegan also referred to the ‘Hip-hop Masala’ essay,³³⁹ in which these issues are raised. In Henegan’s words, this essay relates ‘their experience of being coloured and Afrikaans, and being bought up in English’ (Henegan, 2012).³⁴⁰ Henegan affirmed that Valley took what is imparted

³³⁷ So-called ‘*Sewende Laan Afrikaans*’ refers to ‘pure’ Afrikaans. *Sewende Laan* is a popular Afrikaans soap opera, especially amongst coloured and white people. The coloured and white actors mainly speak ‘pure Afrikaans’; not varieties such as Kaaps. If they do, coloured Kaaps-speakers are portrayed as gangsters and drug dealers.

³³⁸ A photograph of Valley, his sister Greer Valley, and his parents is shown (‘My family, the Valleys’) (Afrikaaps, 2010).

³³⁹ Valley sent the essay soon after meeting with Henegan and Kaganof (Henegan, 2012).

³⁴⁰ Referring to Valley and his sister, Greer Valley.

in the essay ‘much further’ by narrating a ‘whole journey of self-exploration’ in the documentary (Henegan, 2012).

4.10.6. Afrikaans-speaking parents, English-speaking children

In an interview with a Dutch journalist, Valley recounted his experiences as a middle-class, coloured English child raised by Afrikaans parents³⁴¹ in more detail. According to Valley, his parents decided *not* to raise him in Afrikaans for two reasons. Firstly, they thought that English would provide him with ‘more opportunities’ (i.e. upward socio-economic mobility).³⁴² Secondly, they wanted to consciously ‘break away’ from Afrikaans; while he was growing up, it was perceived as the ‘language of apartheid’ (Valley, 2011).³⁴³ Valley offered a reason for the ‘break’ from Afrikaans within the middle-class coloured community, namely the stigmatisation of Kaaps as ‘lower class’:

[I]t is also a class thing ... if you speak Afrikaans in the Kaaps dialect ... Afrikaans ... it’s seen as lower class. There’s also a class attachment to it, which is a problem. So the middle-classes also generally don’t want to speak Afrikaans, because it’s seen as something lower *than* ... this is for ... the coloured community... But if you grow up speaking it, it’s just your home language.

Valley grew up in a middle-class suburb and attended a former ‘Model-C’ school. His father – originally from the Cape Flats – sought to create better opportunities for his children than those he had access to. This included the best, affordable education which the (former) white school offered. In addition, adequate facilities, safety, ‘and everything that a white school had’, were available (Valley, 2011).

Valley recounted his struggles with his English, middle-class upbringing in a previously white school. He affirmed that he sometimes was in a class where he was the only person of colour: ‘I’m part of that generation that’s ... the first kids ... of colour to ... go to a school where previously there weren’t ... black kids or coloured kids’ (Valley, 2011). He spoke of his feeling of alienation from both the coloured and white learners. On the one hand, he felt removed from the (few) attending coloured learners who grew up and lived on the Cape Flats. Valley expressed how he could not relate to them: He had no knowledge of many Cape Flats references. He felt that he had missed out, and spoke about how it hurt.

³⁴¹ Refer to Chapter Three for a broader contextualisation of this social phenomenon. Valley affirmed that he has cousins ‘who were raised to speak Afrikaans’: ‘Their [Afrikaans] parents spoke Afrikaans to them’. In contrast to Valley, they are bilingual. Valley stated that he and his cousins speak the same proficient level of English. However, he cannot ‘speak Afrikaans as well as they [can]’. According to Valley, their different levels of Afrikaans proficiency reflect how they were raised in different languages, within the same family (Valley, 2011).

³⁴² Valley affirmed that, on the one hand, command of the English international language is beneficial for global interaction, whilst on the other, ‘you have to *know* your own language’. Valley emphasised the importance of bilingualism in the present-day global world; however, ‘you can’t just speak English ... you’re going to lose so much’ (Valley, 2011).

³⁴³ In a radio interview, Jansen explained that ‘it was seen as progress’ if parents decided ‘to rear their kids English’ (Jansen, 2012).

On the other hand, he felt that, at the time, the white children could not relate to him, and he could not completely relate to them.

Even though Valley experienced these struggles, he affirmed that he did not consider *not* speaking Afrikaans ‘an issue’ while growing up; he did not ‘really think about speaking Afrikaans’. However, looking back, he perceives not growing up in Afrikaans as a loss:

[It has] made it harder for me to interact with people who speak Afrikaans or Afrikaaps ..., [it has] made me more ... distant from the people who speak Afrikaans as a first language. And ... there’s a perception that you might think you’re better if you can’t speak Afrikaans, like you think you’re better than them if you speak English, which I *don’t* think I am ... so that’s why I’m working on my Afrikaans.

(Valley, 2011)

4.10.7. ‘*n Anner persona*’³⁴⁴

During personal interviews, I asked Jansen, Adams and Van der Westhuizen whether Kaaps-speakers code-switch amongst themselves in social contexts.³⁴⁵ For me, it was surprising to learn that Kaaps speakers also code-switch from Kaaps to ‘pure’ Afrikaans (in contrast to only code-switching from Kaaps to English). Jansen offered an example: ‘*As jou ma byvoorbeeld die phone optel ... as dit ... ’n company is, dan sal sy Engels praat. Iemand wat in ’n position is van example prinsipaal, nou skielik, “Goeie dag, hoe gaan dit met u?”*’³⁴⁶ *Dan wiet jy somme ... wies op die phone. So dit is ’n geleerde technique wat onse gemeenskap gebruik.*’ (If your mother for example answers the phone, if it is a company, then she would speak English. Someone who is in the position of for example the principal, then suddenly, ‘Good day, how are you?’ Then you know who is on the phone. So it is a learned technique that our community uses) (my translation) (Jansen, 2015).

Jansen likened code-switching to the adoption of ‘another persona’ – this is found ‘everywhere in the Cape’.³⁴⁷ He explained that there are ‘different levels’ of interaction in Kaaps: ‘*Da is levels van wie meka’ ontmoet.*’ (There are levels of who meets whom) (my translation). For example, one would not speak ‘so heavy’ when talking to ‘an older person that was raised to speak a certain way’, out of respect. However, when one would talk to, for example, ‘a brother ... then it is okay’ (Jansen, 2015). Adams stated that one would speak even more coarsely and messier to sound more forceful (Adams and Van der Westhuizen, 2015).³⁴⁸ Van der Westhuizen reiterated that one would speak this way ‘to have more

³⁴⁴ Another persona.

³⁴⁵ In my experience, ‘coloured’ Kaaps-speakers code-switch to English when white Afrikaans-speakers are in the vicinity (albeit not all).

³⁴⁶ This manner of speaking is the more formal standard Afrikaans.

³⁴⁷ My translation.

³⁴⁸ Van der Westhuizen referred to the space in which these interactions take place as ‘*[i]nnie streets, innie ghetto, innie Kaapse Vlakte, innie Kaap*’ (in the streets, in the ghetto, in the Cape Flats, in the Cape) (my translation).

credibility on the Cape Flats’,³⁴⁹ ‘to be tougher’, and to intimidate (*ibid.*). Adams echoed: ‘We do it sometimes’ (*ibid.*). The necessity ‘to intimidate’ and ‘be tougher’ reflects the view of Watkins (2005), discussing the use of Cape Afrikaans in hip-hop: ‘The language popular in certain parts of Cape Town is a blend of Afrikaans with other codes such as prison and gangster languages...’ It is ‘streetwise and masculine’ (Watkins, 2005:137). Stone (1995:280-281) notes:

[T]he lexicon consists of a hierarchy of four lexicogrammatical codes, signifying the enaction of four corresponding identities. Speakers implicitly assign all the dialectal lexis to one or more of these codes. They are the ‘respectable’, ‘disreputable’, ‘delinquent’ and ‘outcast’ codes. Codes are commonly switched in address to different respondents and during discourse with the same respondents. For instance, it is utterly inappropriate to use the delinquent code to one’s respectable mother, or the respectable code when the enaction of delinquency is expected by one’s delinquent peers, unless one intends to signify disorientation or defiance.

4.11. Conclusion

A fundamental part of the production is to reveal, problematise and challenge the hegemony of the standard Afrikaans variety as well as its negative effects. It conveys that Kaaps cannot be reclaimed (‘taken back’) if this is not addressed. The overt response of *Afrikaaps* to the hegemony is therefore an act of resistance on a post-colonial stage utilising South African hip-hop: Dutch colonialism within the South African and Dutch contexts is undermined. Within the South African historical context, the ‘hijacking’ of Afrikaans as a language of the white oppressor is emphasised within the locale of a creolised Cape. Afrikaans, indeed appropriated by the ‘*Boere*’ (Boers), is not a language of the ‘*Boere*’; it did not originate with ‘them’ on ‘farms’ or with the ‘*Voortrekkers*’ in the north, but in the early, cosmopolitan Cape. The use of Kaaps – not ‘pure’ Afrikaans – on stage as a decolonising political tool is also an overt act of resistance.

The response to the hegemony also includes the foregrounding of the stigmatisation of Kaaps speakers as being, for example, gangsters. The negative effects of this stigma, for example feelings of shame regarding Kaaps or being ‘disconnected’ from Afrikaans, have been discussed in this chapter. Again, the extent of the hegemony was evidenced by members of the *Afrikaaps* collective. The next chapter examines the ways in which the production strategically works on how ‘the language is taken back’: The celebration and therefore reclaiming of Kaaps as an overt response to the hegemony.

³⁴⁹ My translation.

CHAPTER FIVE: ‘EK IS AFRIKAAPS!’:³⁵⁰ CELEBRATING AND CLAIMING

COLOURED KAAPS IDENTIFICATION

5.1. Introduction

In Chapter Two, the socio-political, -cultural, and -economic background of the racialised hegemony of ‘pure’ Afrikaans was discussed. More specifically, the ways in which ‘pure’ Afrikaans was constructed as a marker of white Afrikaner ethnicity, were examined. Chapter Four focused on the members of the *Afrikaaps* ensemble’s experiences of the hegemony (including, for example, their stigmatisation as coloured speakers of Kaaps). The ‘uncovering’ of the hegemony signifies protest against it.

The background to the production’s *celebration* of a coloured Kaaps identification has been provided. The reason for this celebration is, according to members of the *Afrikaaps* ensemble, to instil a sense of pride in their identification with being dispossessed (encompassing the marginalisation and stigmatisation of Kaaps). *Afrikaaps* aims to reclaim their dispossessed identification (with their Kaaps heritage).³⁵¹ Accordingly, the production’s assertion of a positive identification is framed against the socio-historical white appropriation of Afrikaans. I examine the celebration of this identification in the production as a *response* to the general, exclusive connection between Afrikaans and white Afrikaner ethnicity. The notions of ethnicity, identification, and the symbolic value of language are central to this discussion.

Following Jenkins’s (1997:47) argument – emphasising that ‘ethnicity is *always* socially constructed’ – this chapter examines the ways in which *Afrikaaps* connects a constructed ethnic collectivity (*other* than white Afrikaner ethnicity) to Afrikaans.³⁵² Recognition is imperative in this construction: ‘Ethnicity is rightly understood as an aspect of a collectivity’s self-recognition as well as an aspect of its recognition in the eyes of outsiders’ (Fishman, 1977:16).

The ethnicity constructed by *Afrikaaps* can be termed an (ethnified) coloured, Kaaps identification.³⁵³ This category of coloured speakers specifically encompasses the (claimed) ancestors and cultural heritage of coloured Kaaps-speakers. More specifically, the production underscores the indigenous

³⁵⁰ ‘I am Afrikaaps!’

³⁵¹ Becker and Oliphant (2014:3) cite ‘the reproclamation of a previously marginalised, “non-standard” version of Afrikaans’. Furthermore, ‘*Afrikaaps* is the aesthetics of a linguistic political identity claim that asserts the validity of different versions of the language, particularly the variants spoken by the Coloured working class on the Cape Flats, which have previously been dismissed as “non-standard”’.

³⁵² Refer to Schuster (2016:18) for a discussion on ‘[I]inguistic identity construction through performace’ in relation to *Afrikaaps*.

³⁵³ With regard to *Afrikaaps*, Becker and Oliphant (2014:1) refer to ‘ethnically-specific “heritage”’ in their ‘analysis of how visual and musical aesthetics converge in the performed production of history, as creolisation, and ethnically-specific “heritage”’. What they term the “KhoiSanisation” of Afrikaans’ signifies ‘the heritagisation of contemporary, newly asserted cultural and linguistic identities’.

Khoi and San, and slave/Malay ancestry and cultural heritage (especially concerning the Afrikaans language). *Afrikaaps* illustrates the ethnified ‘colouredness’ through, for example, the lyrics: ‘*Coloureds kom van KhoiSan verstand*’ (Coloureds come from KhoiSan knowledge).³⁵⁴

In addition, given the focus of *Afrikaaps* on a coloured Kaaps identification, the chapter examines notions surrounding being ‘coloured’. ‘Coloured’ – an apartheid-era racial categorisation – was negatively constructed in various ways. In response, *Afrikaaps* positively ‘ethnicises’ ‘coloured’ (Jenkins, 1997; Eriksen, 2002). Thus, the ethnicisation of ‘race’ within the South African context is examined. The notions of ‘race’ and ‘ethnicity’ are therefore discussed.

Furthermore, *Afrikaaps* ‘re-imagines’ coloured identity – in terms of cultural configurations – as ‘creolised’ (Erasmus, 2001). The analysis of this re-imagined creolised identification – concerning language and cultural heritage – is underpinned by notions of ethnicisation, indigenisation and essentialism. The re-imagination mirrors agency, as indicated by Adam Haupt in his introductory speech at Joule City. Haupt regards the members of the *Afrikaaps* ensemble as creative drivers of a positive assertion of ‘identity’:

And I think what *Afrikaaps* does, is to remind us of the history that produced Afrikaans and at the same time not to position black subjects to speak Afrikaans as victims, but key positioners as agents, creative agents, who are actually able to use the music creatively, politically, quite potently, to assert a sense of who they are.³⁵⁵

As suggested by Haupt, the production asserts a positive identification with Afrikaans (in general) and Kaaps (specifically) through, for example, the lyrics, ‘*Ek is Afrikaaps!*’ (I am Afrikaaps!)³⁵⁶ The connection between language and identity is therefore significant. The arguments of Edwards (2009), Le Cordeur (in Van Rensburg, 2012; 2013), and Kotzé (2014) will be utilised for this analysis. In this regard, the symbolic (identificatory) value of language – in contrast to its instrumental value – is of particular relevance.

5.2. ‘Coloured’

Central to *Afrikaaps*’s constructed ethnic collectivity, is the label ‘coloured’. ‘Coloured’ was an imposed apartheid category to enforce discrimination.³⁵⁷ So-called coloured identity is a highly

³⁵⁴ In a personal interview, I asked Jansen why *Afrikaaps* utilises the controversial term ‘coloured’. For Jansen, one cannot ignore ‘racial’ categories: ‘In a country that is racist, in a world that is racist, it is unrealistic to not use such titles’ (Jansen, 2015).

³⁵⁵ This quote is an excerpt from the introductory talk by Adam Haupt at the 2012 Joule City performance. I used a sound recorder at this event, and transcribed Haupt’s introductory talk.

³⁵⁶ Becker and Oliphant (2014:3) affirm that ‘*Afrikaaps* is a conscious effort of authenticating in and through performance a recently much asserted “identity”’.

³⁵⁷ The Population Registration Act No. 30 (1950) labelled ‘a “Coloured” person as “not a white person or a native”’ (Erasmus, 2001:18). This Act ‘classified South Africans into three race categories: “White”, “Coloured” and “Native”/“Bantu”’ (Erasmus, 2011:638). According to the Act, ‘native’ signifies ‘a person who

contested, complex, and sensitive subject. There are many scholarly and public disputes concerning this ‘identity’.³⁵⁸

For example, Petersen (2015) cites the misrecognition of ‘[t]he coloured voice’: ‘[I]t still feels as if South Africa is only represented from two perspectives either black or white, and anyone else basically doesn’t exist’.³⁵⁹ Johns (2013) similarly emphasises the discounting of ‘crucial shades of brown in between’ so-called black and white in Cape Town’.³⁶⁰

Colouredness is described in a variety of ways: ‘[A] sadly much misunderstood and even maligned racial hinterland’ (Johns, 2013). Dido (2005) cites the identity crisis of coloured people. Coetzee (2016) cites ‘*Kallid*’ (Coloured) as ‘*die figotten Nation*’ (the forgotten Nation). Johns (2013) also cites ‘the precarious place that coloured people occupy in today’s South Africa’.³⁶¹ McKaiser (2016) emphasizes the misrecognition of heterogeneity and multiplicity within coloured communities in relation to Afrikaans:

It irritates me when we assume homogeneity across coloured communities in the country.³⁶² When it comes to Afrikaans, coloured communities nationwide might share the commonality of not speaking Radio Sonder Grense-Afrikaans³⁶³ but, beyond that, there are interesting and important differences in dialect, accent, vocabulary, and so on, between coloured people from different geographies. These differences aren’t teased out when we reduce coloured identity to some grand narrative about the Cape Flats. There is a wilful refusal to recognise a multiplicity

in fact is or is generally accepted as a member of any aboriginal race or tribe of Africa’ (Erasmus, 2001:27). ‘Coloured’ was described ‘as persons neither “Native” nor “White”, a “subject race” without “tribes”’ (Erasmus, 2011:638).

³⁵⁸ Dido (2005) cites several labels, for example: ‘*Bruin*’ (Brown); ‘*Kleurling*’ (Coloured); ‘*Sogenaamde kleurling*’ (So-called coloured); ‘Coloured’; ‘Cape Coloured’; ‘Khoi’; ‘San’; ‘Black’. She cites her ‘multicultural identity’, and identifies herself as ‘*n Suid-Afrikaner én bruin, kleurling, coloured, wit, swart, Khoi, San en als ... wat nog wil bykom*’ (A South African and brown, coloured, white, black, Khoi, San and everything that can be added). Gerwel (in Malan and Smit, 1985:43), for example, identifies as ‘*Afrikaanssprekende Afrikaan*’ (Afrikaans-speaking African).

³⁵⁹ Petersen (2015) specifies: ‘Politically, when issues of race, culture, or class, come up it’s seen from one of two perspectives: the underprivileged black perspective or the over-privileged white perspective’.

³⁶⁰ Johns (2013) asserts: ‘To this day there exists an alarming degree of ignorance about the racial composition of the city [of Cape Town] and its inhabitants’. She attributes foreign (i.e. not local) perception to the overlooking of coloured people in Cape Town, ‘a place that is now a perennial staple in travel supplements and magazines in Britain, the US and elsewhere, feted as one of the world’s most beautiful cities’. She considers coloured people as ‘black South Africans who are the closest thing to an indigenous people Cape Town has’. She accordingly defines ‘coloured’ as: ‘[A] racial group that, as a result of several centuries of a *métissage* (mixing of blood) particular to the Cape, incorporates indigenous Khoi and San tribes, West African slaves, Dutch settlers, Malay indentured labourers and even some Caribbean sailors’.

³⁶¹ Johns (2013) affirms that a song of Jansen, titled ‘Who Am I?’, ‘is a haunting exploration of the painful idiosyncracies and tragic nuances of coloured identity in post-apartheid South Africa’. However, Johns (2013) encourages: ‘[C]oloured people [ought to be] permitted to proudly embrace their colouredness, and not be beaten by linguistic fascism and tedious political correctness into renouncing aspects of their identity, heritage and culture that don’t fit in with others’ expedient narratives’. Furthermore, Johns (2013) asserts that the ‘Africanness’, ‘blackness’, or ‘colouredness’ (therefore utilising ‘the word “coloured” to describe their colouredness’) of coloured people should not be denied. Johns (2013) encourages coloured people to ‘be free to assert our own humanity and free to choose to define ourselves as we see fit. And if that means being coloured and proud, so be it’. Johns (2013) emphasises that she discounts the use of ‘inverted comma signs’ in relation to coloured: ‘Coloured and proud is what I am’.

³⁶² Brooks (2015) refers to the perceived ‘homogeneity of Coloured people’ as ‘a fallacy’.

³⁶³ Radio Sonder Grense (RSG) is a radio station that predominantly utilises standard Afrikaans.

of coloured experiences, evidenced by the fact that coloured communities tend not to be treated with complexity in popular discourse.

Coetzee (2016) cites the perception of other people – as well as coloured people themselves – that coloured people do not ‘have a culture’. Coetzee (2016) questions her own perception in this regard: ‘*Van waa is my culture, wat besit dit?*’ (From where is my culture, what owns it?)

This discussion only focuses on debates pertaining to *Afrikaaps*. As previously noted, *Afrikaaps* endeavours to ‘re-imagine’ ‘coloured identity’ as creolised cultural configurations (Erasmus, 2001:21); race is thereby ethnicised in a positive manner.

Accordingly, the historical denigration of ‘coloured people’ as ‘mixed’ (Erasmus, 2001:12, 16) needs to be briefly examined. Even before apartheid, coloured identities were conceptualised as ‘mixed race’ (Erasmus, 2001:17).³⁶⁴ The terms ‘mixed descent’, ‘race mixture’, ‘inter-racial’ sex, and ‘miscegenation’ are entrenched notions, rooted in what Erasmus (2001:12) terms the ‘race science’, a dishonourable science utilised for the justification of ‘oppression, brutality and the marginalisation of “bastard peoples”’. ‘Miscegenation’ signifies ‘race mixture’ ‘between white masters and black female slaves’ in particular (Erasmus, 2001:17). The lyrics of *Afrikaaps* allude to this: ‘*Is ’n history book/ sonder ’n cover/ Van ’n wit bra wat soek virrie bruin vel lover.*’ (It is a history book/ without a cover/ Of a white brother who is looking for the brown-skinned lover).³⁶⁵

Other than ‘mixed race’, coloured identities are conceptualised as a so-called residual identities (Erasmus, 2001:18).³⁶⁶ Apartheid racial policies positioned coloured people in an ambiguous manner: On the one hand, coloured people were not accorded full citizenship,³⁶⁷ while they, on the other, were selectively accorded partial privileges.³⁶⁸ This intermediate position was also reflected in their placement between white people³⁶⁹ and Africans³⁷⁰ (Erasmus, 2001:18). During the late 1990s, an

³⁶⁴ Owing to the economic depression coupled with the urbanisation of Afrikaners during the late 1930s and 1940s, the notion of ‘a “poor white problem”’ arose. It was within this context that Afrikaner nationalists depicted ‘miscegenation’ ‘as a threat to their white identity and to the morality of Afrikaner women in particular’ (Erasmus, 2001:17). According to the Commission on Mixed Marriages of 1939, ‘mixed’ marriages ‘lead ... to the infiltration of non-European blood into the European population ... [and produced] risks ... with regard to racial and social heredity’ (Report of the Commission on Mixed Marriages, 1939:33 as cited in Erasmus, 2001:17). The profound discomfort associated with ‘race mixture’ – a facet of the white South African societal fabric at the time – was extremely and overtly conveyed through legislation that followed (implemented shortly after the inception of apartheid) through the Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act No. 55 (1949), as well as the Immorality Amendment Act No. 21 (1950) (Erasmus, 2001:17-18).

³⁶⁵ The notion ‘race mixture’ is premised on conceptions of ‘race purity’ (rooted in European eugenicists of the nineteenth century) (Erasmus, 2001:16).

³⁶⁶ In a similar vein, Marike de Klerk (the ex-spouse of F.W. de Klerk) made a proclamation during the 1980s: she referred to coloured people as ‘a negative group’, ‘the leftovers’, and as ‘people that were left after the nations were sorted out’ (Erasmus, 2001:18).

³⁶⁷ On account of ‘race’ (Erasmus, 2001:18).

³⁶⁸ Given that they could not be classified as ‘African black “peoples”’ (Erasmus, 2001:18).

³⁶⁹ White people were accorded full citizenship (Erasmus, 2001:18).

³⁷⁰ Africans were accorded a tribal identity, encompassing fixed and “pure” cultural traditions’ (Erasmus, 2001:18).

African woman residing in Langa, Hombi Ntshoko, conveyed to a researcher: ‘Coloureds don’t know where they come from. We know where we come from. Whites know where they come from. But these coloureds don’t know whether they are black or white’ (Caliguire, 1996:11 as cited in Erasmus, 2001:18).

5.2.1. ‘I identify more with being black’

Given Valley’s central role in *Afrikaaps*, and the production’s engagement with the notion of ‘coloured’, I discuss Valley’s personal lack of identification with ‘coloured’. More significantly, Valley’s fluid identification demonstrates the static nature of the racial category ‘coloured’, contrasting with the ‘strategic essentialism’ employed by *Afrikaaps* (Van der Waal, 2012).

Valley recounted his experiences as an English, middle-class South African categorised as ‘coloured’ in an interview with a Dutch journalist. He, for example, shared past experiences as a school learner from the suburbs; he struggled to relate to the other ‘coloured’ learners from the Cape Flats:

I always felt I was missing out ... I always felt it, growing up ... there were a few coloured kids in my school who came from the Cape Flats, and I couldn’t really relate to them, and it really hurt actually, it hurt a lot. But you know, you go through that as a kid and I don’t feel the same pain anymore. I don’t have any regret now, but ja [yes], I really felt that way back in the day.

(Valley, 2011)³⁷¹

Valley also conveyed to the Dutch journalist that he today identifies ‘more with being black than ... the *word* coloured’. He elaborated: Even though he is categorised as ‘coloured’, he can identify as ‘black’ (Valley, 2011). Valley explained that he perceives ‘coloured’ – an apartheid-era racial classification – as a ‘mold’: ‘In the past, they used the term to classify people who were not either black or white. You couldn’t really fit into those molds anymore, so ... that’s why I didn’t want to associate with [coloured]’. He affirmed that, in the past, he therefore identified as ‘black’:

I went through a phase where I called myself black for a long time, and I didn’t want to be called coloured ... I felt like it was an apartheid term that shouldn’t still be in use, and it didn’t really speak about my whole history, and politically I wanted to be black, not coloured, because coloured is like an in-between.

(Valley, 2011)

Valley spoke about his identification with ‘black consciousness’ through American hip-hop, and subsequently through Steve Biko’s Black Consciousness Movement (BCM):

[I]t’s also through hip-hop ... I identified with black Americans, it’s funny. I got a black consciousness in a very roundabout way through America, and I really want to identify with the struggle like my parents did. They also identified with black people in the struggle. Ja [Yes],

³⁷¹ Valley also described his struggle to relate to the ‘white’ learners (and vice versa): ‘I’m not white, but these kids can’t relate to me. And I can’t totally relate to these white kids either’ (Valley, 2011).

and I think hip-hop gave me that sense of black consciousness, and then I read Steve Biko, and Steve Biko says black is a state of mind. So it doesn't matter what you look like, you can still have black consciousness, you can still be black. So that's where that comes from.

(Valley, 2011)

Furthermore, Valley described how one's identification with *only* 'coloured' – an imposed category – *confines* identification:

[T]here's a *loss* of identity, because we're still called coloured, and if we just identify with that, then people don't have anything beyond that, like beyond ... being coloured and the area you stay is a coloured area, and your friends are coloured and that makes you coloured.

(Valley, 2011)

The journalist asked Valley if he refers to himself as 'coloured' in the present day. He jokingly responded: 'It depends on the day ... But I'm an African first, and I'm coloured second'. He asserted that he would rather refer to himself as black; however, the broader South African society would not accept it: 'There's already a place for me ... and that's coloured' (Valley, 2011). He affirmed that, for him, 'coloured' now is 'just a word ... that's the way people understand it in South Africa, so I would say I'm coloured'. Nevertheless, he stated, 'I think I've moved beyond it ... to me it's not really an issue On a greater social level, I think it is important that we deal with the stuff and move on, but for me, just personally I think it is just too tiring to deal with the issues' (Valley, 2011).³⁷²

One can argue that Valley's disconnection from the apartheid category 'coloured' illustrates the artificiality of the notion of 'race'. Furthermore, Valley's lack of identification with other 'coloured' learners as a child shows that all 'coloured' people do not necessarily have similar frames of reference and lived experiences. Therefore, 'coloured' does not constitute homogeneity. Valley's fluid and unconfined identification with 'black consciousness', 'black' and 'African' similarly demonstrates that 'coloured' is not a fixed category; 'race' is constructed.³⁷³

³⁷² In the same interview, Valley cited a concrete historical example of the artificiality of 'race': 'In the past, a lot of black people [who] were light-skinned, passed for being coloured ... some *did*, to get better services and treatment by the government, so ... the lines are blurry, they're not fixed lines.' (Valley specified that 'black' constitutes identifying with and being identified as 'black' in terms of one's upbringing [Valley, 2011]).

³⁷³ Erasmus (2001:15) asserts that identity ought to be recognised as unfixed and unconfined in post-apartheid South Africa. Johns (2013), for example, alludes to race as a social construct in this regard: 'The fact that even today in post-apartheid South Africa, coloured people are not deemed "African" by the authorities – or even black (depending on who you ask) – is further proof that race is a debilitating social construct'. Coloured people are '[o]ften deemed "too black to be white and too white to be black": They "have long functioned as a distinct subset of the black experience, divorced from "Africans" by different languages, together with a very different culture and history'.

5.2.2. ‘*Wie’s jou dom darkie, Afrikaans kom vannie Kaap*’³⁷⁴

Valley attributes the origin of the stigmatisation of coloured people and, concurrently, Kaaps, to colonialism and apartheid. He foregrounds the need for the reclaiming and celebration of ‘coloured’ due to centuries of oppression, discrimination, stigmatisation, marginalisation, and racism.³⁷⁵

Petersen (2015) emphasises stereotypical representations in public discourse:

In the media, coloured people are represented in one of two extremes: the first being in a comical light where the stereotypical Cape Coloured accent is used and indefinitely over-exaggerated. In addition to this, we’re portrayed with having no front teeth. The second extreme is a grim and frightening one; we’re portrayed as ravenous gangsters who have an unrelenting urge to kill and commit the most atrocious crimes known to man. If we’re lucky, we’ll be portrayed in a ‘different’ light, and get cast in a local Afrikaans soapie, or used in some advertorial/modelling campaign for our natural hair, to help try and convey some notion of diversity.

Henegan and two members of the audience of *Afrikaaps* discussed various ways in which *Afrikaaps* challenges stereotypes associated with ‘coloured’. In an electronic communication interview, Henegan asserted this objective:

[I]n the creative process, subconsciously the symbolic value working [at the Baxter] – was to create a piece which challenged the stereotypes of so-called coloured theatre and entertainers ... that ‘coloureds’ must always be funny, the clown, and all the stereotypes that go along with that – and to present *Afrikaaps* culture and people with elegance, sophistication, intellectual depth and with the highest artistic production standards we were capable of ... bluntly said – we wanted to show that so-called coloureds could be more than just funny.

(Henegan, 2014)³⁷⁶

In his Joule City introductory talk, Adam Haupt cited stereotypes associated with coloured people: ‘Pick up our newspaper and you find maybe an opinion piece ... writing interesting things about coloureds ... drunk, licentious, cheap, etcetera’. He asserted that *Afrikaaps* challenges ‘what it is to be black or coloured’. For Haupt, *Afrikaaps* signifies: ‘A challenge to being concerned with notions of colouredness that often always equate with the cool, the laughable figure, denigrated in using [the] not so encouraging

³⁷⁴ Why do you call me a stupid black, Afrikaans comes from the Cape (my translation). Jansen sings these lyrics in the production.

³⁷⁵ Jansen affirmed that he does not personally identify with the label ‘coloured’: ‘*Dis die selle boks wat iemand annes vi’ jou gie. En die limitations van ... daai boks.*’ (It is the same box that someone else gives you. And the limitations of that box) (my translation) (Jansen, 2015). Johns (2013) similarly affirms: ‘[C]oloured people were systematically oppressed, marginalised and disenfranchised under apartheid, when many were forcibly removed to unhealthy townships on the arid, godforsaken Cape Flats’. Petersen (2015) also cites the oppression and ‘the plague of colonisation’ experienced by coloured people.

³⁷⁶ Erasmus (2001:19-20) argues that one of the ways that coloured identities are articulated within post-apartheid South Africa concerns the depoliticisation of all South African identities. Namely, through the discourse of the rainbow nation: South Africa is thereby construed as a multi-cultural nation (Erasmus, 2001:20). Such an articulation therefore alludes to apolitical representation: It ‘[relegates colouredness] to the decorative presence of “coons” and/or the entertainment of “toothless funny people” in the South African cultural landscape’ (*ibid.*). Similarly, ‘[i]t reduces coloured culture to minstrelsy – a dance-music-and-dress understanding of culture’ (*ibid.*). This articulates exactly what Henegan asserted she wanted to move away from in *Afrikaaps*.

figure of the gangster, the menace, negative connotations that are actually very much still alive in popular discourse today’.

Adrian ‘Different’ van Wyk – a coloured audience member – regards *Afrikaaps* as a positive redefinition and assertion of coloured identification:

[T]hey are deconstructing a previously constructed narrative about what coloured people are, what Kaaps is. That’s what Nathan [Trantraal] is doing, that’s what everyone is doing right now. Everyone is deconstructing this narrative of what it is to be coloured, what it is to be Kaaps, and reconstructing it in a more positive light, you know, kind of taking control of the construction of ‘what am I’. And it is this identity formation within the hands of the identity-holder.

(Van Wyk, 2014)³⁷⁷

The above discussion of ‘coloured’ emphasises negative “‘racial” categorisation’ (Jenkins, 1997:81-82) and stereotyping. In response, *Afrikaaps* endeavours to re-imagine coloured ‘identity’ as creolised (Erasmus, 2001:21). *Afrikaaps* thereby ‘reworks [social categorisation] as a positively valorised identity’. This modification includes ‘group identification in terms of “race”’ (Jenkins, 1997:81-82).³⁷⁸ The link between ethnicity and race is a key aspect of this construction.³⁷⁹

Stell (2011:71) emphasises this connection within a South African context: ‘[C]ollective identities were encouraged to crystallise and to undergo a process of ethnic formation, which resulted in “races” acquiring the attributes of ethnicity’. Afrikaner ethnicity is connected to the ‘white race’, and the ethnic collectivity constructed by *Afrikaaps* is connected to the racial category ‘coloured’. In both instances, ‘race’ is thereby ‘ethnified’ (Eriksen, 2002:6).

Eriksen (2002:6) clarifies the relation between ‘race’ and ethnicity: ‘[T]he boundaries between race and ethnicity tend to be blurred’. He argues that ‘ethnic groups have a common myth of origin’; ethnicity is thereby associated with descent. This link ‘makes it a kindred concept to race’ (*ibid.*). Furthermore, ‘some “racial” groups are ethnified ... but also that some ethnic groups are racialised, as when immutable traits are accorded to ethnic minorities’ (*ibid.*).

Jenkins (1997:81) cites ‘the relationship between ethnic identity and “racial” identity’ as subtle and awkward. Banton (1983:10 as cited in Jenkins, 1997:81) affirms that ‘[m]embership in an ethnic group is usually voluntary; membership in a racial group is not’. However, as stipulated in the footnote, Jenkins (1997:81) does not separate ‘group identification’³⁸⁰ from ‘social categorisation’:³⁸¹

³⁷⁷ Van Wyk grew up in Kuilsrivier and attended an English school in Bellville. He was raised in English: ‘my mother-tongue is English ... my first language ... but my mother and father speak Kaaps to each other at home’ (Van Wyk, 2014).

³⁷⁸ Jenkins (1997:81) argues that ‘group identification’ and ‘social categorisation’ are *not* disconnected processes.

³⁷⁹ As discussed in this section, ‘race’ also is a construct.

³⁸⁰ Group identification signifies ethnicity and ‘inclusion (*us*)’ (Jenkins, 1997:81).

³⁸¹ Social categorisation refers to ‘race’ and ‘exclusion (*them*)’ (Jenkins, 1997:81). Jenkins (*ibid.*) argues that ‘processes of group identification and categorisation are routinely and reciprocally implicated in each other. It

Defining ‘them’ in terms of ‘race’ may be an important dimension of our definition of ‘us’ (which will, accordingly, carry some ‘racial’ charge). Some groups may, therefore, identify themselves – ‘us’ – in positive ‘racial’ terms.

To illustrate his point, Jenkins (1997:81) utilises the historical examples of ‘the *Herrenvolk* ideology in Nazi Germany and its close cousin in Nationalist South Africa’.³⁸² However, Jenkins (*ibid.*) cites (what he regards as) a similar example, namely “‘black nationalism’ in the United States and elsewhere’. Here, ‘group identification in terms of “race” may represent the historical negation of a powerful negative “racial” categorization, by reworking it as a positively valorized identity’ (Jenkins, 1997:81-82).

I argue that the celebration of creolised coloured identification in *Afrikaaps* represents a comparable example: Historical, negative racial categorisation is amended through the positive ‘ethnicisation’ of being ‘coloured’.³⁸³ In previous paragraphs, I delineated the conceptual connections between race and ethnicity. Following this clarification, I discuss the notions of ‘ethnicity’ and ‘ethnic identity/identification’ in more detail.

For Joseph (2004:162),³⁸⁴ ethnic identity constitutes ‘a [shared] cultural heritage ... because of common descent’. Following this argument, I suggest that *Afrikaaps* constructs a specific ethnic collectivity: ‘Coloured’ is ethnified by claiming collective Khoi, San and slave ancestry and heritage (in relation to Afrikaans). One can term this ethnic collectivity a coloured, Kaaps identification.

I argue that this positive ‘ethnicisation’ of being ‘coloured’ is a *reaction* to the hegemony of white Afrikaner ethnicity:³⁸⁵ ‘[E]thnicity can be studied both as a phenomenon created by economic and political circumstances, and as a reaction to such circumstances’ (Eriksen, 2002:85). Adhikari (2005:6, 15-16) asserts that, during the period of white political hegemony, coloured organic intellectuals were not capable of outlining ‘a positive set of symbols, a distinctive culture, or an acceptable myth of origin around which those who regarded themselves as Coloured could cohere with a sense of pride’. Adhikari (*ibid.*) raises two issues in this regard. Firstly, it was generally perceived that the coloured population lacked a culture, a sensitive issue for the coloured organic intellectuals. Secondly, the ‘slave past and Khoisan heritage’ were generally not regarded ‘as affirmations of group identity’, but ‘as embarrassments requiring a tactful silence’ (*ibid.*).

may be plausible to *characterise* this situation or that as one or the other, but it can never be more than a matter of emphasis’.

³⁸² Eriksen (2002:123) affirms that ‘South African apartheid was a very clear case of ethnic segregation’.

³⁸³ Schuster (2016:61) argues: ‘The construction of identities in the process of performing and viewing *Afrikaaps* results in the re-appropriation of former Coloured identities thus demonstrating their (the audience’s and cast’s) agency in conquering colonial constructs of identity’.

³⁸⁴ Eriksen (2002:36), however, offers a more nuanced view of the link between shared culture and ethnicity: ‘[I]t would be misleading to state simply that ... shared culture is the basis of ethnicity’. Eriksen (2002:173) also questions whether it is even ‘still analytically fruitful to think about the social world in terms of ethnicity?’

³⁸⁵ As discussed in Chapter Two, ‘pure’ Afrikaans – generally linked to white Afrikaner ethnicity – was utilised as a tool to further Afrikaner nationalism.

In response to continuing white cultural hegemony, *Afrikaaps* celebrates the ‘slave past and Khoisan heritage’ of coloured people to cultivate pride in heritage and thereby group identity. Van der Waal (as cited in Knörr 2010:753) notes this ‘indigenisation’ trend: ‘Among coloureds, the once forgotten slave heritage and Khoi identity are now increasingly celebrated as part of the process of indigenisation’. The positive set of symbols foregrounded by *Afrikaaps* include: Kaaps; *Kaapse Klopse* (Cape Minstrels); ‘Arabic Afrikaans’; ghoema; Cape Muslim vocabulary (e.g. ‘*tramakassie*’ (thank you)); the clicks of the ‘KhoiSan’; and indigenous cultural practices. By claiming Khoi and slave ancestry (and thereby collective cultural heritage), *Afrikaaps* ‘enact[s] ... boundary mechanisms’ and utilises ‘overt markers of distinctiveness in the reproduction of ethnic identities’ (Eriksen, 2002:173). *Afrikaaps* thereby differentiates the (claimed) shared cultural heritage of coloured Kaaps-speakers.³⁸⁶

5.3. Staging celebration: ‘*Die voorvaders praat deur jou tong*’³⁸⁷

Afrikaaps foregrounds the role of the ‘ancestors’ of coloured people from the Cape Flats in the formation of Afrikaans. Linguistic and cultural heritage is central to their celebration. In an interview with a Dutch journalist, Valley emphasised the fundamental role the ancestors of Kaaps-speakers played in the early formation of Afrikaans. He suggested that this recognition ought to equalise Kaaps with ‘official Afrikaans’ in terms of social standing:

What we’re saying is, it’s a dialect, like any other ... and it should be given the same respect as what people deem to be the official Afrikaans, but it should actually all be on the same level, because if you look into the history, the ancestors of the people who are speaking Kaaps, were ... the first to really mix Dutch with their own languages and the first to start to begin this process of creating a language, a new language.

(Valley, 2011)

Van der Westhuizen’s lyrics convey the notion that the hegemony of ‘pure’ Afrikaans only acknowledges Afrikaans as a white Afrikaner language; the fact that Afrikaans is also the mother-tongue of coloured people, is denied: ‘*Die groot baas sê: sytie Taal, sytie Race nie.*’ (The big boss says she doesn’t have Language, she doesn’t have Race) (my translation). After which Van der Westhuizen sings: ‘*Toe vatjie girl ’n trot met haa’ Ancestor.*’ (Then the girl took a walk with her Ancestor) (my translation). The latter implies reclamation of dispossessed identification. Goliath similarly offsets said disregard in a performance poetry piece celebrating the ‘ancestors’ of Kaaps speakers: ‘*Die voorvaders is jou ouers se ouers, se ouers, se ouers/ Hulle is in jou bloedstroom/ ... Hulle praat deur jou tong/*

³⁸⁶ *Afrikaaps* celebrates the linguistic influence and cultural heritage of ‘the ancestors’ in various ways, for example: Recognising the so-called ancestors’ contribution to ‘pure’ Afrikaans and Cape Muslim Afrikaans vocabulary; utilising the indigenous instrument, the ‘*xaru*’; expressing pre-colonial (before language contact) way of life through spoken word/performance poetry and songs; foregrounding the San clicks through a ‘click acapella’; acknowledging three Khoi interpreters; addressing the indigenous land claim issue; and highlighting Cape Muslim Afrikaans heritage.

³⁸⁷ The forefathers speak via your language (my translation).

Hulle wil hê jy moet praat soes hulle gepraat het/ Sodat hulle kan aanleef en onthou word. (The forefathers are your parents' parents, their parents' parents, their parents' parents/ They are in your bloodstream/ ... They speak via your language/ They want you to speak like they spoke/ So that they can live on and be remembered) (my translation).³⁸⁸

Similarly, the documentary and the production emphasise that said ancestors were the earliest contributors to the formation of Afrikaans: 'We wanted to understand how the language got where it is today. To do that, we had to go back into the past. Way back',³⁸⁹ 'As die Khoi, die San, en die slawe veral, nie gedwing was om Hollands of Nederlands te leer nie, of te praat nie, dan sou die taal Afrikaans eintlik nie ontstaan het nie' (If the Khoi, the San, and especially the slaves, were not forced to learn Dutch, or to speak it, then the language Afrikaans would not really have developed)³⁹⁰ (my translation); 'Autshumoa, Krotoa and Doman, they're the three indigenes, who, in a sense were the first to mold this new creole language, Afrikaans',³⁹¹ 'Baie mense wiet'ie, ons het al oor honderde jare al die Afrikaans gebou al. Ons is mense, afstammeling van die wat hom gebou't al, en daai brug staan nou nog' (Many people don't know it, we have built Afrikaans over hundreds of years. We are people, ancestors from those that have built it, and that bridge is still standing),³⁹² and 'Vandat die eerste skepe aangekom het, praat ons "Afrikaaps".' (Since the first ships came to the Cape, we speak 'Afrikaaps').³⁹³

Lyrics by Van der Westhuizen celebrate slave, as well as indigenous Afrikaans heritage, respectively ghoema and the Khoi interpreters, Autshumoa and Krotoa: 'Want met passie en emosie/ Is die taal van vol ... Die rhythm van die ghoema/ Het die plek op hol/ Dit bring Kretoa en Autshaumoa terug in nie kol.' (Because the language is full of passion and emotion ... The rhythm of the ghoema/ Has got everyone dancing/ It brings Kretoa and Autshaumoa back into the spotlight) (my translation).

5.3.1. 'Tramakassie', 'eina', 'baie'³⁹⁴

A core focus of *Afrikaaps* is the alleged misrecognition of Khoi and Malay influence on common 'pure' Afrikaans words, such as 'baie' (many) (Malay) and 'eina' (ouch) (Khoi). The production, the documentary, members of the ensemble, and the 'Hip-hop Masala' article all foreground these influences and its claimed lack of recognition (Afrikaaps, 2010; Jansen, 2012; Valley and Valley, 2009).

To elaborate: Valley and Valley (2009) recognise the linguistic influence of said population groups; they assert that 'Khoi-derived' and Malay-derived words are 'central to the Afrikaans language'. In

³⁸⁸ The phrase, 'the forefathers speak through your mother-tongue', suggests a link between language, ethnicity, and identification.

³⁸⁹ Stated by Valley (Afrikaaps, 2010).

³⁹⁰ Stated by Neville Alexander (Afrikaaps, 2010).

³⁹¹ Stated by Patrick Mellet (Afrikaaps, 2010).

³⁹² Goliath addressed the learners in a dialogue at the 2010 Baxter matinee.

³⁹³ Stated by Goliath in a dialogue in the 2011 Dutch version of the production.

³⁹⁴ Thank you; ouch; many.

addition, they argue that ‘the double negative, a language rule distinct to Afrikaans, is inherited from the Khoi’.³⁹⁵ Jansen, in a radio interview, foregrounded Khoi- and Malay-derived words as part of the Afrikaans vocabulary (Jansen, 2012).³⁹⁶ As mentioned in Chapter Two, Neville Alexander remarks in the documentary on the omission of Afrikaans vocabulary from the standard Afrikaans dictionary, citing ‘*tramakassie*’ as an example of a Malay-derived word (Afrikaaps, 2010).³⁹⁷ In the documentary, Valley claims that the Khoi and Malay origin of common standard Afrikaans words are ‘hidden’: ‘The words that I did find in the dictionary were very unexpected ... “*eina*” (ouch) [is a] KhoiSan [word], while “*baadjie*” (jacket) and “*baie*” (many) have their roots in the Malay community, and the list goes on. These words are spoken everyday and found everywhere, but their origins remain very much hidden’ (Afrikaaps, 2010).

During personal interviews, South African members of the audience attending the *Afrikaaps* performances in The Hague and Cape Town foregrounded the significance of the Malay and Khoi origin of Afrikaans words. After the *Theater aan het Spui* show, two white Afrikaans audience members – namely Ouida Smit and Adiel Sierone (Smit and Sierone, 2011) – offered their standpoints on *Afrikaaps*. They affirmed that they learned something new from the show, namely Malay influence on Afrikaans vocabulary. Smit and Sierone (Smit and Sierone, 2011) referred to this influence as ‘remnants of identity’ (such as ‘*tramakassie*’ (thank you)); and trace elements (‘*piesang*’ (banana) and ‘*pieering*’ (saucer)) respectively. Sierone (Smit and Sierone, 2011) stated that she always thought ‘*piesang*’ and ‘*pieering*’ indeed were not Dutch words. Smit (Smit and Sierone, 2011) asserted: ‘The language is a perfect reflection of the culture ... mixed up a bit. And then it forces everyone to wake up’ (my translation).³⁹⁸

After the 2012 Joule City performance, Bradley van Sitters (2012) also highlighted the slave and Khoi influence on Afrikaans vocabulary; he asserted that therein lies the difference between Dutch and Afrikaans. Van Sitters affirmed: ‘*Die Khoi component innit, is een van die kern karaktereienskappe wat dit eintlik heel Afrikaans maak, different soes die Nederlands wat hulle gepraat het.*’ (The Khoi component in it, is one of the key characteristics that actually makes it very Afrikaans, different from the Dutch that they spoke) (my translation). He stated that Afrikaans is a ‘mixed’ language. He cited the word ‘*piesang*’ (banana) as ‘from Indonesia’. He also highlighted the Khoi-derived words such as ‘*kierie*’ (walking stick), ‘*karos*’ (animal skin), ‘*eina*’ (ouch)³⁹⁹, and the expression ‘uh’ and ‘uh-uh’.

³⁹⁵ Makhudu (1985:18) cites Den Besten as a linguist attributing the Afrikaans negative construction (‘nie...nie’) to Khoikhoi influence.

³⁹⁶ Namely, ‘*eina*’ (ouch), ‘*gogga*’ (insect), ‘*kwagga*’ (an animal), ‘*kierie*’ (walking stick) (Khoi); and ‘*baadjie*’ (jacket) and ‘*piesang*’ (banana) (Malay) (Jansen, 2012).

³⁹⁷ In her article on *Afrikaaps* for the Dutch newspaper *Trouw*, Seada Nourhussen refers to this omission (Nourhussen, 2011).

³⁹⁸ Smit probably referred to a song in the production, titled ‘*Skrik wakker, raak wys*’ (Wake up and gain knowledge) (my translation).

³⁹⁹ My translations.

Furthermore, he emphasised Khoi influence on place names, such as Hoerikwaggo, Keimoes,⁴⁰⁰ and Leeu-Gamka⁴⁰¹ (Van Sitters, 2012).

5.3.2. ‘Orals staan die rotskuns nog stewig’⁴⁰²

Jansen’s lyrics foreground the offensive, pejorative labels for the San and Khoi, namely Boesman and Hottentot respectively: ‘*Boesman en Hottentot is gebruik om te beledig.*’ (Boesman and Hottentot were used to insult) (my translation). After which he sings, ‘*Maar oorals staan die rotskuns ... nog stewig.*’ (But everywhere the rock painting still stands strong) (my translation). Jansen suggests that, apart from this demeaning treatment, indigenous heritage endures.

It is against this background of historical subjugation of the indigenes that the ‘indigenous ancestors’ are celebrated. To elaborate: *Afrikaaps* lays bare the hegemony of colonialism in the celebration of the ‘stories of the ancestors’. *Afrikaaps* overtly challenges colonial conquest, oppression, and discrimination. *Afrikaaps* undermines these historical circumstances by celebrating the alleged indigenous roots of Cape coloured people.

5.3.3. ‘The theatre of pre-colonial imagination’

The *Afrikaaps* show opens with members of the ensemble grouped around a fake fire in a cave adorned with San rock paintings. Members of the ensemble play instruments such as the ‘*xaru*’, an indigenous instrument. Goliath, dressed in a ‘*karos*’ (animal skin), invites the audience to listen to the ‘stories of the ancestors’: ‘*En vind uit van ’n beskawing wat aan Xam sy kliks gegee het ... Die stories sal vertel word.*’ (And find out about a civilisation that has given Xam its clicks ... The stories will be told) (my translation).

The celebration of indigenous roots includes emphasis on cultural customs. For example, Goliath foregrounds the San rainmaker, namely ‘*!gi:xa*’, in a piece of performance poetry.⁴⁰³ Shepherd⁴⁰⁴ utilises the ‘*xaru*’⁴⁰⁵: ‘When we play that instrument, it’s our link to this ancestry. And to play this instrument is also paying respects and paying homage to that very ancient culture of people, the Khoi

⁴⁰⁰ Van Sitters elaborated that ‘*Keimoes*’ is ‘from the Khoi language’. It means ‘*grootoog*’ (large eye): ‘*kei*’ is ‘*groot*’ (big), and ‘*moes*’ is ‘*oog*’ (eye) (Van Sitters, 2012).

⁴⁰¹ He explained that ‘*leeu*’ (lion) means ‘*gam*’ (Van Sitters, 2012).

⁴⁰² Everywhere the rock is still standing strong.

⁴⁰³ Titled ‘*Die reënmaker*’ (The rainmaker), this piece of performance poetry conveys the loss of an imagined (Becker and Oliphant, 2014:16), pre-colonial, bygone way of life (therefore, a ‘mythical KhoiSan past’ (Becker and Oliphant, 2014:14)). Goliath laments the loss of ‘*!gi:xa*’, the San rainmaker, with the arrival of the missionaries who ostracised the ‘*!gi:xa*’ as ‘mysterious and sinister’ (my translation).

⁴⁰⁴ Kyle Shepherd declined interviews for this thesis.

⁴⁰⁵ The ‘*xaru*’ is a mouth bow, ‘a KhoiSan instrument’ (Lecoq, 2013).

and the San ... a very, very important instrument for us as people coming from this area [Cape Town]' (Lecoq, 2013).⁴⁰⁶

Lyrics by Adams, for example, also emphasise cultural customs; he concurrently conveys a mythical (Becker and Oliphant, 2014:14), 'peaceful' and 'prosperous' pre-contact era:⁴⁰⁷ *'Alles was so mooi en groen vir ons/ Kinders dans ommie vuur, ennie vrouens maakie kos./ Die man vertel 'n storie van 'n tyd/ Hoe sy oupa loop en jag ennie leeu kannie escape.'* (Everything was so pretty and green for us/ Children dance around the fire, and the women make the food/ The man narrates a story of a time/ How his grandfather goes and hunts and the lion cannot escape) (my translation).

Lyrics by Van Rooy-Overmeyer similarly convey the pre-colonial 'way of life': *'Ek is 'n Khoi, 'n San/ Stap saam die maan – met wild in my hand/ En 'n dans – wat jou sit in 'n trans/ My voorgeslag kon reën maak/ Stories vertel ... het krale gemaak en gedra/ Was multi coloured, universal.../ Geguide, deur die sterre en die maan/ Tekens gelos op klippe en op land/ Medisyne gekry – natuurlik – uit die aarde.'* (I am a Khoi, a San/ Walk with the moon – with game in my hand/ And a dance – that puts you in a trance/ My ancestors could make rain/ told stories ... made beads and wore them/ Were multi coloured, universal.../ Guided, by the stars and the moon/ Left signs on rocks and on land/ Found medicine – natural – from the earth) (my translation). Furthermore: Her lyrics celebrate a peaceful era before language contact, when the indigenes were proud of their languages: *'Eers goed saam geliewe/ Met verskille, maar tesame – Proud van hul taal, ja/ Toe kom skepe van Batavia ... Plus tale van ander lande!! Nou's alles mixed tesame!!'* (First lived well together/ With differences, but together – Proud of their language, yes/ Then the ships came from Batavia ... Plus languages from other countries!! Now everything is mixed together!!) (my translation).

5.3.4. *'Elke click in isiXhosa is oorspronklik vannie San'*⁴⁰⁸

Afrikaaps links indigenous roots with linguistic influence, specifically the 'San and Khoi' influence on the Xhosa language. Jansen's lyrics assert that 'Xhosa' is a 'Khoi' word: *'En die naam Xhosa ... het die Khoe vir hulle gegie'* (And the name Xhosa, the Khoi gave it to them). Furthermore, Jansen foregrounds San linguistic influence on the Xhosa clicks: *'Elke click in isiXhosa is oorspronklik vannie San'*.

⁴⁰⁶ In this interview, Shepherd suggests that sound 'speaks for itself': 'I don't think about any theoretical aspects, I don't think of any historical aspects when you put the instrument to your hands or to your mouth. That's when you start to express yourself with sound'. Furthermore, he asserted that sound is an unconfined space for expression: 'Sound ... doesn't have this box you know, to put in. I think you can make music without instruments. An instrument is merely the mechanics, but the music and the creativity and that sonic space is really what it's about. So when I put ... this mouth-bow ... to my body, to my mouth, it's really about making music and creating that space' (Lecoq, 2013).

⁴⁰⁷ Before colonial invasion.

⁴⁰⁸ Every click in isiXhosa is originally from the San.

At the 2010 Baxter matinee, Goliath celebrates the clicks in a dialogue. He informs Jansen: ‘*Die clicks is 110% “Afrikaaps” my bru. Kyk ons as descendants click nie eens meer nie. Ma’ ons click in gedagte ons wiet’t nie.*’ (The clicks are 110% ‘Afrikaaps’ my brother. See we as descendants do not click anymore. But we click when lost in thought, we don’t know that we do it) (my translation).⁴⁰⁹ Goliath then offers a tongue-in-cheek example of clicks utilised in everyday interactions; he addresses the learners: When they are disobedient, their mothers click their tongues reprovably. Goliath asserts that these clicks should be re-appropriated. Goliath, Van der Westhuizen, Van Rooy-Overmeyer and Jansen then perform a ‘click a capella’: They pronounce the letters ‘k’ and ‘c’ with ‘click sounds’. Jansen’s lyrics, for example, include ‘*Kom KhoiSan, kry terug jou land/ Coloureds kom van KhoiSan verstand.*’ (Come KhoiSan, get back your land/ Coloureds come from KhoiSan understanding) (my translation). Goliath’s contribution also includes: ‘*Konsonante kerf soos ’n kwas oorrie canvas/ Klap ’n kleptomaan van craft en culture katswink/ Strapped, kaal oor ’n kerslig/ Cancel die klas, eclectic is innie square/ Sit jy vas/ sonder gears vir jou Dutch/ Clueless in jou quest en jou council/ collaps.*’ (Consonants carve like a brush stroke on the canvas/ Knock down a kleptomaniac of craft and culture/ Strapped, naked over candle light/ Cancel the class, eclectic’s in the square/ Are you trapped/ missing gears for your Dutch/ Clueless in your quest and your council/ collapse) (my translation).

5.3.5. Autshumoa, Krotoa, Doman

In the documentary, Mellet foregrounds three indigenous (Khoi) interpreters.⁴¹⁰ According to Mellet, Autshumoa (‘*Herry the Strandloper*’),⁴¹¹ Krotoa (Eva)⁴¹² and Doman ‘were the first [in a sense] to mold this new creole language, Afrikaans’ (Afrikaaps, 2010).⁴¹³ Mellet asserts the significance of this recognition: ‘We simply associate the development of Afrikaans as something that occurred between the white settlers and the slaves. But we need to take one step backwards’ (Afrikaaps, 2010).⁴¹⁴

⁴⁰⁹ ‘The clicks are 110% Afrikaaps my brother. Now see here, we as descendants do not even click anymore. But we click whilst lost in thought, we just don’t know it’ (my translation).

⁴¹⁰ Interpreters were not only Khoi. According to Schoeman (2006:354), the Muslim ‘Sijmon the Arab’ (my translation) also served as an interpreter.

⁴¹¹ According to Mellet, ‘the white history books’ refer to Autshumoa as ‘*Herrie the Strandloper*’ (Afrikaaps, 2010).

⁴¹² Krotoa was the niece of Autshumao (Schoeman, 2009:16).

⁴¹³ Refer to the book *Kinders van die Kompanjie: Kaapse lewens uit die sewentiende eeu* (Schoeman, 2006, Protea Boekhuis) for an extensive history of these three interpreters. The book, *Seven Khoi Lives: Cape biographies of the seventeenth century*, is a translated, abbreviated version of the afore-mentioned title (Schoeman, 2009, Protea Book House; Schoeman, 2009:5).

⁴¹⁴ Mellet regards these Khoi interpreters as ‘the three diplomats of our early history’ (Afrikaaps, 2010). Krotoa ‘was brought up as a child in the household of Jan van Riebeeck [and was] also ... used as a facilitator ... a diplomat ... an interpreter, [and a] linguist’. Mellet states that Doman was the leader of the Khoi resistance. Autshumoa was ‘[t]he first indigene person ... who had to deal with this issue of language’. For Mellet, Autshumoa is often incorrectly portrayed as follows: ‘Just a beach bum’; ‘wandering on the beach [offering] to help [the colonists] with one or two things’; an ‘ignorant fellow’; and a ‘vagabond’. However, Mellet affirms that contrary to these portrayals, he has ‘travelled all the way to Batavia’, was ‘brought back by the Dutch’, and served for approximately two decades ‘of shipping’ as ‘effectively ... a linguist’. He communicated with the

In a scene in the production, Van der Westhuizen, Jansen and Van Rooy-Overmeyer portray Doman, Autshumao, and Krotoa respectively. Van Rooy-Overmeyer – dressed as Eva in colonial attire – comments on the loss of ‘her’ indigenous ‘identity’ whilst ‘serving’ her ‘colonial master’ as a facilitator, translator and interpreter: *‘Statig in my oosterse vreemde drag .../ As koninklike het ek raad gegee/ Vertaal en getolk teen my volk/ In die guns van my meester.’* (Stately in my eastern foreign clothes .../ As royalty I advised/ Translated and interpreted against my people/ In favour of my master) (my translation). However, Van Rooy-Overmeyer then materialises as Krotoa; she unwinds her headscarf, part of her colonial attire: *‘Met my – pride in my sak/ Is tyd – haal it uit/ ... Vind my plek – op verlore grond/ Onthou?! (ek is).’* (Pocketing my pride/ it’s time – take it out/... find my place – on lost soil/ Remember?! (I am)) (my translation).

These lyrics symbolise the reclaiming of dispossessed indigenous ‘identity’ and ‘land’. Concurrently, ‘Krotoa’ asserts pride and a feeling of belonging. Jansen – dressed in colonial attire as Autshumoa – addresses ‘the violence of the colonial encounter’ (Erasmus, 2001) and the issue of ‘stolen land’: *‘Seer is my hart om te sien hoe hulle die land steel/ Ons liggaams was getorture, geskeur en verdeel’* (My heart is hurting to see how they steal the land/ Our bodies were tortured, torn and divided) (my translation).

5.3.6. *‘Kom KhoiSan kry terug jou land, coloureds kom van KhoiSan verstand’*⁴¹⁵

Afrikaaps also foregrounds the issue of indigenous land ownership. Jansen’s lyrics, for example, suggest that the San, the first inhabitants of the ‘land’, have a claim to it: *‘Kykie verstaan die San behoort aanie land/ Land kannie gekoop word ‘ie, so hou jou blerrie rand’⁴¹⁶/ Gaan vra die Xhosa en Zulu, wie was eerste hie.’* (See, understand the San belong to the land/ land cannot be bought, so keep your bloody rand/ Ask the Xhosa and Zulu, who was here first) (my translation).⁴¹⁷

The lyrics, *‘Kom KhoiSan kry terug jou land, coloureds kom van KhoiSan verstand’*, also suggest a claim to the land. In a personal interview, Jansen explained the intent of this phrase: ‘Originally, it read *“Kom Khoi en San, kom terug na die land, Coloureds kom van KhoiSan verstand”*. *Want obviously die idea van land ownership onder die Khoi en die San, dis die issue.*’ (‘Come Khoi and San, return to the land, Coloureds come from KhoiSan understanding’. Because the idea of land ownership among the Khoi and the San, obviously is the issue) (my translation) (Jansen, 2015). However, he affirmed that it

French, Portuguese, the British, and the Dutch in their respective languages. Mellet asserts Autshumoa’s value at the early Cape; ‘[w]ithout him, the Dutch settlement would have struggled. He was their point man’ (Afrikaaps, 2010).

⁴¹⁵ Come KhoiSan, get back your land/ Coloureds come from KhoiSan knowledge (my translation).

⁴¹⁶ Jansen may suggest that invaluable ancestral land cannot be bought.

⁴¹⁷ Other lyrics by Jansen suggest the need to reclaim dispossessed land: *‘Die mense sal hulself terug aan die land gee’* (The people will give themselves back to the land).

was deliberately rephrased: ‘We need for people to start talking about the issue of land, [and] the only way you would do that is to agitate people, to talk about land’ (*ibid.*).

Jansen elaborated on the reason for this overt agitation: ‘The so-called coloured community’ is ‘a group of people who are distanced from the land issue’. The rephrasing therefore serves a purpose for this community, namely ‘to think, look, if I come from that history, to ask ... don’t I have a claim to the land. *Hoe speel ek in die hele stories* [how do I fit in these stories]’. Jansen asserted that the aim is thereby ‘to agitate, to start asking people to whom this land actually belongs’. He affirmed that this provocation ‘worked’: The festival director of the Grahamstown festival perceived the production as ‘very KhoiSan nationalist’. Jansen surmised that the ‘necessity to have that conversation’, is possibly not acknowledged (Jansen, 2015).

5.3.7. ‘Arabic Afrikaans’, *Kaapse Klopse*⁴¹⁸, ghoema

In addition to the celebration of Cape Muslim vocabulary and the Malay origin of ‘pure’ Afrikaans words, *Afrikaaps* celebrates the Afrikaans heritage of the slaves: ghoema, the *Kaapse Klopse* (the Cape Minstrels) and ‘Arabic Afrikaans’. Lyrics by Adams suggest that ghoema and the *Kaapse Klopse* are part of the coloured people’s ancestry and history: ‘*Ons maak ’n Ghoema song daar en ’n Nederlandse lied ... Dy klopse gedagte is ’n coloured ding/ Maar in daai ding lê jou bloed en jou history in.*’ (We make a ghoema song there and a *Nederlandse* song ... The *Klopse* idea is a coloured thing/ But that thing is in our blood and history) (my translation).

In the documentary, Valley claims ‘that the first written Afrikaans was in Arabic text’. Given his partly Muslim heritage, Valley finds it surprising that he was not privy to this fact: ‘As half my family is Muslim, I found it strange that this wasn’t common knowledge’ (Afrikaaps, 2010). In the production, Adams celebrates this heritage by performing a prayer. Images of Arabic Afrikaans texts⁴¹⁹ are projected onto the screen, scrolling downward. These texts fade into an image of Arabic Afrikaans texts transcribed into Latin alphabet letters, fading back to the Arabic texts in a loop. In the documentary, Mellet asserts that the first Afrikaans literature did *not* originate in the white community:

The literature first also came from the black community. If we go back to the early Muslim scholars in the Cape, the teachers, who taught at the madrassas. This is where Afrikaans, written with Arabic script, first emerged. It’s long before the Bible. The Bible is translated in the second decade of the 1900s. We’re talking now about the last decade of the 1700s, and the first two decades of the 1800s, is where Islamic scholars, teachers, are teaching the children in Afrikaans, in phonetic Afrikaans, using Arabic script.

(Afrikaaps, 2010)

⁴¹⁸ The Cape Minstrels.

⁴¹⁹ Therefore, Afrikaans (phonetically) transcribed into Arabic script.

Afrikaaps also celebrates the *Kaapse Klopse* (the Cape Minstrels) by including brief footage of the parade in the documentary; this footage is also projected onto the screen during a scene in the production. In addition, the documentary foregrounds Adams's connection to Cape Malay cultural traditions: 'A young Cape Flats crooner, who had his roots firmly planted in the Cape Malay traditions of ghoema, the Cape Minstrels, and the Malay choirs'⁴²⁰ (Afrikaaps, 2010).

In the production, Adams celebrates ghoema; he performs the songs '*Daar kom die Alibama*' and '*Roelandstraat*'.⁴²¹ In the documentary, Valley foregrounds the socio-historical and -cultural value of ghoema: 'Ghoema music is often misunderstood as joke-music. In reality, it tells the stories of slavery, rebellion, and liberation, and these are the stories that Cape Town is made of'. In the Lavender Hill High Afrikaans class scene, three learners perform the ghoema song '*Batavia*' for their class (Afrikaaps, 2010).⁴²² Regarding this performance, Valley affirms: 'It was inspiring to see that ghoema haven't [sic] died in Cape Town. We thought we would teach these kids a thing or two, but we were the ones that learnt a great deal' (*ibid.*).

5.4. '*Mix bredie community*'⁴²³: Creolised coloured identification

The starting point of my argument in this chapter focused on the representation of collective identity in *Afrikaaps* is that 'ethnicity is *always* socially constructed' (Jenkins, 1997:47). Jenkins (1997:50) defines ethnicity as 'collective identification that is socially constructed in the articulation of purported cultural similarity and difference'.⁴²⁴ Eriksen (2002:84) argues, similarly, that ethnic identifications are 'created' for specific purposes.⁴²⁵

The constructed nature, specifically of Afrikaner ethnicity, is demonstrated by Shell (1994:64) and Ferdinand Rosa; Shell asserts that 'Afrikaner' is a constructed grouping,⁴²⁶ and Ferdinand Rosa (refer to Chapter Six) affirmed that 'pure' Afrikaans is an invention. One can argue that Afrikaner ethnicity

⁴²⁰ In the documentary, Adams sketches a brief overview of his involvement in Cape Malay traditions. When he was about three or four years old, he began dancing on stage at the Carnival. When he was around seven or eight years old, he was a drum major for the Minstrels for approximately five years; he won a few first, second and third prizes. He joined the Malay choirs as a high school student. Moenier is featured in the documentary, *Silver Fez* (Afrikaaps, 2010).

⁴²¹ Whilst Adams performs these ghoema songs, footage of Cape Flats residential areas is projected onto the screen; these areas are depicted as if driving past in a car.

⁴²² Adams is also filmed playing the guitar and singing with the learners.

⁴²³ Mixed '*bredie*' community. A '*bredie*' is a mixed stew. To my knowledge, it is a dish that the Malay slaves imported to the Cape.

⁴²⁴ Jenkins (1997:14) argues that one does not 'have' or 'belong' to the 'something' that is culture or ethnicity; '[t]hey are, rather, complex repertoires which people experience, use, learn and 'do' in their daily lives, within which they construct an ongoing sense of themselves and an understanding of their fellows'. Jenkins (1997:46) furthermore emphasises that ethnic identification is not fixed, and that 'ethnic identity is situationally variable and negotiable' (Jenkins, 1997:50).

⁴²⁵ To elaborate, Eriksen (2002:174) affirms that 'ethnic communities are social and cultural creations'.

⁴²⁶ 'Coloured' was an imposed category (Shell, 1994:64).

was utilised as ‘a social *resource* [that was] drawn upon [and] exploited’. Ethnicity was thereby mobilised and manipulated (Jenkins, 1997:90). As discussed in Chapter Two, ‘pure’ Afrikaans came to be associated with white Afrikaner ethnicity. The emphasis of *Afrikaaps* on an ethnic collectivity *other* than the white Afrikaner (in relation to the Afrikaans language), also demonstrates ethnicity as a construction.

The emphasis of Eriksen (2002:34, 58) on the relational aspect of ethnicity is useful for this argument. Eriksen (2002:58) argues that ethnicity ‘is a relationship between two or several groups’. To elaborate: ‘If a setting is wholly mono-ethnic, there is effectively no ethnicity, since there is nobody there to communicate cultural difference to’ (Eriksen, 2002:34). The focus of this section therefore is on the way in which ‘coloured’ is ‘ethnified’ in relation to ‘white Afrikaner’ ethnicity.

For Erasmus (2001:20), claims of ‘authenticity based on historical links to the Khoi-San’ represent ‘the wave of fashionable indigeneity’.⁴²⁷ The question is whether *Afrikaaps* reconfigures a notion of ‘colouredness’ (Erasmus, 2001:12) that suggests ‘a sense of purity based on claims to ethnicity and indigenous roots’ (Erasmus, 2001:16). Jansen’s lyrics from the *Afrikaaps* production suggest that ‘races’ are ‘mixed’: ‘*Hie’s elke sogenoemde ras gemix o bra, ma’ daai’s oraait, ons kom almal van Afrika.*’ (Here every so-called race is mixed, oh brother, but that’s all right we all come from Africa) (my translation). One can argue that the notion of ‘race purity’ is counteracted by the claim that all population groups originate in Africa/South Africa. In an interview with a Dutch journalist, Valley similarly affirmed that all population groups in South Africa are ‘mixed’:

[A]ll the different racial groups ... we’re actually all like a big mix ... there’s no pure race in South Africa, or in the world, I think. Everybody has some mix in them ... But we still have the same labels we attach to ourselves ... but I’d say a lot of white Afrikaners, are mixed ... they’ve got KhoiSan blood, or Malay blood ... and it’s been documented, there’s a book about it.

(Valley, 2011)

Valley accordingly discussed his ‘mixed’ heritage:

[M]y great grandfather, on my one side, he was from Pakistan, and his wife was Norwegian ... my great grandmother is Norwegian. And then on the other hand, I’ve got ... Indonesian blood, and I’ve also got KhoiSan blood, and also I recently found out that I have a Sotho ancestor as well ... Sotho is a black tribe ... and white as well, like Dutch. My grandfather’s surname was Van Wyk, it’s ... an Afrikaner name. So that was my mother’s maiden name, Van Wyk.

(Valley, 2011)

In a radio interview, Jansen connected the idea that ‘nothing’s pure, it’s all mixtures’, to language influence: ‘The clicks of isiXhosa come from the San and the Khoi’ (Jansen, 2012). However, lyrics in the production – ‘*Kom KhoiSan ... coloureds kom van KhoiSan verstand*’ (Come KhoiSan, coloureds

⁴²⁷ The claiming of purity does not acknowledge historical context (Wicomb, 1998:105 as cited in Erasmus, 2001:20). Furthermore, it does not permit ‘multiple belongings’ (Wicomb, 1998:105 as quoted in Erasmus, 2001:20).

come from KhoiSan knowledge) – suggest that all ‘coloured’ people have KhoiSan ancestors. A ‘myth of origin’ is thereby emphasised (Adhikari, 2005; Becker and Oliphant, 2014:5, 14).⁴²⁸

Furthermore, the ‘*Land en Taal*’ (Land and Language) scene symbolises the hijacking of the language by the ‘colonial aggressor’. In addition, *Afrikaaps* aims to counter the general view of Afrikaans as the white language of the oppressor; the concept ‘creole’ and ‘coloured connection’ is utilised in order to ‘liberate’ Afrikaans. In his introductory talk at the 2012 Joule City performance, Adam Haupt stated that *Afrikaaps* ‘attempt[s] to shift thinking about racial identity away from biological essentialist conceptions of race’. He argues that by ‘dubbing it *Afrikaaps* ... this specific Cape history of Afrikaans ... and actually the slave history of Afrikaans, the connection to coloniser and colonised’ is foregrounded.

All of the above claims connect colonialism, the ‘creole origins’ of Afrikaans (or the slave history of Afrikaans) and a coloured ethnic collectivity. Arguments from Erasmus (2001) and Martin (2006; 2013) are relevant for this discussion: Erasmus (2001:28) connects ‘the violence of the colonial encounter’ and creolisation (2001:22) to ‘the fragments which make up the history of being coloured’ (2001:28). Coloured identities were configured within the historical context of ‘colonialism, slavery, segregation and apartheid’ (Erasmus, 2001:14).⁴²⁹

Erasmus (2001:22) defines creolisation as cultural configurations formed within historical circumstances of slavery. Martin (2006:171) similarly refers to South Africa’s ‘history of conquest, slavery, colonialism, and domination by a ruling class that originally pretended to draw its legitimacy from racial superiority and which for a long time was able to retain power as an inheritance from the past, even after racialist ideologies were officially discarded’. Martin (2006:172-173) suggests ‘a new historical imaginary for South Africa’ through the lens of ‘creolisation’ (Cohen, 2007:374):

In the works of the first Caribbean writers to use it, it is meant to account for the confrontations and violence caused by encounters, without downplaying the creative dynamics unleashed by these conflictive meetings.

Cohen and Toninato (2010:17) emphasise the value of ‘creolisation’ in re-conceptualising ‘Coloured’:

⁴²⁸ Becker and Oliphant (2014:5) affirm that ‘*Afrikaaps* makes historical and – at times essentialist – cultural statements, which emphasise the KhoiSan *origins*’. Concurrently Becker and Oliphant (2014) allude to the representation of such origins by *Afrikaaps* as ‘mythical’. To elaborate, Becker and Oliphant (2014:14) affirm that ‘*Afrikaaps* noticeably proliferated reference to the mythical KhoiSan past through imagery, historical narration and musical elements’. Furthermore, ‘the past presented appears mythical and composite, aimed ostensibly at creating a sense of an ahistorical ‘culture’ of Coloureds and their language’ (*ibid.*).

⁴²⁹ During the colonial era, the following groups encountered one another: Dutch and British colonisers, slaves (brought from East Africa and South and East India), and the Khoi and the San (the subjugated indigenes). The outcomes of this contact – characterised by entrenched power relations – were ‘processes of cultural dispossession, borrowing and transformation’ (Erasmus, 2001:21). Coloured identities were configured during the colonial era when these groups encountered one another and the outcomes of this contact were ‘processes of cultural dispossession, borrowing and transformation’ (Erasmus, 2001:21).

In South Africa, the apartheid state officially categorised a segment of the population as ‘Coloured’ and only in the post-apartheid world has creolisation become a way of understanding the complexity that underlay the crude, purist stereotypes the old regime invented.

Erasmus (2001:14, 16, 22) re-articulates coloured identities as creolised; they are premised on cultural creativity, rather than on ‘race mixture’/‘miscegenation’. More specifically, coloured identities constitute cultural configurations created within colonial circumstances (by way of ‘appropriation, dispossession and translation’) (Erasmus, 2001:16). Accordingly, an indisputably distinct cultural configuration – encompassing very specific elements from Khoi, British, Dutch, and Malay cultures, and African cultural forms – arose (Erasmus, 2001:21). Colouredness is therefore ‘a creolised cultural identity’ (Erasmus, 2001:22):⁴³⁰

In re-imagining coloured identities we need to move beyond the notion that coloured identities are ‘mixed race’ identities. Rather we need to see them as cultural identities comprising detailed bodies of knowledge, specific cultural practices, memories, rituals and modes of being ... The result has been a highly specific and instantly recognisable cultural formation – not just a ‘mixture’, but a very particular ‘mixture’ comprising elements of British, Dutch, Malaysian, Khoi and other forms of African culture appropriated, translated and articulated in complex and subtle ways. These elements acquire their specific cultural meaning only once fused and translated.

(Erasmus, 2001:21 as cited in Cohen, 2007:375)

The *Afrikaaps* celebration of Kaaps coloured identification (including indigenous and slave roots) suggests colouredness as a creolised cultural identification. Martin (2000:366) cites ‘the Coon Carnival’ (*Kaapse Klopse*) as a ‘creolised tradition’ (2000:367). The *ghoema* drum is cited as a so-called creole invention of Cape Town (2000:372).

One can argue that *Afrikaaps* constitutes a positive ‘ethnicisation’ of ‘coloured’. Valley (2011) and Jansen (2012) dispute the notion of purity, conceptualising all so-called ‘races’ as of ‘mixed’ heritage. The question is whether *Afrikaaps* ironically reconstitutes ‘a sense of purity based on claims to ethnicity and indigenous roots’ (Erasmus, 2001:16).⁴³¹

The argument of Knörr (2010:733) may be useful in order to connect indigeneity and ethnicity with creolisation. For Knörr (2010:733), ‘indigenisation and ethnicisation’ are ‘criteria for creolisation’:

Creolisation as a process involving indigenisation and ethnicisation to some extent implies the essentialisation of identities whereby the emerging creole group is not only associated with specific cultural characteristics but also with a specific common ancestry and heritage ... Creolisation ... is a finite process that is completed when a new ethnic group identity has been

⁴³⁰ However, Martin (2013:129) states that ‘[c]reolisation in Cape Town should not be perceived as a phenomenon concerning exclusively the people who were labelled coloured’.

⁴³¹ *Afrikaaps* celebrates indigenous and slave roots and cultural heritage as part of a constructed ethnic collectivity in response to ‘pure’ white Afrikaner ethno-nationalism.

constituted. The latter may be conceived of as heterogenous and mixed, but it is neither random and flexible in all directions nor free of boundaries.⁴³²

The ethnic collectivity constructed by *Afrikaaps* is quite fixed. The notions ‘slave’, ‘Malay’, and ‘KhoiSan’ do not permit a shared identification with all the speakers of Afrikaans; even though Afrikaans is conceptualised as a creole language (i.e. of ‘mixed’ origins), all Afrikaans-speakers cannot identify with the Kaaps coloured identification.

One can interpret these arguments as contradictions, and/or as a creation of a fixed ethnic identification related to the Afrikaans language *other* than white Afrikaners. As previously stated, this celebrated ‘mixed’, ethnic collectivity is a response to white Afrikaner ethno-nationalism, founded on notions of linguistic and racial ‘purity’. It is therefore a form of ‘strategic essentialism’ (Spivak, 1996 as cited in Van der Waal, 2008:55).⁴³³

Both ethnicities are social constructions (Jenkins, 1997:47). Both were ‘created’ for specific purposes (Eriksen, 2002:84): Afrikaner ethno-nationalism was created to ‘unify’ a ‘*volk*’ (a people) against British domination. In turn, Afrikaner ethno-nationalism purportedly created a racialised socio-linguistic divide within the Afrikaans speech community. The fixed ethnic identification of *Afrikaaps* is a *response* to the former fixed ethnic ‘identity’. In this case, Eriksen’s (2002:34, 58) argument, namely that ethnicity is relational, is highly relevant for understanding the forms of identification in *Afrikaaps*.

On the other hand, the broader conceptualisation of Afrikaans as ‘creole’ (compared to Kaaps coloured identification) suggests the possibility of inclusiveness for all the population groups said to have contributed to the origins of Afrikaans. Then, again, one can also argue that *Afrikaaps* does not aim to foreground ‘purity’ in relation to indigenous roots *per se*. I believe that their objective is, ironically, to undermine the idea of ‘purity’ in relation to ‘race’ and ‘language’. The utilisation of the ‘creole’ conceptual framework is a response to historical notions of ‘purity’. Erasmus’s (2001:28) argument regarding ‘colouredness’ and historical context is applicable:

Processes of reclaiming Khoi-San history among coloured people are not always based on claims of authenticity and ‘purity’.⁴³⁴ Such processes are often part of a recognition of the

⁴³² Creolisation as a finite process contrasts with the views expressed by Erasmus (2001), by which creolisation is always in process, encompassing boundless cultural transformation (Glissant, 1992:142 as cited in Erasmus, 2001:22). Coloured identities are alternatively perceived by Erasmus (2001:14) as ambiguous and perpetually fluid, emphasising the need to constantly take into account the circumstances in which they are being shaped. Martin (2006:173) also utilises Glissant’s argument, arguing that creolisation is an unlimited process.

⁴³³ Van der Waal (2012:458) argues that strategic essentialism is employed by *Afrikaaps* ‘in a context of a search for empowerment’, rather than ethno-nationalism. Becker and Oliphant (2014:5) similarly affirm that, in contrast to a conceptualisation of ‘Creole’ as fluid (not finite), ‘*Afrikaaps* makes historical and – at times essentialist – cultural statements, which emphasise the KhoiSan *origins*, which is further mediated through the narration of historically later moments, particularly slavery at the Cape in the 18th and early 19th centuries. These dimensions make for an ambiguous narrative’.

⁴³⁴ For Becker and Oliphant (2014:1), *Afrikaaps* signifies ‘attempts at authenticating a recently asserted linguistic and cultural “identity”’.

fragments which make up the history of being coloured and an acknowledgement of the violence of the colonial encounter.

Indeed, *Afrikaaps* foregrounds ‘the fragments’ and the violence of colonialism in relation to Afrikaans. The notion of ethnicity thereby becomes more complex, given that ‘Afrikaners’ and ‘coloured’ people ‘share’ the Afrikaans language. In this case, two ethnic groups share cultural heritage, namely language.⁴³⁵ Eriksen’s (2002:34) argument emphasises the ambiguity of cultural boundaries in relation to ethnic boundaries: Ethnicity is not ‘a cultural property of a group’; people, for example, may share a language. ‘Cultural boundaries’ therefore do not ‘necessarily correspond with ethnic boundaries’ (*ibid.*). Harrison (1999:10) similarly and explicitly differentiates between ethnic boundaries and cultural boundaries. Ethnic boundaries are defined as ‘distinctions drawn between a group’s *members* and those of other groups, demarcating ethnic collectivities’. Cultural boundaries constitute the ‘[demarcation of] the bodies of symbolic practices which these collectivities attribute to themselves in seeking to differentiate themselves from each other’.

Barth (1969:15) also differentiates between the ethnic boundary and cultural content: It is ‘the ethnic boundary that defines the group, not the cultural stuff that it encloses’.⁴³⁶ Barth (*ibid.*) emphasises membership and exclusion in this regard: ‘If a group maintains its identity when members interact with others, this entails criteria for determining membership and ways of signaling membership and exclusion’.⁴³⁷

Barth (1969:15) also foregrounds the role that the ethnic boundary plays in ‘social life’; ‘it entails a frequently quite complex organization of behaviour and social relations. The identification of another person as a fellow member of an ethnic group implies a sharing of criteria for evaluation and judgment’. This recognised membership ‘dichotomis[es] ... others as strangers, as members of another ethnic group’ (*ibid.*).⁴³⁸

The arguments presented by Eriksen (2002), Harrison (1999), and Barth (1969) are useful for the consideration of *Afrikaaps* as a paradox of inclusion and exclusion (regarding ethnic collectivities,

⁴³⁵ Kotzé (2000:11) states that ‘[t]he multiplicity of language groups in multilingual states (often correlating with ethnic groups)’ is complex. To elaborate: ‘[D]ifferent ethnic groups share the same mother tongue, even though they speak different varieties, or ethnolects, of that language’. Kotzé differentiates between, for example, Malay Afrikaans and Cape Afrikaans (*ibid.*).

⁴³⁶ The boundaries referred to are social (‘though they may have territorial counterparts’) (Barth, 1969:15). Barth (1969:15) emphasises that ‘[e]thnic groups are not merely or necessarily based on the occupation of exclusive territories’. In contrast to Barth (1969:15), Eriksen (2002:173) problematises ‘group boundaries’: Ethnic boundaries are cited as ‘frequently ambiguous’. For Eriksen (2002:173), ‘ethnic anomalies or liminal categories’ can be present; there ‘are groups or individuals ... who are neither X nor Y and yet a bit of both. Their actual group membership may be open to situational negotiation, it may be ascribed by a dominant group, or the group may form a separate ethnic category’.

⁴³⁷ Barth (1969:15) argues that ‘the different ways in which [ethnic groups] are maintained [is] not only by a once-and-for-all recruitment but by continual expression and validation’.

⁴³⁸ What is suggested, is ‘a recognition of limitations on shared understandings, differences in criteria for judgment of value and performance, and a restriction of interaction to sectors of assumed common understanding and mutual interest’ (Barth, 1969:15).

‘race’, and language). Inclusion is furthered by claiming that Afrikaans, as discussed in Chapter Six (sections 6.2 and 6.3), is an indigenous language with creole roots. By acknowledging the shared origins of the language, unity across the ‘racial’ divide can be fostered. In this sense, language as shared cultural heritage dissipates the cultural boundary across two ethnic collectivities.

However, ‘exclusion’ is also fostered: The ‘ethnic boundary’ is enforced and maintained by dichotomising ‘ethnified’ ‘colouredness’ in relation to white Afrikaner ethnicity. Membership (versus exclusion) is signalled by foregrounding Kaaps-speakers (with Khoi and slave/Malay heritage) in contrast to ‘pure’ Afrikaans speakers. The members of the former ethnic collectivity are demarcated as such. Specific cultural boundaries regarding Afrikaans heritage are drawn: ‘[B]odies of symbolic practices’ – as previously noted – are delineated for differentiation from the white Afrikaner ethnic collectivity.

The said demarcation relates to the ‘us’ and ‘them’ dialectic. Jenkins (1997:46) defines ethnic differentiation as ‘the social construction of “us” and “them”, marked in cultural terms’. Eriksen (2002:174) similarly argues ‘that not everybody can take part in a given community. All categorisations of group membership must have boundaries; they depend on *others* in order to make sense’.⁴³⁹

The question arises whether the response of *Afrikaaps* to Afrikaner nationalism mirrors the exclusivity of Afrikaner ethno-nationalism. During the 2011 Dutch tour, Henegan mentioned in passing that *Afrikaaps* is regarded as ethno-nationalist. In a 2015 personal interview, Henegan specified that *Afrikaaps* is considered as such by Ismail Mahomed, the director of the Grahamstown National Arts Festival.⁴⁴⁰ He, in Henegan’s words, stated: ‘This work smacks of ethnic nationalism, and what you’re doing with these people is no better than what the Afrikaners did with the former Afrikaans nationalist agenda’ (Henegan, 2012).⁴⁴¹ Before this aspect of *Afrikaaps* is discussed, notions of ethno-nationalism need to be examined.

Kellas (1991:51) defines ethnic nationalism as ‘the nationalism of ethnic groups such as the Kurds, Latvians, and Tamils, who define their nation in exclusive terms, mainly on the basis of common descent. In this type of nationalism, no one can “become” a Kurd, Latvian, or Tamil through adopting Kurdish, etc., ways’.⁴⁴² This definition does not connect ‘nation’ to the state. Connor (1994: xi, 40) also distinguishes ‘nation’ from ‘state’; ‘nation’ is defined as ‘a group of people who believe they are ancestrally related’ (Connor, 1994:xi). ‘Nationalism’ – which is synonymous to ethno-nationalism – is

⁴³⁹ However, Jenkins (1997:14) argues that ethnicity is *not* ‘an attribute of the Other’.

⁴⁴⁰ Jansen also mentioned Mahomed’s viewpoint during a personal interview (Jansen, 2015).

⁴⁴¹ Henegan, in response, stated that she ‘let other people speak, I let the artists speak’ (Henegan, 2012).

⁴⁴² During the discussion after the 2015 screening of the *Afrikaaps* documentary, Fernando Rosa affirmed: If one learns a language, such as Japanese, it ‘gives [the] possibility’ to have ‘some claim’ to be Japanese. He asserted however, that he does not think he is Japanese, drawing a laugh from the audience. He affirmed that ‘if you learn Afrikaans, you can become an Afrikaner’, eliciting another laugh from the audience. He stated ‘[i]t sounds funny because we have a racialised idea of the Afrikaner which was constructed historically’.

thereby understood as ‘identification with and loyalty to one’s nation’ (Connor, 1994:xi). Therefore, in contrast to ‘the state’, ‘self-differentiating ethnic groups are ... nations’ (Connor, 1994:40). For Connor (1994:40), ‘loyalty to the nation has often been confused with loyalty to the state’.⁴⁴³

I argue that *Afrikaaps* is ethno-nationalist on the basis of common descent. ‘Their’ nation is demarcated in exclusive terms.⁴⁴⁴ This exclusivity is demonstrated by my lack of identification – based on ‘common descent’ – with the cited ethnic collectivity. The constructed white Afrikaner ethnicity is generally associated with Germanic ancestry. Indeed, I have predominantly Dutch and German (as well as British and French) ancestry that I discovered via my family’s genealogical archives. However, if I were to discover that I have Khoi and/or ‘Malay’⁴⁴⁵/slave ancestors through a more in-depth genealogical search, am I then ‘coloured’, or ‘black’? Will I then be able to identify with the *Afrikaaps* ethnic collectivity?⁴⁴⁶

I do not identify with the constructed category ‘Afrikaner’ and its stereotyped associations. I identify with being an Afrikaans-speaking South African. My lack of identification with the *Afrikaaps* ethnic collectivity stems from a lack of points of reference regarding the claimed symbolic practices and ‘lived experiences’ (relating to ‘colouredness’/coloured identification). The most palpable criterion for *not* being a member of said ethnic collectivity is the fact that I am not a Kaaps-speaker. I am not familiar with this demarcated symbolic practice.⁴⁴⁷ I thereby cannot identify with Kaaps ‘as an ethno-national [symbol]’ (Edwards, 2009:258).

Edwards (2009:258) foregrounds the role of language in ethno-national movements: ‘[B]eyond its familiar and obvious instrumental importance, language can also be a powerful emblem of groupness, an emotionally charged symbol, a central pillar of individual and social identity, and a pivotal rallying-point for ethnonational movements’. For me, most of these aspects resonate more with Afrikaner nationalism as an ethno-national movement. Afrikaans functioned as ‘an emotionally charged symbol’, ‘central pillar’, and ‘a pivotal rallying-point’ of the ‘*volk*’. *Afrikaaps*, rather, aims to cultivate Kaaps as ‘a powerful emblem of groupness’ within the context of this variety’s claimed stigmatisation and marginalisation. The next section examines how, especially Van Rooy-Overmeyer, Valley and Jansen

⁴⁴³ In contrast to Connor (1994:xi, 40), Eriksen (2002:7) and Jenkins (1997:15) connect nationalism to the state. For Eriksen (2002:7), a nationalist does not differentiate between political boundaries and cultural boundaries. Jenkins (1997:85) finds the term ‘ethnic nationalism’ as ‘conceptual[ly] redundan[t]’: ‘[I]t is hard to imagine a nationalism which is not, in some sense, “ethnic”’. Jenkins (1997:85) cites Smith in this regard (Smith, A.D. 1991. *National Identity*, Harmondsworth: Penguin: 79-84).

⁴⁴⁴ The link between nationalism and the state does not pertain to *Afrikaaps*. I argue that the cited ethnic collectivity – in contrast to Afrikaner nationalism – ‘do[es] not demand command over a state’ (Eriksen, 2002:7). They are therefore not ‘the political leaders of an ethnic movement mak[ing] demands to this effect ... by definition becom[ing] a nationalist movement’.

⁴⁴⁵ As argued by Shell (1994:64), ‘Malay’ also comprises a constructed grouping.

⁴⁴⁶ Again, the constructed nature of ‘race’ and ethnicity is emphasised by such deliberations.

⁴⁴⁷ However, I identify with the claims of the production regarding the shared heritage of Afrikaans. I recognise specific symbolic practices such as the *Kaapse Klopse* (the Cape Minstrels), ghoema, and ‘Arabic Afrikaans’ as part of the ‘underrepresented’ heritage of Afrikaans. I can appreciate these cultural contributions as valuable components of Afrikaans heritage.

positively identified with Kaaps after their participation in the show; fluid ‘identification’ is thereby suggested.

5.5. ‘*Ek is nou trots op die taal*’

Jansen and Van Rooy-Overmeyer fully embraced Kaaps only *after* their participation in the *Afrikaaps* production. Valley similarly affirmed the potential for ‘reconnection’ with the claimed Kaaps heritage through *Afrikaaps*:

[T]hrough this show ... we actually got to reconnect with that history by ourselves, which we hadn’t before. The show is all about rediscovering that and getting it out there, using a very talented group of people.⁴⁴⁸

According to Joseph (2004:10), identify/identification ‘refer[s] to a process rather than a “fixed condition”’. Hall (1996:2) defines ‘identification’ similarly, as follows:

[I]dentification is constructed on the back of a recognition of some common origin or shared characteristics with another person or group, or with an ideal, and with the natural closure of solidarity and allegiance established on this foundation ... [T]he discursive approach sees identification as a construction, a process never completed – always ‘in process’.

Accordingly, fluid identification with language warrants a discussion of the link between language and identification. Le Cordeur (2013) has stated that language is a dimension of identity: ‘People have certain feelings about who they are and where they come from, and how language plays a part in that whole system’ (my translation). Regarding Afrikaans varieties specifically, Le Cordeur (as cited in Van Rensburg, 2012:10) emphasises the significant role that they play ‘in [the] speakers’ identity ... and their experience of the language’ (my translation). The emphasis that Kotzé (2014:636)⁴⁴⁹ and Edwards (2009:55) place on the symbolic value of language is of significance.

For Edwards (2009:55), ‘the historical and cultural associations’ form the basis of ‘shared connotations’.⁴⁵⁰ Kotzé (2014:639) similarly emphasises ‘the role that language plays as component of a specific culture’; ‘it is not only language as phenomenon or as *carrier* of cultural content, but also a specific language or language *form* with which the speakers of it are associated ... that represents a specific symbolic value’.

Joseph (2004:170) argues that ‘ethnic identity’ can be utilised as a unifying tool of resistance, specifically in relation to language, the way one speaks:

[E]thnic/racial identity ... binds individuals together in a way that enriches them with cultural unity, and, potentially, enables them to counteract oppression. The importance of language in

⁴⁴⁸ This quote is an excerpt from a short talk by Valley at a pre-show roundtable discussion at *Theater aan het Spui* on 30 September 2011. In an interview with a Dutch journalist, Van Rooy-Overmeyer echoed Valley’s positive sentiments: The ‘journey’ was ‘phenomenal ... for us’ (Van Rooy-Overmeyer, 2011).

⁴⁴⁹ Kotzé (2014:636) cites the symbolic value of language as the identificatory value of language.

⁴⁵⁰ Edwards (2009:55) cites ‘symbolic aspects’ as ‘intangible’.

this regard is by no means restricted to the names that get attached to people to indicate their ethnic belonging, but can extend to the way they speak generally.

Afrikaaps engages with the symbolic function of Kaaps, rather than merely the communicative function (Edwards, 2009:55). Therefore, Kaaps is not merely utilised ‘as an instrumental tool’,⁴⁵¹ but ‘as an emblem of groupness, a symbol, a psychosocial rallying-point’ (*ibid.*).

In his interview with a Dutch journalist, Valley emphasised the fundamental role the ancestors of Kaaps-speakers played in the early formation of Afrikaans. He suggested that this recognition ought to equalise Kaaps with ‘official Afrikaans’ in terms of social standing:

What we’re saying is, it’s a dialect, like any other ... and it should be given the same respect as what people deem to be the official Afrikaans, but it should actually all be on the same level, because if you look into the history, the ancestors of the people who are speaking Kaaps, were ... the first to really mix Dutch with their own languages and the first to start to begin this process of creating a language, a new language.

(Valley, 2011)⁴⁵²

When a variety/dialect (or language) possesses ‘general social prestige’, varieties may be a vehicle to express ‘group identity’: The latter ‘may lack social prestige but it is still ours’ (Edwards, 2009:96). It can be ‘a central element in the revitalised “consciousness”’, and ‘a powerful bonding agent’. All this occurs ‘when groups previously oppressed, discriminated against and thought to be inferior rediscover a broader social strength and assertion’ (*ibid.*). It is the personal revival of ‘broader social strength and assertion’ of Van Rooy-Overmeyer, Jansen and Valley that is demonstrated in the following section.

5.5.1. ‘I fully embraced it’

Jansen asserted the subsequent development of pride in the ‘way’ he speaks in two interviews. In an electronic communication interview, he recounted that, before *Afrikaaps*, he felt that his ‘version’ of Afrikaans was inferior to ‘pure’ Afrikaans. He therefore ‘always made excuses when speaking Afrikaans in public, because I felt like my version was a lesser version’ (Jansen, 2014). However, his involvement made him realise ‘that [he] was completely justified in speaking [his] version of the language and fully embraced it’ (*ibid.*).

In a radio interview, Jansen suggested that specific knowledge gained via his participation in *Afrikaaps* contributed to positive identification. Before *Afrikaaps*, he did not know that Afrikaans originated in Cape Town. For Jansen, Kaaps being stereotyped as a ‘*gêngstertaal*’ (ganster language) made ‘it appear that this language couldn’t have started here’. He asserted that the misconception rather was fostered

⁴⁵¹ Therefore, serving ‘the instrumental function’ in terms of daily utilization/ ‘communicative interaction’ (Edwards, 2009:55).

⁴⁵² I also placed this quote in section 5.3.

that Afrikaans originated in Pretoria⁴⁵³ or Bloemfontein⁴⁵⁴ as a “‘Boere’⁴⁵⁵-meanders language’⁴⁵⁶ (Jansen, 2012). For Jansen, knowledge of the language’s *actual* locale of origin was ‘a hell of an eye-opener.’⁴⁵⁷ Accordingly, he subsequently became proud of the ‘way’ he speaks: ‘Because I used to always say when I speak ... *kyk’ie, ek praat ’n biechie stukkend, ma’ nah ek sê nie mee’ da’i nie, ek praat soes ek praat, die’s my way, vestaan djy.*’ (look I speak a little broken, but no I do not say that anymore, I speak like I speak, this is my way, understand) (my translation) (Jansen, 2012).

Van Rooy-Overmeyer, in an interview with a Dutch journalist, similarly affirmed the discovery of various historical facts with which she could identify:

In the beginning when we started with this play, we ... discovered things that we didn’t know ... About ourselves. About our history ... So that, for me, is a great starting point in terms of sharing it. So I can almost predict, or have an understanding of how the next person, who will hear this information for the first time, you know, would feel.

(Van Rooy-Overmeyer, 2011)

The same journalist asked Van Rooy-Overmeyer whether she became ‘closer to [her] own identity’ through participation in the show. Van Rooy-Overmeyer asserted very emphatically:

I started practising this as soon as I became part of this play, I completely embraced these truths and the facts and this other side of the story, because it made a lot of sense to me. I felt it in my intuition that I’m so glad there’s more to this story that we were fed through school, you know. And I’m proud to be part of this whole experience, this whole move.

(Van Rooy-Overmeyer, 2011)

To another Dutch journalist, Van Rooy-Overmeyer furthermore expressed that she felt amazing ‘being in a show like this ... It’s like I’ve been yearning to have an outlet like this’ (Meeuw, 2011). For Van Rooy-Overmeyer, expressing herself in Kaaps stands in contrast to the way she was required to speak at school.⁴⁵⁸

5.5.2. ‘Afrikaans is part of my heritage’

Valley did not consider Afrikaans ‘as part of [his] heritage’ before *Afrikaaps*. However, through his participation, he discovered that ‘as a South African’, ‘[Afrikaans] is a part of who I am’; ‘it’s definitely

⁴⁵³ Pretoria was the capital of the former so-called ‘Boer’ republic, the *Zuid-Afrikaansche Republiek* (ZAR)/Transvaal.

⁴⁵⁴ Bloemfontein was the capital of the Orange Free State, the former so-called ‘Boer’ republic.

⁴⁵⁵ So-called ‘Boer’ (farmer).

⁴⁵⁶ Jansen most likely referred to the ‘Voortrekkers’.

⁴⁵⁷ In the documentary, Adams similarly expresses his surprise at the origins of his heritage: ‘*Yoh, jy sien, hulle sê mos ’n epiphany, because, ek kannie glo ek sing al my hele liewe, ma’ niemand het vi’ my gesê nie, kykie, die’s wa’ dit vandaan af kom nie.*’ (Yoh, you see, they say one has an epiphany, because, I can’t believe that I have been singing my whole life, but no-one has told me, look, this is where it comes from) (Afrikaaps, 2010).

⁴⁵⁸ Namely ‘a very pure ... very standardised Afrikaans’. Van Rooy-Overmeyer described this way of speaking as formal, comprising strange vocabulary. At school, one was not able to speak as one does at home, in a less ‘formal’ way (Van Rooy-Overmeyer, 2011).

a part of *me*'. He acknowledged that '[Afrikaans is] part of my heritage, and my parents ... it's a language my grandparents spoke, and their parents spoke it too' (Valley, 2011).⁴⁵⁹ In an interview with a Dutch journalist, Valley similarly expressed how *Afrikaaps* influenced the reclaiming of his Afrikaans heritage:

I felt that longing for something, and I only really understood it now after working on *Afrikaaps*. I really only got it now. Like before I kind of knew why, but now, I like get it ... it's just part of me ... who I am ... my heritage ... my make-up as a person.

(Valley, 2011)

Valley similarly concludes the *Afrikaaps* documentary with an assertion of pride in and positive identification with his Afrikaans heritage: 'Even though I didn't speak Afrikaans growing up, *ek is nou trots op die taal, en ek sien dit as deel van wie ek is, al is my gesprek 'n bietjie verdala*.' (I am now proud of the language, and I see it as part of who I am, even though my language is a bit messed up) (Afrikaaps, 2010).

5.5.3. 'Ek issie mee' so skaam om te praat soes ek praat'ie'⁴⁶⁰

In the *Afrikaaps* documentary, a disc jockey from Fine Music Radio is filmed introducing *Afrikaaps* as '*die vlymskerp hip-hopera van die taal van die mense. "Afrikaaps" sonder excuses*.' (the razor-sharp hip-hopera of the language of the people. 'Afrikaaps' without excuses) (Afrikaaps, 2010). A key objective of *Afrikaaps* is to counter the feeling of shame about Kaaps, and concurrently, the making of excuses when speaking Kaaps.

In the documentary, two learners express their positive identification with Kaaps after members of the *Afrikaaps* ensemble visited their Lavender Hill High Afrikaans class. They asserted respectively: '*Ek het nooit geweet my voorvaders praat deur my nie*.' and '*Ek issie mee' so skaam om te praat soes ek praat'ie. Ek gaan'ie mee' compromise op my taal vi' anne' mense nie*.' (I never knew my forefathers spoke through me) and (I am not so ashamed anymore to speak like I speak. I won't compromise my language for other people any more) (my translations) (Afrikaaps, 2010).

In the documentary, Jansen likewise affirms that he does not make excuses for Kaaps anymore: '*Gewoonlik het ek altyd eksuuses gemaak as ek Afrikaans praat. Ek sê kyk'ie, verskoon my, ek praat 'n bietjie verdala Afrikaans. Maar nou maak ek geen eksuuses nie. Die's hoe ek praat, take it or leave it*.' (Usually I have always made excuses when I speak Afrikaans. I say, look, excuse me, I speak a bit

⁴⁵⁹ However, working on the *Afrikaaps* project was not the first time Valley identified with Afrikaans. He affirmed that he first started to identify with Afrikaans in high school. Listening to Afrikaans hip-hop helped him to identify with Afrikaans: It 'played a big role'. Furthermore, he knew members of the ensemble before working on *Afrikaaps*. For example, he met Jansen for the first time when he was in high school. He thereby felt a connection to the Cape Flats: 'Meeting those guys...it gave me a real connection to the Cape Flats, because I didn't grow up on the Cape Flats. Like most of the cast did' (Valley, 2011).

⁴⁶⁰ 'I am not so ashamed to speak like I speak anymore' (my translation).

‘*verdala*’ Afrikaans.⁴⁶¹ But now I make no excuses. This is how I speak, take it or leave it) (my translation) (Afrikaaps, 2010).

5.5.4. ‘*Ons maak “Afrikaaps” self legal*’⁴⁶²

The ‘*Land en Taal*’ (Country and Language) scene portrays the colonists’ ‘hijacking’ of the language from the indigenes: The appropriation of Afrikaans as a ‘white’ language is symbolised. Van der Westhuizen hangs a sign around Louw’s neck, proclaiming ‘illegal’. In a personal interview, I asked members of the ensemble about the meaning of ‘illegal’. Adams explained: ‘*Onse dialect né, daai sound illegal. It sounded illegal, of in hulle oë.*’ (Our dialect, right, that sounds illegal. It sounded illegal, or in their eyes) (my translation) (Adams *et al.*, 2015).

This hegemonic stigmatisation is offset by the celebration of Kaaps.⁴⁶³ *Afrikaaps* thereby encourages Kaaps speakers to ‘make the language legal’ themselves. Lyrics from the production illustrate this objective: ‘*Legal, legal, ons maak dit legal*’ (We make it legal)⁴⁶⁴ and ‘*Almal praat van legalise die taal/ Mixit op in ’n hele klomp styles*’ (Everyone speaks of legalising the language/ Mix it up in many styles) (my translations). In the 2011 Dutch show, Goliath and Van der Westhuizen assert in a dialogue: ‘*O’s maak “Afrikaaps” self legal*’ (We make ‘Afrikaaps’ legal ourselves) (my translation). In the documentary, Jansen similarly explains the general objective of *Afrikaaps* to a Fine Music Radio DJ: ‘*Basically, dis die journey van liberation. Ons maak’it legal.*’ (Basically, it’s the journey of liberation. We make it legal) (my translation) (Afrikaaps, 2010).

In a personal interview, I asked members of the ensemble what ‘making the language legal’ implies. Goliath explained: ‘*Die taal wil ontbind van sy stigmas af, van ja diese taal is ’n witmanstaal, dji wiet, al daai bokse waarin hulle Afrikaans gedruk het. Dis hoekom ons sê “Afrikaaps”.*’ (To free the language from its stigmas ... this language is a white man’s language, you know, all those boxes in which they have pushed Afrikaans. That’s why we say ‘Afrikaaps’) (my translation) (Adams *et al.*, 2015).

Van der Westhuizen elaborated: *Afrikaaps* asserts that Kaaps is ‘legal’. The production encourages Kaaps speakers to accept their ‘language’; therefore, to ‘make the language legal’ themselves:

Basically maak ons mos die eerste move. Ons sê ‘Afrikaaps’ is legal. Ons maak’it self legal. Hulle sê mos ons moet onself die change become wat ons wil sien. Nou ons become die change deur Afrikaaps deur te sê ons maak dit self legal. (We basically make the first move. We say ‘Afrikaaps’ is legal. We make it legal ourselves. They do say we must become the change we want to see. Now we become the change through *Afrikaaps* by saying we make it legal ourselves) (my translation).

⁴⁶¹ Translation: A little messed up (Afrikaaps, 2010).

⁴⁶² We make ‘Afrikaaps’ legal ourselves (my translation).

⁴⁶³ *Afrikaaps* lays bare, problematises and challenges the stigmatisation of Kaaps.

⁴⁶⁴ The title of the song is ‘Legal’.

(Adams *et al.*, 2015)

However, Van der Westhuizen affirmed that the persisting stigmatisation of Kaaps will *still* not get him a job: *‘Ek gaan nog altyd nie die werk kry nie* [I will still not get the job], after all these years, of doing *Afrikaaps*’ (my translation). Given this stigma, he stated: *‘Ons kannie vi’ jou force om dit self te accept nie.’* (We cannot force you to accept it yourself) (my translation). For Van der Westhuizen, it is more important for non-Kaaps speakers to *not* stigmatise this variety of the language and its speakers:

Ek dink dis meer belangriker dat die een wat luister na my wat Afrikaaps praat, hy moet beginne besef dis hoe die man praat, en da’s nie ’n anne’ way wat hy hom bieter kan express’ie, en moenie vi’ hom stigmatiseer of vi’ hom te label as ’n krimineel of ’n skollie of ’n gangster of ’n Kaapse gemors, Kaapse nikswerde.

(I think it is more important for the person who listens to me (who speaks Afrikaaps), he has to start realising that this is how the man speaks, and there’s not another way for him to express himself better, and do not stigmatise him or label him as a criminal or a *‘skollie’* [a coloured criminal] or a gangster or Cape garbage, Cape no-good) (my translation).

(Adams *et al.*, 2015)

In contrast to Van der Westhuizen’s emphasis on non-Kaaps speakers’ acceptance of Kaaps, is the view that this is immaterial. In the 2011 Dutch show, Dutch rapper Griffioen, Goliath and Van der Westhuizen suggest this irrelevance in a dialogue. Griffioen asks whether *‘Afrikaaps’*, the language, is *‘accepted’*. Goliath responds: *‘Hoe ga ’n ons nog vra en worry of dit legal is of nie. Ons praat mos al lankal “Afrikaaps”. Vandat die eerste skepe aangekom het, praat ons “Afrikaaps”. Kaapse expression, Maleis, Indonesies, al daai mixes.’* (Why do we need to ask and worry whether it is legal or not. We have spoken *“Afrikaaps”* for a very long time. Since the first ships came, we have spoken *“Afrikaaps”*. Cape expression, Malay, Indonesian, all those mixes) (my translation).

5.5.5. *‘This is how we speak it’*

In personal and in media interviews, members of the ensemble asserted positive identification with and acceptance of Kaaps. For example, Van der Westhuizen stated in a personal interview: *‘Dis hoe [ek] praat, en da’s nie ’n anne’ way wat [ek my] bieter kan express’ie.’* (This is how [I] speak, and there is not another way that [I] can express [myself] better) (my translation). In a radio interview, Jansen insisted, *‘Ek praat soes ek praat, die’s my way, vestaan dji?’* (I speak like I speak, this is my way, understand?) (my translation) (Jansen, 2012). In the documentary, Jansen similarly proclaimed: *‘Die’s hoe ek praat* [this is how I speak], take it or leave it’ (my translation) (Afrikaaps, 2010).

In a 2011 interview with a Dutch journalist, Goliath recounted his joy when reading Peter Snyders, a Kaaps poet from the Cape Flats:⁴⁶⁵

⁴⁶⁵ Snyders was first published in *Brefvis met vier* (Du Toit, Hugo, Snyders and Van Heerden, 1981).

[D]uring the uprisings in Cape Town, [he] was a very influential person, because he wrote his stuff the way we speak Afrikaans. Now see, that's a different thing ... And when we read his stuff, it was nice to see the apostrophes where it would otherwise not appear, you know ... we would smile, it's like this, yoh, this ... happiness ... they would ... bubble up inside when you see the word, hey, this is how we speak it, it's actually written that way. This is cool, this is phonetic Afrikaans, Afrikaans, you know.

(Meeuw, 2011)

5.6. Conclusion

This chapter focused on analysing the construction (Jenkins, 1997), celebration and assertion of ethnolinguistic identification (Blommaert, 2005) by *Afrikaaps*. The production's response to the general association of Afrikaans as a marker of white Afrikaner ethnicity concerns the very specific link between ethnicity – including the 'ethnicisation' of 'race' (Eriksen, 2002) – and language. Accordingly, I argued that *Afrikaaps* claims common ancestry and cultural heritage in relation to Afrikaans (specifically, the indigenous Khoi and slave/Malay Kaaps heritage of coloured people on the Cape Flats). Moreover, I suggested that *Afrikaaps* constructs 'Cape colouredness' as a creolised cultural identification (Erasmus, 2001). Indigeneity and ethnicity – 'criteria for creolisation' (Knörr, 2010) – undermine the notion of so-called race purity and linguistic purism. The racialised hegemony of 'pure' Afrikaans is thereby overtly undermined.

In the current climate of Afrikaans conceptualised as a 'colonial' language, such assertions and celebrations by Afrikaans-speakers other than white (standard) Afrikaans-speaking Afrikaners, are of imperative value. It is the self-defining aspect of *Afrikaaps* (Van Wyk, 2014) – within the context of the marginalisation and stigmatisation of Kaaps and the stigmatisation of 'coloured' – that can be valued as a response to white Afrikaner hegemony.

I interpreted said ethnic identification as a quite fixed construction in order to subvert the notion that Afrikaans is exclusively the language of the white Afrikaner, alluding to 'strategic essentialism' (Van der Waal, 2012). Furthermore, the concurrent utilisation of 'creole' as a finite process (Becker and Oliphant, 2014:5) in this regard is a response to notions of linguistic and racial purity surrounding Afrikaans and creolised coloured identification.

Furthermore, the dissipation of the cultural boundary across two ethnic collectivities (Eriksen, 2002) by conceptualising the cultural heritage of the 'creole', indigenous Afrikaans language as shared, demonstrates the imperative need to bridge the extensive racialised divide. Inclusivity is needed; however, *Afrikaaps* suggests, do not discount the extensive consequences of the hegemony. Concurrently, the demarcation of constructed coloured Kaaps identification fortifies the claim that Afrikaans is not an exclusively 'white language'.

The identification of members of the *Afrikaaps* ensemble *after* their participation in the production demonstrates the extent of the hegemony; the disconnection with identification is indicative of the

‘identity crisis’ that is rooted in the hegemony. The potential value that *Afrikaaps* can have for Kaaps-speakers and/or coloured English speakers who are disconnected from their heritage, was demonstrated.

CHAPTER SIX: ‘AFRIKAANPS’: CHALLENGING GENERAL PERCEPTIONS OF AFRIKAANS AND KAAPS

6.1. Introduction

This chapter explores the ways in which *Afrikaaps* challenges the general perception that Afrikaans is a ‘white language of the oppressor’. Afrikaans is still viewed as such (especially within the context of the 2015 and 2016 SU language debate as one poignant example). The perception is challenged in the following ways: Firstly, the development of Afrikaans is viewed through the lens of ‘creole’ and, secondly, Afrikaans is conceptualised as an indigenous language. As such, it is claimed that Afrikaans can, firstly, be liberated from its white label and, secondly, bridge the ‘racial divide’. The conceptualisation of Afrikaans as an ‘emancipated’, indigenous language of ‘unity’ subverts the racialised divide (that is *still* furthered by the racialised hegemony of ‘pure’ Afrikaans, as evidenced by members of the *Afrikaaps* collective).

Furthermore, this chapter explores the ways in which my notions of Kaaps⁴⁶⁶ were challenged through personal interviews,⁴⁶⁷ namely concerning the uniformity of Kaaps, as well as the way in which this variety is dealt with in the *WAT*. My notion of Kaaps was challenged further when Jansen contested the label ‘Kaaps’ in relation to the development of Afrikaans. Moreover, Willem Botha of the *WAT* affirmed that one cannot define ‘Kaaps’.⁴⁶⁸ It is the heterogeneity and fluidity of Kaaps – evidenced by members of the *Afrikaaps* ensemble – that contrasts with the prescriptive norms of ‘pure’ Afrikaans. The hegemony of ‘pure’ Afrikaans is thereby subverted by a deliberate unconcern with linguistic purity (including prescriptive norms). I also note the ambivalence relating to the possible inclusion of Kaaps in the dictionary.

Furthermore, I note the gendered and class (Haupt, 2012) aspects of *Afrikaaps*. In this regard, I discuss the role of Van-Rooy-Overmeyer as the only woman as part of the *Afrikaaps* collective. With regard to class: I examine the concepts ‘hidden curriculum’ (Abercrombie *et al.*, 2006), and ‘cultural reproduction’ and ‘cultural capital’ (Bourdieu, 1973) in relation to social mobility (or lack thereof).

Lastly, I examine local and international sites at which *Afrikaaps* was performed and where the documentary was screened, and the reaction of audiences. Different audiences reflect the claims of the production’s scope. The analysis of *Afrikaaps*’s connection with different audiences within different

⁴⁶⁶ For example, that ‘Kaaps is a uniform variety’ that can be ‘preserved’ in a dictionary.

⁴⁶⁷ I interviewed Kaaps members of the *Afrikaaps* collective, and Willem Botha, the executive director of the *Woordeboek van die Afrikaanse Taal (WAT)*.

⁴⁶⁸ I also gained more insight into issues surrounding Kaaps in relation to ‘pure’, ‘academic’ Afrikaans (within a university context). The hegemony of the latter was challenged at a 2015 screening and discussion of the *Afrikaaps* documentary at SU.

locales, and the comparison between them, is of value in order to more broadly contextualise the significance of claims made by *Afrikaaps*.

The following figure is the *Afrikaaps* logo on the casing of the documentary. For me, the wording ‘Afrikaan[p]s’ demonstrates the afore-mentioned reconceptualisation and reclaiming of Afrikaans.

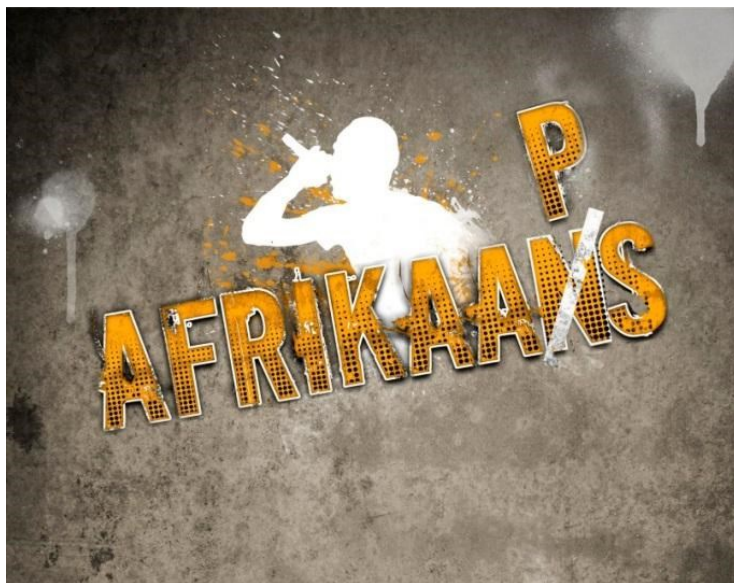


Figure 13. The *Afrikaaps* logo on the casing of the documentary (Wentzel, 2011a)

Lastly, this chapter examines three performance spaces of *Afrikaaps*, in order to demonstrate the claims of the production’s reach, and place their claims into local and international contexts.

6.2. ‘Afrikaans is a creole language’

Afrikaaps disputes and undermines Afrikaans as a language of exclusion by celebrating its ‘creole’, indigenous roots. It is claimed that Afrikaans can thereby become a language of unity by acknowledging shared historical development.

Afrikaans viewed as a creole language is foregrounded numerous times in the production, the *Afrikaaps* documentary, and by Valley and Valley (2009). The ways in which linguists consider the creole nature of Afrikaans was discussed in Chapter Two as background to this claim. The claims of *Afrikaaps* in this regard include, firstly, the ‘creole birth’ of Afrikaans, and, secondly, the repression of the so-called creole history of Afrikaans within the socio-political and -cultural context of Afrikaner nationalism and apartheid.

The creole birth of Afrikaans is foregrounded in a variety of ways. For example, the documentary opens with the statement:

Afrikaans originated in the early 1600s in the Dutch colony at the Cape of Good Hope, South Africa. It was a creole language derived from Dutch, spoken by slaves of mixed origin, as well as the local Khoi population. By 1870 it was recognized as a separate language – Afrikaans.

Similarly, Valley and Valley (2009) state: ‘The creole birth and coloured connection [of Afrikaans] has been overlooked in our collective South African consciousness’. Lyrics in the production emphasise that ‘Afrikaaps’, the ‘language’, has many linguistic influences: ‘*Die taal wat ek en jy praat is ’n Creole ding/ ... Hy’t ’n klomp ma’s en pa’s, ouma’s en oupa’s/ Jy wiet mos wat is tweegevriet/ Nou Afrikaaps is klomp gevriet.*’ (The language that you and I speak is Creole/ ... He has many mothers, fathers, grandmothers and grandfathers/ You know what is two-faced/ Well Afrikaans is many-faced) (my translation).

Furthermore, the lyrics claim that the language has European influences, but that it was formed as a creole language at the Cape: ‘*Ek was gebore daar in Europe met ’n ander taal/ Maar innie Kaap was ek gekap met ’n creole style.*’ (I was born there in Europe with another language/ But in the Cape I was shaped with a creole style) (my translation). The various names attributed to Afrikaans are cited as ‘*Som noemit ’n slaaf taal ... Som noemit ’n kommunikasie/ Tussenie Khoi San enie Malaysi/ Die Nederland en Germany/ American and English/ Anner Mense comment net/ Op ’n criole basis.*’ (Some call it a slave language ... Some call it a communication/ Between the KhoiSan and the Malays/ the Netherlands and Germany/ American and English/ Other people only comment/ On a creole basis) (my translation).

The claimed suppression of the creole formation of Afrikaans is situated within the socio-political and -cultural milieu of Afrikaner nationalism and apartheid. In the documentary, Valley affirms:

In the move towards Afrikaner Nationalism in the 1940s, Afrikaans became perceived as the language of the oppressor and a symbol of apartheid. It was famously rebelled against as a medium of instruction in schools in the 1976 Soweto Uprisings. The language had become totally disconnected from its history.

(Afrikaaps, 2010)

In the documentary, Valley similarly states: ‘In modern South Africa, Afrikaans is generally seen as a European language. However, there’s a side to this language, the creole birth of Afrikaans, which has been suppressed and overlooked for centuries. *Afrikaaps*, the theatre production, was a step towards finding that history’ (Afrikaaps, 2010). Valley and Valley (2009) also state: ‘[T]he nationalisation of Afrikaans in 1875 meant that history books omitted the Creole formation of the language, and the Creole Afrikaner identity was stolen and altered to mean something different’. This claimed consequence of the oppression is affirmed by Henegan: ‘[W]e started to research the creole history, the untold story, or the little known story of Afrikaans’⁴⁶⁹ (Afrikaaps, 2010). Kaganof argues that, unfortunately, this history is not circulated within public discourse, namely the media: ‘This is the kind of thing the

⁴⁶⁹ Henegan also affirmed: ‘Theatre, I’m not so interested in making dramatic period pieces or directing a play. This is so different’ (Afrikaaps, 2010).

newspapers and the TV will never ever get involved in, and the horrible thing it remains the territory of academics, when actually everyone should know this kind of stuff, to completely understand what happened' (Afrikaaps, 2010).

6.3. 'Afrika⁴⁷⁰-aans'

Afrikaans is advocated as an African language in current language debates in order to secure its 'place' as an 'inclusive' language in a contemporary multi-lingual context. The 'deep agenda' of *Afrikaaps* – as stipulated by Henegan in a personal interview – echoes this inclusive viewpoint: The foregrounding of Afrikaans as 'an indigenous language' will enable the bridging of the divide (Henegan, 2012). Henegan stated that 'you have to get rid of all that apartheid baggage. And then it could really become a unifying factor ... so it would be in everyone's interest, seeing as they speak the same ... language to recognize each other and find a way to co-exist with one another' (Henegan, 2012).

The unifying potential regarding the claims of *Afrikaaps* was also emphasised in interviews with members of the ensemble. Van Rooy-Overmeyer affirmed: 'And it's all about people being open to receive a different side of the story. Without judgment, our intention is not to judge. Our intention is not to criticise or to break anyone down; it's to unite people in terms of the commonalities that we have, you know?' (Van Rooy-Overmeyer, 2011). With regard to South Africa's 'huge, rich heritage', Jansen asserted: 'There are more things that actually unite us than divide us' (Jansen, 2012). In the *Afrikaaps* documentary, Van der Westhuizen states: '*Die is 'n moerse pot wat ons nou hie' het op die vuur, en die pot het 'n klomp soorte kos in. So ons almal gaan iet uit die pot uit, en ons is hier om te deel met die hele nasie om te kom iet uit die pot uit.*' (This is a very large pot that we have here on the fire, and the pot contains many kinds of food. So we all will eat from the pot, and we are here to share with the whole nation to come and eat from the pot) (my translation) (Afrikaaps, 2010). Van der Westhuizen here alludes to the multiple heritages of Afrikaans that *Afrikaaps* aims to 'share with the nation'.⁴⁷¹

The 'indigenous roots' of Afrikaans – in terms of *not* being 'a white language' – were also emphasised by Valley and Valley (2009), Neville Alexander (Afrikaaps, 2010; Alexander, 2012a), a member of the audience (Bradley van Sitters, 2012) and Adam Haupt (at the 2012 Joule City performance in Cape Town).

Valley and Valley (2009) refer to the contribution of the 'native populations' in the formation of Afrikaans: 'The role of the Khoi, the Malay and other native populations in forging the language has

⁴⁷⁰ Africa.

⁴⁷¹ Nico Koopman (during the 2015 Language Museum 'Wie se Afrikaans' (Whose Afrikaans) roundtable discussion (Botha, 2015)) expressed that Afrikaans is a language of liberation and transformation: 'That's what we want to bring to the fore many times in especially brown communities. That Afrikaans was often typecast in South Africa as the language of the oppressor. And one of our major endeavours was to say, and still is, it's the language of liberation ... Afrikaans is the language that can help us now to build a society of human dignity. It's the language of transformation. Transformation from dehumanisation to human dignity' (my translation).

been systematically excluded from our history books’ (Valley and Valley, 2009). Valley and Valley (2009) affirm: ‘Afrikaans ... originally a language of the free slaves and the Khoi inhabitants of the Cape, became a tool used by the oppressor’. As previously noted, Neville Alexander also refers to the role of these populations in the formation of Afrikaans: ‘*As die Khoi, die San, en die slawe veral, nie gedwing was om Hollands of Nederlands te leer nie, of te praat nie, dan sou die taal Afrikaans eintlik nie ontstaan het nie.*’ (If the Khoi, the San, and especially the slaves, had not been compelled to learn Dutch, or speak it, the Afrikaans language would actually not have come into being) (Afrikaaps, 2010). Alexander (2012a) affirms in a book review (*Afrikaans of the Cape Muslims* by Achmat Davids) that Afrikaans is rooted in Africa: ‘*Bo alles neem hy dit as vanselfsprekend aan dat hierdie Afrikaans [Kaaps] in die Kaap de Goede Hoop ontstaan het en dus in die bodem van Afrika gewortel is.*’ (He, above all, takes it as self-evident that this Afrikaans (Kaaps) came into being at the Cape of Good Hope and therefore is rooted in African soil) (my translation).

Bradley van Sitters – member of the Khoi and San Active Awareness Group (KSAAG) and manager of the KhoiKhoi Language Revitalisation Initiative – stated:

Afrikaans, ons kennie. Afrikaaps, die bruin mense se taal ... [die] Afrikaanse taal, eintlik Afrikaaps soes wat mense sê, sy regte oorsprong, het gebeur tussen die bruinmense. Die slawe en die Khoi wat hie’ was, hulle het die Nederlands begin hoor, toe kom ’it yt as Afrikaans ... So Afrikaans is eintlik ’n baie interessante taal want dis ’n mengelmoes, ma’ die Khoi component innit, is een van die kern karaktereenskappe wat dit eintlik heel Afrikaans maak, different soes die Nederlands wat hulle gepraat het.

(Afrikaans, we don’t know. Afrikaaps, the language of the coloured people ... [the] Afrikaans language, actually Afrikaans like people speak, his true origin, came about among the coloured people. The slaves and the Khoi that were here, they started to hear the Dutch, it came out as Afrikaans ... So Afrikaans is actually a very interesting language because it is a mix, but the Khoi component in it, is one of the key characteristics that actually makes it altogether Afrikaans, different from the Dutch that they spoke) (my translation).

(Van Sitters, 2012)

In his introductory speech at the 2012 Joule City performance, Adam Haupt conceptualised Afrikaans as ‘a black language’. Within the context of his reference to Steve Biko (and thereby the BCM), one can assume that he conceptualises Afrikaans within a broader ‘black identity’ (rather than ‘coloured’).

6.4. ‘Liberating’ Afrikaans: ‘Bridging the racial divide’

Members of the *Afrikaaps* collective suggested that the claims of the play can further ‘unity’ within the Afrikaans speech community via the ‘liberation’ of the language from its ‘apartheid shackles’. For example: During the time of the Dutch tour, Goliath posted an entry on the *Afrikaaps* Facebook page (Afrikaaps, 2016): ‘*Primêr: Afrikaans is ’n Slaaftaal./ Sekondêr: dis uitgeknipt met ’n Apartheid skêr/ Tersêr: Afrikaaps! Bevryding en Leidingsapparaat.*’ (Primarily: Afrikaans is a Slave language/ Secondary: it is cut out with an Apartheid scissor/ Tertiary: Afrikaaps! Apparatus of Liberation and

Guidance' (my translation). What is claimed here, is that Afrikaans originated as a 'slave language' ('*Slaaftaal*'), and was subsequently appropriated as the language of the oppressor ('*uitgeknip met 'n Apartheid skêr*'). *Afrikaaps* represents liberation from the latter label, as well as guidance for the way forward ('*Afrikaaps! Bevryding en Leidingsapparaat*').⁴⁷² In a Dutch radio interview, Valley similarly emphasised that 'the play is really about the emancipation of the Afrikaans language' (Zeeuik, 2011).

An excerpt of a published poem by Goliath also puts forward the idea that the concept 'Afrikaaps' advocates unity across the racial divide; he also foregrounds the language's formation by various population groups: '*Uit die smoortjie van my kultuur toor tradisies/ 'n Unique recipe wat 'n brug bou tussen rasse/ Kolonialiste en slawe/ Ek noemit Afrikaaps né!*' (From the mix of my culture traditions conjure/ A unique recipe that builds a bridge between races/ Colonialists and slaves/ I call it Afrikaaps!' (my translation) (*Letter to South Africa: Poets Calling the State to Order*, 2011:76). In a personal interview, Valley also underscored the 'connections' and 'unity' advocated by *Afrikaaps*. Valley asserted that the goal of the documentary is to emphasise connections, rather than divisions:

[T]o have people be proud of their mother-tongue, and that we should all respect each other, and how we sound and where we come from and we should all see each other as on the same level and not as these separate boxes, but actually see what are the connections as well ... Just to see what makes us similar and not what makes us different.

(Valley, 2011)⁴⁷³

For Valley, *Afrikaaps* can influence the manner in which white Afrikaners view 'their language' (Valley, 2011). The knowledge and recognition of 'pure' Afrikaans as a language with Khoi and slave influences can liberate white Afrikaners from the 'white' label attached to 'their language':

⁴⁷² During the 2015 *Taalmuseum* (Language Museum) '*Wie se Afrikaans*' (Whose Afrikaans) roundtable discussion (Botha, 2015), Nico Koopman asserted that 'words create new worlds', emphasising his excitement 'when I see how we create new worlds in Afrikaans'. Namely: 'Worlds of human dignity, of healing reconciliation, of ... justice. Worlds that say we are free from discrimination'. Afrikaans therefore does not only have instrumental value; 'words do not only describe reality'. Koopman also encouraged the unification of 'groups that were separated from each other'; therefore, unity across backgrounds, cultures, ethnicities and life views. Koopman emphasised that 'ways of existence in Afrikaans' (namely, the Afrikaans of a speaker's place of origin, for example, Kaaps and Namakwalands), are: '*eg*' (genuine), '*gelykwaardig*' (equal), '*outentiek*' (authentic) and '*menswaardig*' (dignified). Therefore, not '*minderwaardig*' (inferior). Koopman stated: 'There were times that you heard that certain ways of speaking Afrikaans are inferior', asserting that value judgements made when a person speaks Afrikaans in a specific way, 'is not South Africa'. Koopman emphasised Afrikaans hip-hop as an example of '*menswaardigheid*' (dignity), '*gelykwaardigheid*' (equality) and '*outentiekheid*' (authenticity). Koopman alluded to the racialised divide in the Afrikaans speech community: 'In South Africa we are experts in diverse and separated. And we still have to learn a lot about diverse and together. And the same in language. We lived in Afrikaans, but Afrikaans and separated. And tonight is for me a small piece of celebration of ... imperfect, fragile Afrikaans and together. *Together*' (my translations). This discussion demonstrates the current imperative need to bridge the divide, making this claim of *Afrikaaps* current and relevant.

⁴⁷³ Therefore, 'liberating' Afrikaans from its label as a white language of oppression and hegemony – according to Valley – includes the idea that Afrikaans can bridge the racialised linguistic divide. Even though standard Afrikaans-speakers and Kaaps-speakers 'sound different', Afrikaans was formed by both white and coloured speakers. De Villiers (in Malan and Smit, 1985:179) expresses the hope that Afrikaans can become a '*samebindende taal*' (language of unity), demonstrating that this 'hope' has been expressed decades ago.

[T]hrough *Afrikaaps*, white Afrikaners can also be emancipated, because their language is actually a mixture. It's not a white language. Even ... standard Afrikaans ... also have [sic] Indonesian [and] KhoiSan influences, and so on. And it's in the dictionary, already, I mean it has been there, it's ... pure Afrikaans. It's already that mix, so the way that even the purist of the pure Afrikaners, speak, is already a mix, and they don't know it, so now, when they know it, it's actually an emancipation for them.

(Valley, 2011)

Two white Afrikaans speakers in the audience,⁴⁷⁴ namely Ena Jansen and Sierone, similarly stated that *Afrikaaps* reminded them of what the late Johannes Kerkorrel has done (Jansen, 2011b; Smit and Sierone, 2011). According to Sierone, Kerkorrel became a beacon as 'the liberator of Afrikaans after apartheid' (my translation) (Smit and Sierone, 2011). Jansen emphasised the way in which *Afrikaaps* 'eintlik terugryp op vorige aksies om ook Afrikaans sentraal te stel.' (actually reaches back to earlier attempts to also place Afrikaans centre stage) (Jansen, 2011b). She referred to Johannes Kerkorrel as an example: 'Dit voel vir my hulle het daai vitaliteit en krag, dat dit wyd kan invloed hê.' (I have the feeling that they have that vitality and power, that it can have a wide influence) (my translation).⁴⁷⁵ Furthermore, she affirmed: 'Maar dat dit spesifiek van hulle kom, is baie belangrik.' (But that it comes specifically from them, is very important) (my translation) (Jansen, 2011b). Sierone stated that she learned more from *Afrikaaps* than expected:

I thought it's dancing and singing and people that just bring a new voice from the street ... for me it is more the influence of these people's history, and actually all of ours, it is the history of all of us to a certain extent. And that is a hefty part of our history.

(Smit and Sierone, 2011)⁴⁷⁶

6.5. 'Kaaps, die taal se origin'⁴⁷⁷

In this section, the ways in which my notion of Kaaps was challenged after speaking to Jansen, Van der Westhuizen, Adams, as well as Willem Botha from the *WAT*, are examined. Furthermore, the discussion hosted by Open Stellenbosch regarding Kaaps in relation to 'pure', 'academic' Afrikaans brought the racialised hegemony explicitly to the fore (given the context of the SU language debate). One can argue that the screening of the documentary within such a milieu – in which Afrikaans is regarded as a white language of exclusion and of the oppressor – is an attempt to symbolically reclaim Kaaps.

Jansen challenged the term 'Kaaps' in a personal interview. He argued: 'Die root van Afrikaans issie Kaap, so ultimately as jy sê Kaaps dan praat jy van die taal se origin.' (the root of Afrikaans is the Cape, so ultimately if you say Kaaps, then you refer to the origin of the language) (Jansen, 2015). For

⁴⁷⁴ They attended the *Afrikaaps* shows at the *Stadsschouwburg* and the *Theater aan Het Spui* respectively.

⁴⁷⁵ Jansen referred to a song in the production, namely 'Skrik wakker, raak wys' (Wake up, learn something), in this regard (Jansen, 2011b).

⁴⁷⁶ Sierone also stated: 'We share the language' (Smit and Sierone, 2011).

⁴⁷⁷ Kaaps, the origin of the language (my translation).

him, it therefore does not make sense to identify Kaaps ‘as part’ of Afrikaans. Furthermore, he argued that ‘it does not matter where you speak Afrikaans’⁴⁷⁸ or whatever label is attached to ‘what we originally spoke here’,⁴⁷⁹ the Cape is the place of origin (*ibid.*).

I enquired whether he thinks that ‘white Afrikaans’ ‘seceded’ from Kaaps, rather than vice versa. He affirmed, ‘*wat ek dink Afrikaaps try om te doen, is om te wys dat daar is ’n root intention van ’n taal om te exist uit wat voor da kla was.*’ (What I think *Afrikaaps* is trying to do is to show that there is a root intention of a language to exist from what had already been there earlier). Therefore, because Afrikaans originated at the Cape, ‘Kaaps’ is the root of Afrikaans: ‘*Ultimately het Afrikaans van die taal af gekom.*’ (Ultimately, Afrikaans came from *this* language). He asserted that Afrikaners ‘got the language from the Cape’ (Jansen, 2015).

Jansen furthermore discounts the perception that standard Afrikaans is ‘a completely different language from [Kaaps]’. He argues that the distinction between ‘legitimate’ Afrikaans and Kaaps is not valid:

I feel that the agenda that we are trying to push is to demonstrate where the language that is now seen as a legitimate language,⁴⁸⁰ versus the one that is now spoken by the majority of the people, and how the one that is legitimate actually derives from the bigger one that is already there.

(Jansen, 2015)

I also enquired about Jansen’s viewpoint on Kaaps, categorised as a regional dialect. He finds it problematic:

[T]hat is again a justification of something that was stolen ... originally people stole the idea of Afrikaans ... and they create a dictionary, and they say ... that what you speak, that is the kitchen language, that is an inferior language, it’s a lesser, it’s a ‘*gamtaal*’⁴⁸¹, it’s a ‘*gangstertaal*’.⁴⁸²

(Jansen, 2015)

6.6. “*Afrikaaps*”⁴⁸³ *gannie eintlik nou al gou geboks word nie*⁴⁸⁴

I have always conceptualised Afrikaans as a static set of vocabulary words published in the standard Afrikaans dictionary, the *HAT*. However, through my fieldwork, I became privy to the notion that specifically the Kaaps vernacular subvariety is ‘fluid’: I learned that Kaaps is not as uniform as I thought; it does not necessarily consist of a set of vocabulary words that can be recorded and ‘preserved’ in a dictionary.

⁴⁷⁸ My translation.

⁴⁷⁹ My translation.

⁴⁸⁰ Standard Afrikaans.

⁴⁸¹ Language of Ham.

⁴⁸² Gangster language.

⁴⁸³ Referring to Cape Afrikaans.

⁴⁸⁴ “*Afrikaaps*” will not actually be confined at present’ (my translation).

During the Dutch tour, a journalist interviewing Valley queried the main difference between Afrikaans and ‘Afrikaaps’. Valley affirmed: ‘I would say ... if you’re talking about ‘*Algemene Beskaafde*’ [literal translation: General Civilised] Afrikaans, ‘*standaard*’ [standard] Afrikaans ... the main difference is that “Afrikaaps” is more of a street language, it’s the way people speak on the street and at home ... and it changes all the time. And it’s not fixed’ (Valley, 2011).⁴⁸⁵ Schuster (2016:34) similarly asserts that Kaaps ‘continues to evolve like any other living language’: ‘To view Kaaps as passive, and thus an empirical object of study, is not possible’.

The claimed ‘unfixed’ aspect of specifically Kaaps vocabulary was emphasised in a personal interview with Jansen and Colin Meyer (Meyer replaced Jethro in the 2015 show). Jansen stated: ‘Even in “Afrikaaps” itself, *is die way dat verskillende mense versions van Kaaps praat, heeltemal verskillend.*’ (Even in “Afrikaaps” itself, the way in which different people speak versions of Kaaps, is completely different) (my translation). People speak ‘*veskillende flavours van daai taal.*’ (different flavours of that language) (my translation) (Jansen and Meyer, 2015).⁴⁸⁶ Meyer and Jansen demonstrated that expressions utilised in one area of the Cape Flats differ in an adjacent area. Meyer offered an example: in Bonteheuwel, the expression ‘*ek is nemma by jou*’ (I’ll be ‘*nemma*’ with you), is utilised.⁴⁸⁷ In an adjacent area, the use of vocabulary changes: ‘*Nou gaan ek êrens anders, Netreg toe of something, dan sê hulle “ek is nemmatjies by jou”, ommie draai, langs Bonteheuwel.*’ (Now I go somewhere else, to Netreg or something, then they say ‘I am “*nemmatjies*” with you’, around the corner, next to Bonteheuwel’. Meyer affirmed that he finds the progression of words – ‘from “*netnou*” to “*nemma*” to “*nemmatjies*”’ – interesting (Jansen and Meyer, 2015).⁴⁸⁸

While discussing the ‘unfixed nature’ of Kaaps, I asked Jansen and Van der Westhuizen whether they would find a Kaaps dictionary of value. For Jansen, it doesn’t make sense: ‘In one stroke [Kaaps] was removed, because [it was] needed to differentiate between what is now pure and what is close to the

⁴⁸⁵ Valley mentioned another ‘main difference’: ‘It’s a racial difference ... people who speak it are coloured. You don’t get white people speaking in “Afrikaaps”, to be frank you know’ (Valley, 2011). In my personal experience, I have never heard a white person speak Kaaps.

⁴⁸⁶ Jansen referred to a remark by hip-hop artist and social activist Simon Witbooi (Hemelbesem) regarding the variable nature of Afrikaans. In Jansen’s words, Hemelbesem expressed his surprise when he observed that ‘the flavour changes’ in different parts of South Africa. Jansen stated that, when one moves to another place, for example Kimberley, you are able to code-switch within three to four months, and have to, in order to ‘fit into that community’ (my translation) (Jansen and Meyer, 2015). An example of the variable nature of Afrikaans (regarding the pronunciation of words) was offered by Meyer. Meyer, originally from Worcester, pronounces the Cape Flats suburb ‘Bonteheuwel’ as written. Jansen – who, as previously mentioned, grew up in Grassy Park – pronounces it as ‘Bonnieheuwel’. Jansen affirmed that ‘*innie Kaap*’ (in the Cape) it is pronounced in that way (Jansen and Meyer, 2015).

⁴⁸⁷ Meyer uses other vocabulary: ‘*Ek is netnou ma’ by jou*’ (I will be with you soon). According to Meyer, this vocabulary is used where he originally comes from, namely Worcester (Jansen and Meyer, 2015). Meyer has lived in the Cape for more than 10, 15 years. He lived in Bonteheuwel before moving to Hanover Park (Jansen and Meyer, 2015).

⁴⁸⁸ Davids (1987:50) cites “*nematjies*” (just now)’ as a newly created word as part of ‘the Muslim Afrikaans dialect’ (my translation).

white European version, and now it is again, okay, come, you can now play along again'.⁴⁸⁹ He argued that '[b]ack in the day' it was decided to not include 'everyone's words'. However, '[n]ow they say, ok, inclusive'. He asserted that it should be 'acknowledge[d] that academics always play catch-up with the people ... Now they sit with a dictionary in the sense of, this *is*, this *is*'. He affirmed that since Kaaps is still perceived as inferior, it is 'still a ... fundamentally insulting idea' when offered the 'chance to put [Kaaps] on a level with *us* here in our dictionary'⁴⁹⁰ (Jansen and Van der Westhuizen, 2015).

Jansen asserted that the language of 'the people' changes all the time. By the time academics study 'the people' – which Jansen cites as unfortunate – 'they play catch-up', 'they always come a few years later'. By the time academics acknowledge 'the depth of what these guys are saying ... the people have already figured that out. And it is already past, they move on again to the next thing that is innovative and creative'. Van der Westhuizen agreed: '*Hulle tyd is yt*' (Their timing is off) (Jansen and Van der Westhuizen, 2015).

Van der Westhuizen reiterated that currently, 'new languages' exist 'on the streets'; it is an outcome of 'new drugs and new ways and new things'. Van der Westhuizen demonstrated how current expressions can differ from those used in the past/'back in the day': For example, '*djy vang 'n tokkie*' (literal translation: you catch a '*tokkie*')⁴⁹¹ has changed to '*djy's jits man*' (you're '*jits*' man). Regarding my enquiry about a Kaaps dictionary, Van der Westhuizen suggested, '[k]eep what's already there, you censored a lot of those words already, but give us that platform to really create and refresh ... *wat nou fresh is oppie strate*' (what currently is fresh on the streets) (my translation). He asserted that his language is a '[n]ever-ending source of creativity, creation', expressing the need for a platform 'to be able to expand' his language (Jansen and Van der Westhuizen, 2015).

My idea of Kaaps as a uniform variety that can be 'preserved' in a dictionary, was further challenged when I asked Jansen whether he thinks Afrikaans will 'die' (within the university sphere, compared to the Cape Flats). Jansen asserted: It is in 'that fear, that what they have, will die', that the 'search to be ... inclusive', is present. The box that was created 'is not growing; the box is imploding on itself. The academic world was so ... exclusive, that they did not create anything new ... the creation occurs with the people'. He concluded: 'Back in the day [they] stole the box. Now the box does not want to ... grow because [they] took the spices and [so on] out of the box'. Van der Westhuizen similarly affirmed, '*ma' dis hoekom ons ôk sê, "Afrikaaps" gannie eintlik nou al gou geboks word nie. Ons kan nie nou al sê, ok, dit is wat dit is nie, want da's te veel different influences. En ons represent eintlik ma' net een kant vannie taal.*' (but that's why we also say, 'Afrikaaps' will not actually be confined at present. We cannot

⁴⁸⁹ All quotations in this paragraph are my translations.

⁴⁹⁰ He added: 'Even the lack of acknowledgement that the first written Afrikaans is in the "*Slamse*" school of Dorpstraat, I am a teacher ... I [didn't] know that ... That is not ... right ...' (my translation) (Jansen and Van der Westhuizen, 2015).

⁴⁹¹ The expression means, according to Van der Westhuizen, '*moenie vi' jou mal hou nie.*' (do not act crazy) (Jansen and Van der Westhuizen, 2015).

say at present, okay this is what it is, because there are too many different influences. And we actually represent only one side of the language) (my translation) (Jansen and Van der Westhuizen, 2015).

In conclusion: The ‘elevation’ of the Kaaps variety to a standardised, written language form seems irrelevant, especially for Jansen and Van der Westhuizen (especially since Kaaps ‘changes all the time’). As previously discussed, Van der Westhuizen expressed the need for a platform for the innovative use of Kaaps; his ‘language’ will thereby be able to expand. The spelling of words and expressions is not a concern; this indifference was demonstrated when I asked Jansen and Van der Westhuizen how one spells ‘*stiek yt*’⁴⁹² (come through). They similarly affirmed, ‘*[n]et soes djy wil*’ (any way you want to) (my translation). Jansen expressed his indifference further: ‘*Ons maak ’ie liewe swaar virrie academics. Ons skrik dan self as hulle skryf. Yoh, kyk hoe lyk die as jy dit skryf.*’ (We make life difficult for the academics. Even we get a fright when they write. Wow, see how this looks when you write it) (my translation) (Jansen and Van der Westhuizen, 2015).

For me, their unconcern for the ‘correct’ spelling and pronunciation of Kaaps vocabulary/expressions stands in contrast to the notion ‘*korrekte, mooi*’ Afrikaans. The former variety is stigmatised and marginalised in relation to the latter Afrikaans form. In my experience as a standard Afrikaans-speaker, it is expected to write and speak ‘*korrekte, mooi*’ Afrikaans. For me, standard Afrikaans is represented by the prescriptive Afrikaans dictionary, namely the (*Verklarende*) *Handwoordeboek van die Afrikaanse Taal (HAT)*. I became privy to the *WAT* as a non-prescriptive Afrikaans dictionary⁴⁹³ through the request of Willem Botha to incorporate Kaaps into the *WAT*.⁴⁹⁴ I found it significant that the *Afrikaaps* text is considered a possible resource for the *WAT*.⁴⁹⁵ Botha e-mailed Henegan in this regard:

Die [WAT] probeer om reg te laat geskied aan al die variëteite van Afrikaans – en daarom natuurlik ook aan Kaaps. Ons is gedurig besig om materiaal rondom Kaaps te versamel met die oog op opname in die WAT. Die teks van Afrikaaps bevat ongetwyfeld van die blinkste diamante van Kaaps en ons sou baie graag ’n studie van die teks wou maak ten einde woorde te identifiseer vir opname in die WAT.

(The *WAT* tries to do justice to all the varieties of Afrikaans – and thereby of course also to Kaaps. We are continuously busy gathering material around Kaaps with the goal of inclusion into the *WAT*. The text of *Afrikaaps* undoubtedly includes many of the brightest diamonds of Kaaps and we would really like to peruse the text in order to identify words for inclusion into the *WAT*.)

(Kaganof, 2011b)

⁴⁹² I asked whether one spells ‘*uit*’ (the standardised spelling) as such in the expression ‘*stiek uit/yt*’.

⁴⁹³ The standard Afrikaans variety is the primary focus of the *HAT*; it is therefore the prescriptive, standard dictionary (*HAT*, 2005:vii; Botha, 2013). The editors of the *HAT* state that even though the standard Afrikaans variety is the primary focus of the *HAT*, it has always attempted to represent the entire speech community by including other varieties of Afrikaans (albeit acknowledging that this representation is limited) (*HAT*, 2005:vii). In contrast to the *HAT*, the *WAT* is a comprehensive, descriptive dictionary (Botha, 2013).

⁴⁹⁴ Willem Botha is the executive director of the *Woordeboek van die Afrikaanse Taal (WAT)*. Botha expressed this wish during the Q&A session after the *Afrikaaps* performance at the 2011 ASnA conference.

⁴⁹⁵ The omission of Afrikaans vocabulary from the standard dictionary is a core focus of *Afrikaaps*.

Before I queried Jansen and Van der Westhuizen on the value of a Kaaps dictionary, I assumed that such a dictionary would offer a valuable contribution to the documentation of the varieties of Afrikaans. I supposed that an aspect of the claimed hegemony of ‘pure’ Afrikaans (in relation to the standard Afrikaans dictionary) would thereby be undermined.

However, my notion of ‘Kaaps’ was challenged further when I interviewed Willem Botha to query the process of this variety’s incorporation into the *WAT*. I discovered that labelling a word or expression as ‘Kaaps’ in a dictionary is not as straightforward as it might seem. According to Botha (2013), the task of the *WAT* has always been ‘to record Afrikaans in its entirety’; all the varieties have always been recorded. However, words have never been indicated as belonging to a specific Afrikaans variety (such as Kaaps). Rather, ‘*die plek, omgewing of streek van voorkoms ... in die geval van streektaal*’ (the place, environment or region of occurrence ... in the case of regional dialect) is indicated; for example: ‘recorded in Calvinia, De Doorns and Piketberg’ (my translation) (*WAT*, 2013:x).

Given the lack of consensus about what Kaaps *is*, Botha (2013) affirmed that he cannot pronounce what this variety constitutes.⁴⁹⁶ He offered the example of the word ‘*poenankies*’ (‘*oulik*’ (cute)) to illustrate his point. According to Botha (2013; Botha *et al.*, 2014), this word is utilised across South Africa; it therefore cannot be labelled as Kaaps. Taking this example into consideration, Botha (2013) affirmed that he is very glad that a label such as Kaaps was never utilised in the *WAT*. He asserted that labelling as such leads to difference of opinion whether it is the ‘right’ label, and whether what is included under that label, is ‘correct’.

A process to excerpt Kaapse Afrikaans words from the *Afrikaaps* text ‘for possible inclusion in the *WAT*’ (my translation), is currently under way (Botha, 2014).⁴⁹⁷ Botha (2013) affirmed: ‘With *Afrikaaps*, we saw an opportunity to put something in writing/ on paper/ on record. This is what we are always looking for. And it is only another source that we were very glad to get possession of’. Botha (2013) affirmed that the words excerpted from this text will be added to the databank of the *WAT*.⁴⁹⁸

Taking the afore-mentioned discussion on the fluidity of Kaaps – a language spoken within the sphere of the home and on the street (Valley, 2011) – into consideration, one may ask: Is the ‘inclusion’ of

⁴⁹⁶ De Vries (2015:3) argues that Kaaps does not have ‘a fixed set of norms which can test “authenticity”’ (my translation). De Vries (*ibid.*) questions the notion of ‘genuine Kaaps’: ‘*[W]ie se Kaaps is “regte Kaaps” en aan wie se Kaaps word gemeet wat “outentieke Kaaps” is as dié variëteit (nog) nie eens gestandaardiseer of in ’n eenvormige taalsisteem gegiet is nie?*’ (Whose Kaaps is the ‘right Kaaps’, and against whose Kaaps is ‘authentic Kaaps’ measured if this variety is not (yet) standardised or is molded into a uniform language system?) Therefore, ‘a uniform authentic Kaaps’ (my translation) does not exist (De Vries, 2015:14).

⁴⁹⁷ I inquired whether ‘*tramakassie*’ will be incorporated. It has not yet been possible to consider the inclusion of this word, given that the *WAT* is not yet complete. A dictionary such as the *WAT* takes, on average, at least a century to complete. The Dutch dictionary (*Woordenboek der Nederlandsche Taal*), for example, took 147 years to complete. The *Oxford English Dictionary* (OED) was completed after 70 years (Botha, 2013).

⁴⁹⁸ Consideration for inclusion into the *WAT* requires the obtaining of sufficient evidence of the existence of a word: Specifically, proof of (widespread) use (evidenced by at least five sources) in different places, books, or sources, over a reasonable amount of time. The word therefore ought to be established in Afrikaans (Botha, 2013).

‘Kaaps’ in an apparatus of standardisation such as a dictionary of value for Kaaps-speakers in terms of recognition?

In a personal interview with Henegan (2012), I asked whether she thinks members of the *Afrikaaps* ensemble would be interested in the inclusion of Kaaps in the dictionary (given that I did not notice an overt wish for Kaaps to be institutionalised). Indeed, as Henegan (2012) pointed out, *Afrikaaps* engages with the aspiration for Afrikaaps (the language) to be legalised, ‘and making it official and letting it in schools, and having it written in books’. However, I took note of the apparent wish for the *de-stigmatisation* of Kaaps rather than mere insertion of this variety into a dictionary. For example, the wish is expressed that ‘*suiwer*’ Afrikaans-speakers do not laugh at Kaaps-speakers’ accent and do not stereotype Kaaps-speakers as ‘*skollies*’ and drug addicts. Would inclusion into a dictionary counter such stigmatisation?

Concurrently, Henegan (2012) noted the ambivalence regarding the wish for official recognition and identity-based marginalisation. To elaborate, Henegan (2012) affirmed that, on the one hand, ‘a big project’, ‘the whole point of the project’, is the former: ‘That’s what made kids feel proud, and that sense of empowerment and pride in the community and in it’s history and all of it, that’s about *officialising* things’. For Henegan (2012), the realisation of the ‘big project’ includes the becoming of the Afrikaans language as inclusive and the acknowledgement ‘that there are branches of Afrikaans’: ‘If there are very famous words, Kaaps words, that it’s also included in the *woordenschat* [vocabulary], and if there are particular expressions that are used a lot from another dialect that should be acknowledged and credited’.

On the other hand: ‘The truth of the matter is a whole part of the culture is founded on *not* being recognised, being on the outskirts, etcetera’. Inclusion into the dictionary (in contrast to ‘their own “*woordeboek*” [dictionary]’) would be ‘quite scary for them, because then if you’re official, and when your whole identity’s actually being based on *not* being official...’ (Henegan, 2012).⁴⁹⁹ This point connects to the value of hip-hop for Kaaps-speakers (discussed in Chapter Four). Watkins (2005:124) connects the hip-hop community to the margins of society: ‘[R]ap music, break-dance, and spray-painting are the means by which the hip hop community is achieved and maintained, albeit within the locus of the movement, and on the fringes of society’.

A discussion at the *Taalmuseum* that made an impression on me, was that of hip-hop artist Hemelbesem (Simon Witbooi), emphasising and demonstrating the fluid play and experimentation with Kaaps vocabulary and metaphors. It is the fluidity and innovative use of language in hip-hop that is valued (Botha *et al.*, 2014). For example, Watkins (2005:137) states: ‘Improvisation in rap music, especially

⁴⁹⁹ Schuster (2016:35) employs the concepts of ‘[h]ybridity’ and ‘marginality’ to illustrate ‘the celebration of Kaaps as non-mainstream’ by *Afrikaaps*. Schuster (*ibid.*) affirms that Kaaps ‘can be an effective instrument for demonstrating lack of agency but also the re-appropriation of power’. Furthermore: *Afrikaaps* ‘uses the musical format to speak back to history in a way that recognises Coloured agency’ (Schuster, 2016:38).

during performance, is a creative gesture that challenges the sanctity of literary and decorum in western art music, for example’.

6.7. ‘Stiekyt!’:⁵⁰⁰ Three performance spaces

This section discusses three performance spaces of *Afrikaaps*. Firstly, in Amsterdam, the Netherlands; secondly, at the *Artscape* in Cape Town; and thirdly, at Stellenbosch University. The first space connected *Afrikaaps* artists with Dutch artists from the African diaspora at a spoken word event. The second locale predominantly included learners from various Kaaps-speaking communities on the Cape Flats. The third space was academic; the space of the university, an institution of learning. Becker and Oliphant (2014:8) assert: ‘Spaces of performance, their social geographical location and architectural, visual aesthetics are crucial to understand the significance of a production such as *Afrikaaps*’.

6.7.1. ‘The black page that you ignore’⁵⁰¹

Afrikaaps explicitly contests Dutch colonialism in South Africa. The Dutch version of *Afrikaaps* contains an extra element of resistance in relation to Dutch colonialism. It overtly addresses issues pertaining to contemporary Dutch society. Firstly, *Afrikaaps* claims that the colonial and slave history is ‘forgotten’.⁵⁰² Secondly, *Afrikaaps* claims that, if one is ‘black’ and born in the Netherlands, one is regarded as a ‘black’ ‘allochtoon’.⁵⁰³ Associated stereotypes are also addressed. In a *NRC-Handelsblad* interview, Henegan outlined one of the objectives of the *Afrikaaps* Dutch tour:⁵⁰⁴

[O]m de koloniale geschiedenis nog maar eens in herinnering te brengen. Overal in dit land zijn overblijfselen aan wat jullie de Gouden Eeuw noemen, maar heel weinig Nederlanders weten iets over de slavenhandel. Dat leeft enorm onder mensen van Surinaamse of Antilliaanse afkomst.

⁵⁰⁰ Come through.

⁵⁰¹ Namely the Dutch slave history.

⁵⁰² During my fieldwork in the Netherlands, I became privy to Dutch colonial history in Suriname. I was also introduced to Dutch slave history by visiting NiNSee (*Nationaal instituut Nederlands slavernijverleden en erfenis*).

⁵⁰³ An ‘allochtoon’ ‘is someone who was not born in the Netherlands’ (Ansah, 2011). Ansah’s lyrics in *Afrikaaps* address stereotypes in relation to ‘allochtoon’: ‘*Allochtoon, allochtoon.../ Breedste zin, van het woord, niet westers./ Niet blank ... Het liefst zwart./ Of een nieuwe nederlander ... het liefst dat.*’ (Allochtoon, allochtoon.../ The broadest sense of the word, not western./ Not white ... preferably black./ Or a new dutchman ... preferably that) (my translation). Therefore, labels attributed to ‘allochtoon’ are: A ‘black’ person (therefore, not ‘Western’ and ‘white’) who is not born in the Netherlands.

⁵⁰⁴ In the same interview, Henegan asserted: ‘*Ook in Nederland valt nog wat zendingswerk te verrichten.*’ (Also in the Netherlands some missionary work needs to be done) (my translation). She referred to another objective of the Dutch shows: ‘*[O]m duidelijk te maken dat het Afrikaans door meer mensen gesproken wordt dan de witte usual suspects Breyten Breytenbach en André Brink.*’ (To make it clear that Afrikaans is spoken by more people than the usual white suspects Breyten Breytenbach and André Brink) (my translation) (Henegan quoted in Vermaas, 2011).

([T]o bring the colonial history to mind yet again. Everywhere in this country are remnants of what you call the Golden Age, but very few Dutch know something about the slave trade. That lives enormously among people of Surinamese or Antillean origin) (my translation).

(Henegan quoted in Vermaas, 2011)

In a personal interview, Wilma Kuite⁵⁰⁵ explained why it was significant to feature *Afrikaaps* on the Dutch television show, *zo: Raymann*: '[I]t's a very popular show, with a multi-coloured audience we call it, so Surinam people, Moroccan people, Turkish people, and we think that's the perfect group to see this show. Not that it's the only group who has to see the show, but ... it was for us really important to get in *Raymann*' (Kuite, 2011).

In a personal interview, Nan Van Houte⁵⁰⁶ (2011) affirmed that *Afrikaaps* reflects what is happening in contemporary, 'multi-cultural' Dutch society (with regard to language):

I think it is quite similar what is happening here now in society ... here, there are new languages emerging here on the streets that are very similar, there is a bit of creole in there as well, because a mix of Moroccan street, Suriname, Antillean, which is a creole as well, and Turkish ... But I recognize, I realize for the first time that it is a similar process happening. And I think it will always happen. If all creole languages have started, people came together and lived in the same country, it's a natural process, like identities are shifting, languages are shifting.

(Van Houte, 2011)

In tandem with the foregrounding of the 'multi-cultural' nature of Dutch society, *Afrikaaps* focuses on the Dutch slave history and the notion 'black' '*allochtoon*'. Anseh – one of the Dutch rappers included in the Dutch version of *Afrikaaps* – addresses the claimed unawareness of the slave trade in his lyrics: '*De zwarte bladzijde waar je over zwijgt./ Het zwart, die het zwartst blijft.*' (The black page that you are silent about/ The black, that stays most black) (my translation). In a personal interview, Anseh explained that 'the black page that you ignore, the black page that you skip', refers to slavery: 'People don't really like to talk about slavery [over here]'.⁵⁰⁷ Anseh affirmed that 'they always say that it's so long ago ... nobody wants to really see a black page in a book, because they know it's sad' (Anseh, 2011).

Anseh also addresses the notion of 'black' '*allochtoon*'. His lyrics in *Afrikaaps* foreground his

⁵⁰⁵ Kuite was part of the *Afrikaaps* Dutch production team.

⁵⁰⁶ Head of Programming/Int. Dept. at the *Theater Instituut Nederland/Theatre Institute Netherlands* (at the time of the interview).

⁵⁰⁷ In the *NRC-Handelsblad* interview, Henegan raised a then topical point of contention, namely the 'offhand' reaction of a Dutch politician to slave imagery on '*de Gouden Koets*' (the Golden Coach): '*Met de huidige polarisering lijkt die kloof alleen maar groter te worden. De nonchalante reactie van premier Rutte op de kritiek op de afbeelding op de Gouden Koets sprak boekdelen.*' (With the current polarisation it seems as though the divide is just growing wider. The nonchalant reaction of prime minister Rutte on the critique of the image on the Golden Coach speaks volumes) (my translation) (Henegan quoted in Vermaas, 2011). Henegan elaborated in a personal interview: 'It's completely painted with all these slave images of slaves carrying this white queen. And there was this petition, that they should get rid of it. And the prime minister of Holland said the whole discussion was bizarre, irrelevant, and he didn't understand what it was about' (Henegan, 2011). During my fieldwork in the Netherlands, I was also introduced to '*Zwarte Piet*' (Black Pete) (my translation) and associated debates.

experiences as a ‘black’ ‘Dutchman’:⁵⁰⁸ *‘Want als geboren Nederlander ben ik toch gast in eigen land/ Ik spreek ABN.’*⁵⁰⁹ (Because as a born Dutchman I am still a guest in my own country/ I speak ABN) (my translation). In a personal interview, Ansah affirmed that he is regarded as a ‘black’ ‘allochtoon’. He explained that, even though he was born in Holland – ‘my passport says that I’m a Dutchman’ – he is not regarded ‘as a Dutchman’. When people ask where he is from, he replies, from Amsterdam. However, they ask, ‘no, but where are you really from’. Ansah affirmed: ‘I got this stamp of an “allochtoon” on me’. However, he stated that he does not take the ‘*stempel*’ (stamp) seriously; he does not find it valid (Ansah, 2011).

Furthermore, Ansah affirmed that he finds it strange how ‘white’ and ‘black’ ‘allochtoon’ are perceived differently. When a person is ‘white’, ‘they just say, this guy is Polish or this guy is Belgian ... or this woman is from France or Italy’. However, ‘when they see a black or someone black, they say allochtoon. So, it’s a stamp’ (Ansah, 2011). Ansah also engages with stereotypes pertaining to ‘black’ in his lyrics: ‘*de kaffer*’⁵¹⁰ (the kaffir), ‘*de nikker*’ (the nigger),⁵¹¹ ‘*verschrikkelijke*’ (terrible), ‘*de onreine*’ (dirty), ‘*ongewassen*’ (unwashed), ‘*illegale*’ (illegal) and ‘*de onbillijke*’ (unreasonable).⁵¹² Ansah asserted that his lyrics address the perception that black ‘is illegal, black is not clean, black is a sin’. Ansah stated that the mention of these labels in his lyrics are ‘just something to push ... just to bring some controversy in the rhyme’ (Ansah, 2011).

In a personal interview, I asked Nan van Houte about the ‘allochtoon’ ‘issue’:

It’s a stupid issue ... the Dutch politicians are acting in a very stupid way with this topic now, and they should realise that identity is shifting, [it is a] process, so it’s not a fact or something that is static. And I think if we would accept that and that the only life is in movement and in taking part in this process. That is what life is about. Then the Dutch world would look a bit different, but they’re very stuck. It’s a difficult and dangerous situation in Holland.

(Van Houte, 2011)

During my 2011 fieldwork in Amsterdam, I attended a spoken word event at the music venue and nightclub, Paradiso. Van Rooy-Overmeyer, Goliath, and Louw all performed at this event, titled RE:Definition. The founder of the event, Simone Zeefuik, described the event’s objective in an electronic interview:

RE:Definition is all about (re)claiming of Black narratives, amplifying our voices and (re)inventing our futures. It represents poets who read, readers who read and listen between the lines and critical minds who understand the importance of not waiting for a theme or subject to call us by our names but to always, always, always represent.

⁵⁰⁸ Ansah was born in the Netherlands to Ghanaian parents (Ansah, 2011).

⁵⁰⁹ ‘*Algemeen Beschaafde Nederlands*’ (General Civilised Dutch). Ansah affirmed that if one speaks ABN, one ‘belong[s] to the Dutch etiquette’ (Ansah, 2011).

⁵¹⁰ I acknowledge that this word is extremely racist and pejorative.

⁵¹¹ I acknowledge that this word is extremely racist and pejorative.

⁵¹² My translations.

(Zeefuik, 2014)

Zeefuik elaborated on the reason for RE:Definition's establishment in 2008:

I started it because personally, I was in dire need of a platform that highlighted, reclaimed, reinvented and redefined the literary and oral traditions of my communities. I strongly believe that one of the greatest injustices that can ever happen to creative minds is to have others tell us who we are and, even worse, define our different layers or voices.

(ibid.)

I also inquired about the significance of such a platform within a Dutch societal context:

The platform's important because it's a significant reminder of the type of representation (our languages, our cultures, etc.) that doesn't lose itself while waiting to be introduced, defined or contextualized. Holland still suffers from the illusion that Black presence is a matter of quota, something that should be dosed and moderated. With each RE:Definition, I aimed to represent the wide range of our artistic linguistic cultures. We're not just Hiphop and soul. We're Kawina, Morna, Sranan tongo, Arabic, Cape Verdean Creole, Patois, Igbo, Xhosa, call and response, blues, futuristic...

(Zeefuik, 2014)

For me, this event is significant for this thesis: Van Rooy-Overmeyer and Suriname-born poet Zulile Blinker both celebrated pride in their 'ancestral roots', a key theme in *Afrikaaps*. In addition, both poets' countries of birth were Dutch colonies; both poets celebrated pre-colonial 'ancestral roots' at a contemporary event recognizing 'Black' identifications. Van Rooy-Overmeyer performed a poem, titled 'Rise'.⁵¹³

RISE: At times/ I feel stuck in this place called the Cape Flats/ ... we/ a people with history/ roots deeply rooted/ we need to search for it/ not just any story/ prescribed and printed with lies/ stories known and alive with truth in it/ ... where I can be taught to see the light guiding my way/ toward/ the path where my ancestors wait/ ... that I can clearly see/ my truth/ at last/ rise.

This poem relates to the following theme: Knowledge of one's 'true' roots and heritage enables positive identification. Similarly, two poems performed by Zulile Blinker⁵¹⁴ celebrate her Suriname 'roots'. Herewith an excerpt from one, titled '*Verlangens*' (Longing) (my translation): '*[I]k verlang na het zand waar mijn voorouders op liepen en zwoegen ... Ik verlang na waar mijn nagelstring begrawe is ... Ik verlang na jouw Suriname ... Je maak mij trots/ Ik omhels je van verre/ tot jij mij/ weer/ welkom heet/ ik verlang na jou.*' (I long for the sand on which my ancestors walked and toiled ... I long for the place where my umbilical cord is buried ... I long after you Suriname ... You make me proud / I embrace you from afar / until you/ again/ welcome me/ I long for you) (my translation).⁵¹⁵

⁵¹³ Van Rooy-Overmeyer also performed other poems at this event.

⁵¹⁴ Blinker was born in Suriname and raised in St. Maarten. When she was seventeen, she came to the Netherlands to study (Blinker, 2011).

⁵¹⁵ She conveyed to the audience that she had just returned from Suriname; she therefore 'still has Suriname in [her]' (my translation from Dutch).

Blinker (2011) explained to me that her other performed poem, ‘Running away’, expresses the issue of general lack of identification with ‘ancestral roots’, where one ‘comes from’:

I wrote it for *Keti Koti*,⁵¹⁶ abolishment of slavery, and that’s where the link comes in. ‘*Voorouders*’ (Ancestors). Everything I do has to do with my ancestors. You need to be like, the root, telling next of kin, all of it. So what you see here is ancestry, all of it. Running away, we keep on running away from ourselves. We keep on forgetting where we come from, so sometimes we’re ... to know where we’re going.

I asked Blinker’s thoughts on Goliath and Van Rooy-Overmeyer’s celebration of ‘the ancestors’ in their performances:

[T]hat’s exactly what I felt, I felt like they’re telling me the story of our ancestors, you know, and I say ‘our’, because we are all connected. Because a lot of people say Surinamese people come from only Ghana, but ... it’s the West Coast going all the [way] down to South Africa, and Angola, Sierra Leone. We come from all over, you know.

(Blinker, 2011)

6.7.2. Capetonian youth: ‘*Vind jouself, luister, jy sal hulle hoor*’⁵¹⁷

This section also examines the ways in which members of the *Afrikaaps* ensemble who grew up on the Cape Flats engage with youth from Capetonian coloured communities; they aim to cultivate pride in dispossessed ancestry and heritage.⁵¹⁸

Afrikaaps highlights the importance of knowing one’s ‘KhoiSan’ and slave roots/heritage. Accordingly, one will be able to reclaim dispossessed identification with Kaaps and Afrikaans (in general). *Afrikaaps* suggests that one can thereby ‘find oneself’, discover one’s ‘identity’. Consequently, a sense of pride in one’s ‘identity’ and language can be cultivated.⁵¹⁹

Afrikaaps attributes the reason for dispossessed identification to the lack of knowledge of one’s roots, heritage, and history.⁵²⁰ In the production, Jansen and Van Rooy-Overmeyer address this claimed issue in a dialogue. Jansen asks: ‘*Wats ’ie eintlike problem ... Wat issie problem, agte’ die problem, agte’ hie problem, agte’ hie problem ... Wat issie cause va’ al die problems?*’ (What is actually the problem ...

⁵¹⁶ The annual *Keti Koti Festival* in Amsterdam is a commemorative and celebratory event for ‘150 years of the abolition of the transatlantic slave trade in the former Dutch colonies’ (namely Suriname and the Dutch Antilles). ‘Keti Koti’ is a Surinamese term for ‘Broken Shackles’, ‘symbolis[ing] the abolition of slavery on July 1, 1863’ (Keti Koti Festival, 2013a; Keti Koti Festival, 2013b) (my translation).

⁵¹⁷ Find yourself, listen, you will hear them (my translation).

⁵¹⁸ As noted by Schuster (2016:67), ‘it would be interesting to observe the effect of *Afrikaaps* to inspire discussion, consciousness and education outreach activities that have been taken on by the cast and crew within the broader Kaaps-speaking community’.

⁵¹⁹ Edwards (2009:95) suggests that pride in one’s language can be revived: ‘Pride in one’s culture often means pride and affection for the language of that culture. Linguistic pride and self-confidence can be resurgent’.

⁵²⁰ In a radio interview, Jansen supposed that ‘a lot of people are afraid to actually address the history of themselves’ (Jansen, 2012). Jansen suggests a feeling of shame and embarrassment about heritage. In this regard, Schuster (2016:46) highlights ‘Coloured shame’ in relation to ‘the Hip Hop principle of knowledge of self’.

What is the problem, behind the problem, behind the problem, behind the problem ... What is the cause of all the problems?) (my translation). Van Rooy-Overmeyer replies: ‘*Ek dink die cause vannie problem is, mense kennie hulle history nie.*’ (I think the cause of the problem is that people do not know their history) (my translation). In the documentary, Van Rooy-Overmeyer emphasises the importance of gaining this knowledge: ‘If you don’t know where you’re from ... or where the language you speak comes from, *dan ga’n dji altyd lost voel, because jy gannie weet waantoe dji forward’ie, waantoe dji move’ie.*’ (then you will always feel lost, because you will not know where you are headed) (my translation) (Afrikaaps, 2010).

In the production, Goliath advises and encourages: ‘*Wanneer jy in jou moedertong praat/ Hou jy hulle lewendig/ Moet nooit vergeet: hulle probeer heelyd om jou te lei/ Vind jouself/ So vat jou tyd en luister/ Jy sal hulle hoor.*’ (When you speak in your mother-tongue/ You keep them alive/ Never forget: they always try to lead you/ Find yourself/ So take your time and listen/ You will hear them) (my translation).⁵²¹ In the documentary, Goliath similarly states: ‘*Jou voorouers, hulle is in jou bloed, dan nie? So, praat in jou moedertong! ’Cause as dji daai doen, dan hou dji mos vi’ hulle a’n die liewe.*’ (Your ancestors, they are in your blood, not so? So, *speak* in your mother-tongue! Because if you do that, you keep them alive’ (my translation) (Afrikaaps, 2010).

For *Afrikaaps*, it is imperative for Capetonian coloured communities – especially youth from the Cape Flats – to watch the show. Several examples convey this objective. In the documentary, Shepherd suggests that the production’s message extends beyond the stage: ‘The message what *Afrikaaps* is, is essentially bigger than the show. And that needs to spread’ (Afrikaaps, 2010). In a personal interview, Goliath (Adams *et al.*, 2015) asserted the significance of the production for ‘his people’:⁵²² ‘*Afrikaaps* is an outreach program ... that speaks from the language side in towards our deeper throes and pains’. He emphasised the acknowledgement of humanity in this regard: ‘To bring that humanity back if everyone still feels if you speak Afrikaans you have to speak [in] a certain way to be accepted into broader society. Affluent society’ (Adams *et al.*, 2015). In a radio interview promoting the 2012 EP launch at Joule City, Jansen encouraged Capetonian families *especially* to attend the event:

Actually more so if you’re from Cape Town, you want to learn about your heritage and you want to learn a sense of self-worth and pride to pass onto your family, your kids, the next generation, *om te pra’t soes jy pra’t en nie skaam wiesie* (to speak like you do and not be ashamed)⁵²³, then rock up [to Joule City], definitely come and attend the event tonight. *Ja, stiek yt my broe ... bring somme’ die la’ities ôk saam* (Yes, come through my brother ... also bring

⁵²¹ For Jansen, *Afrikaaps* echoes what Diana Ferrus does with regard to your ancestors’ ancestors ‘*en daai stem wat hulle oproep van “jy sal hulle hoor”.*’ (and that voice that they retrieve: ‘you will hear them’) (my translation). She asserted that she did not learn something ‘specifically new’; however, she thought that the way in which *Afrikaaps* makes use of ‘the background’ of the language (that she is familiar with), is ‘new’ and ‘very positive’ (my translation) (Jansen, 2011b).

⁵²² He referred to his community as ‘*onse gesigte*’ (roughly translated as ‘our people’).

⁵²³ My translation.

the children with you). *Bring 'ie hele familie my broe* (Bring the whole family, my brother).⁵²⁴
It's a family experience.

(Jansen, 2012)⁵²⁵

In the documentary, Adams similarly conveys the value of the show for Capetonians. Whilst distributing promotion flyers in a parking lot at the KKNK, he asserts: 'Only CA⁵²⁶ number plates. I don't find the point in giving people that's not from Cape Town' (Afrikaaps, 2010). In an interview with a Dutch journalist, Van Rooy-Overmeyer emphasised the reactions of Capetonian audiences:

[T]he difference is, when we performed in Cape Town, we have, we become like this mirror, reflection for a lot of people in Cape Town that looks [sic] almost like us, you know. And these people were like immediately touched. After the show, after almost every night, people will come up to us and be like, it was like being on a roller coaster. You feel like you're totally excited and then completely like sad and you wanna cry and then you're like somewhere in the middle, then you go up again, you know, so people were extremely in touch with their emotions.

(Van Rooy-Overmeyer, 2011)

In a radio interview, Jansen affirmed that knowledge of one's heritage would enable the cultivation of 'a sense of pride' in one's identity. Consequently, one would question 'who am I actually, what is my history, where do I come from?'⁵²⁷ Jansen asserted the benefit of said knowledge: 'You can then reach into that heritage ... and find out more about who you are, so you're in a conversation, you can have something more to say than just what you think about who you thought you were'. In doing so, 'a sense of pride' will be felt. In turn, the connection to one's heritage will help to address issues such as gangsterism on the Cape Flats (given that gangs provide a sense of belonging) (Jansen, 2012).

Van Rooy-Overmeyer raised similar issues in an interview with a Dutch journalist. She connected apartheid and the hegemony of standard Afrikaans to social ills on the Cape Flats. Van Rooy-Overmeyer affirmed that apartheid excluded 'the majority', including Kaaps coloured communities on the Cape Flats. The concurrent hegemony of standard Afrikaans had a profound effect:

[P]eople felt that the way they speak, the way they look, just isn't right, you know ... and it had [an] impact on people's self-worth, self-respect and dignity, and from that, a whole lot of social ills started building in [the communities of the Cape Flats].

(Van Rooy-Overmeyer, 2011)

⁵²⁴ My translation.

⁵²⁵ During the 2014 Artscape matinee Q&A session, Jansen similarly highlighted the need for these communities – 'our communities' – to gain this knowledge. In a personal interview, Jansen stated that the show is more important for Capetonian audiences than Dutch audiences: '*Vir my issie storie ... meer belangrik by die hys.*' (For me, the story is more important at home) (my translation) (Jansen, 2011a).

⁵²⁶ Cape Town.

⁵²⁷ My translation.

Van Rooy-Overmeyer asserted that a ‘psychological and emotional shift’ occurred as a consequence. Given the lack of self-worth, ‘a sense identity’ is searched for in a gang⁵²⁸ (Van Rooy-Overmeyer, 2011).

In summation, Jansen and Van Rooy-Overmeyer claim that knowledge of and positive identification with roots and heritage will discourage youth from gang-ridden Cape Flats communities from searching for a sense of group identity/belonging in membership of a gang.⁵²⁹ Community engagement and outreach for fostering of positive identification is therefore a key objective for *Afrikaaps*. Several instances indicate *Afrikaaps*’s focus on youth. Examples include: Members of the ensemble’s visit to Lavender Hill High (Afrikaaps, 2010); the 2010 Baxter and 2014 Artscape matinees (attended by learners from various Capetonian communities); and the 2015 documentary screenings at various Capetonian schools.

I attended the 2014 *Artscape* matinee Q&A session to observe *Afrikaaps*’s engagement with learners (and vice versa). One learner asked how one searches for ambition: ‘Where does [the search for ambition] start, and how do you get where you are?’ Van der Westhuizen responded that the play has taught him to accept the past.⁵³⁰ He explained that ‘what happened to one’s ancestors, is bygone; tell oneself: ‘*Ek is, dit is my tyd nou.*’ (I am, it is my time now) (my translation).⁵³¹ Van Rooy-Overmeyer affirmed the value of the play for someone searching for ambition:

[H]ave conversations with your parents, your elders, your grandparents; you will find so much [in] stories coming from there and you will find ambition from there ... So find yourself, listen You will hear [the ancestors/ our forefathers] ... and listen to your inner voice ... in terms of who you are, where you come from and where you are going, and the play that we have staged today, can give you a little, actually a large part of it.

6.7.2.1. ‘We are a group of real people that found positive ways to cope’

The members of the *Afrikaaps* ensemble present themselves as role models for the youth. Successful artists in their own right, they aim to demonstrate that one does not have to fall victim to social ills; one

⁵²⁸ Van Rooy-Overmeyer connected other social ills to gangsterism: ‘Gangsterism has a lot of other avenues like drug selling, drug abuse ... territory control [in the same community], prostitution, all of that’ (Van Rooy-Overmeyer, 2011). In a song from the production, Goliath addresses the ignorance regarding social ills in this ‘sick and bitter society’. He also cites various social ills: gangsterism/organized crime, teenage pregnancy, drug abuse, child abuse, the incapacity of police to curb the violence, and disappearances.

⁵²⁹ The Cape Flats is notoriously known as ‘one of the most dangerous and violent city areas’. Unemployment, poverty, violence, ‘chronic overcrowding’, substance abuse (alcohol and drugs), organised crime, and street gangs, are rife. Street gangs have been ‘a longstanding feature’; its origin ‘is usually traced to forced removal’ (Standing, 2006:ix, 10-11, 23).

⁵³⁰ Van der Westhuizen referred to the historical events staged in the play. Van der Westhuizen also suggested that one ought to accept one another regardless of differences (as Cape Town ‘is a mixed city’). He cites religious differences between Muslims and Rastafarians as an example (Van der Westhuizen is Rastafarian). Louw, in response to Van der Westhuizen, asserted: ‘The strength lies in our differences’ (my translation).

⁵³¹ The phrase – ‘*Ek is*’ (I am) – is a possible reference to one of the songs from the production, titled ‘*Ek is*’. The song ends with the phrase: ‘*Ek is Afrikaaps!*’ (I am Afrikaaps!) As previously stated, this phrase conveys positive identification and celebration.

can make something positive of oneself. In an interview with a Dutch journalist, Van Rooy-Overmeyer affirmed:

[The Cape Flats have a] lot of issues, but I guess people find ways to cope with it. And some ways are negative and some ways are positive, you know, and you just met ... a group of real people that found positive ways to cope with these issues in our neighbourhoods.

(Van Rooy-Overmeyer, 2011)

During the 2014 *Artscape* matinee Q&A session, a learner expressed the need for inspirational role models to visit them in their communities. She stated the reason as ‘constantly, we are told that ... we are “gam”’. For this learner, there is a lack of role models from a similar frame of reference, constituting Afrikaans speakers stereotyped as ‘gam’. She pointed out, ‘you are Afrikaans, as we all are’. She then asked the ensemble to try to visit them.

During the same Q&A session, a learner addressed the issue of gangsterism. Given that most of their communities are gang-ridden, the learner asked how the *Afrikaaps* ensemble knew that they ‘didn’t want to end up in such a position’.⁵³² Van Rooy-Overmeyer recounted how she *decided* at a young age to aspire to become a businesswoman. As an adult artist, she is a local and international success, signed to a major record label. Propelled by her determined ambition, she has become ‘a business woman with [her] own music’.

Van Rooy-Overmeyer plays a significant role as the only woman in the *Afrikaaps* ensemble. The gendered aspect of hip-hop is applicable here. Schuster (2016:26, 28) affirms that *Afrikaaps* employs conscious hip-hop, rather than gangsta rap.⁵³³ I agree that *Afrikaaps* represents “‘conscious’/socially aware hip-hop’, in contrast to ‘[g]angsta rap ... one version of hip-hop that embodies gangster values and thematises the aspirations and struggles of gangsters’ (Haupt, 2012:184).⁵³⁴ Haupt (2003:22) grants that South African hip-hop is ‘a largely male-dominated genre of political and artistic expression’. In addition, Haupt (2001:188) refers to ‘the misogyny in gangsta rap’. This misogyny contrasts with the afore-mentioned quote of Van Rooy-Overmeyer’s self-definition as an ambitious woman with aspirations. However, Watkins (2005:134) notes:

⁵³² The same learner preceded her question with the exclamation: ‘Inspirational. For your play, I take my hat off’.

⁵³³ Schuster (2016:27; Haupt, 2001:176 as cited in Schuster, 2016:27) affirms that the utilisation of conscious hip-hop by *Afrikaaps* ‘offers a means for [black] artists to talk back to the system of oppression’. She highlights the main element of this form of hip-hop: ‘[K]nowledge of self’ (Haupt, 2003:5 as cited in Schuster, 2016:27).

⁵³⁴ According to Watkins (2004:127), ‘hip hop in Cape Town emerged largely as a response to social injustices’. Similarly, Battersby (2003:114) affirms that ‘South African hip-hop offers further resistance through its efforts at community empowerment and education’. Watkins (2004:125) cites ‘rappers and hip-hoppers’ ‘as social activists’: They ‘continue to play an instrumental role in the development of young people ... their capacity to spread the empowering potential of hip hop, particularly with young people in impoverished areas’. Martin (2013:295) states: ‘Prophets of da City and Black Noise [Jansen is ‘one of the founders of Black Noise’] ... formed the core of what has been dubbed the “Old Skool [school]”: A group of young MC’s with a political conscience, coming mostly from coloured townships, and addressing current issues in the language of the street’.

An observation I have made regarding hip hop in Cape Town is the near absence of women. All the hip-hoppers I interviewed stressed that they were not sexist and that they would welcome women on stage. Some informants observe that women are encouraged not to participate in what is essentially a street culture.

The role Van-Rooy Overmeyer plays is, amongst others, to portray a notable female historical figure, Krotoa. In addition, she performs an incredibly strong and powerful performance poetry piece – that still resonates with me – written by her late brother (refer to footnote 535). His violent death reflects the violence on the Cape Flats. Furthermore, the performance poetry piece addresses social ills, including violence against women, on the Cape Flats. This ‘conscious’ piece (Haupt, 2008:193) contrasts with the values purported by gangsta rap. Furthermore, gang members are generally male. It is therefore interesting to note that Van-Rooy Overmeyer, a woman, addresses the dangers of male-dominant gangsterism. This point connects to the discouragement of violence in Capetonian hip-hop: ‘[H]ip-hoppers discourage the association with gangsta-rap, due to the violence on the Cape Flats ... they believe that this association potentially inflames the already violent atmosphere on the Cape Flats’ (Watkins, 2004: 134).

Adams related that he grew up across from a ‘*smokkelhuis*’ [a tavern]; however, music was his incentive to avoid drugs. He encouraged the learners to, if they have any passion, or if they have things to do/ a message they want to convey, ‘walk past the “*tik*” [a drug], walk past the drugs’. Jansen asked the audience: ‘All the people who are not gangsters, and want to do something good, raise your hands in the air’. All the learners raised their hands in response. Jansen affirmed: ‘Look around you, see how many of us there are. We are the majority, not the gangsters’.

In personal interviews, Van Rooy-Overmeyer and Jansen recounted how they *chose* to rise above adverse circumstances while growing up on the Cape Flats. Van Rooy-Overmeyer affirmed the empowering results of her decision in an interview with a Dutch journalist:

The pain and the [hardship] has been so deeply rooted ... it was done to my great-great grandparents, you know, and that was passed on to my grandparents, and my parents and now here I am. Fourth or third generation. I said I’m going to break the chain. I’m going to finish high school, I’m not going to get involved with drugs or gangs or with prostitution. I’m not going to become another teenage pregnant statistic. I’m going to take care of my health, I’m going to finish my university degree, I’m going to then also finish my postgrad to become a doctor in psychology, and I would actually be the first doctor in my family ...

So it’s a big, big thing for me, you know ...

This is who I am, you’re not going to tell me this is who I am ... I can say to you, this is who I am now. And that was what we were missing, you know. And now we are moving towards that direction. You haven’t to give me that label, or that definition.

(Van Rooy-Overmeyer, 2011)⁵³⁵

⁵³⁵ Van Rooy-Overmeyer affirmed that she can see how the choice of ‘breaking the chain’ is impacting her late brother’s children in a positive way (Van Rooy-Overmeyer, 2011). Van Rooy-Overmeyer’s brother was hip-hop artist Mario van Rooy, otherwise known as Mr Devious. He was ‘stabbed to death in Mitchells Plain’ in 2004

I asked Jansen how he overcame those social ills in an electronic communication interview. He explained:

I am lucky that I have very strict parents and a strong family upbringing and so the usual things that most youth are drawn to, like the gangs and drugs, are things that I would never dare to pursue. I always had my parents' voices in the back of my head when my community would try to put pressure on me to follow the many.

(Jansen, 2014)

After I observed the above-discussed example of *Afrikaaps*'s engagement with learners (and vice versa), I wondered about the context in which *Afrikaaps* impacts the learners the most: At the schools, or at the theatre shows. I asked Jansen's opinion during a personal interview. He responded:

I think it's a combination. To talk at the schools is beneficial because they do not hear the things from the teachers, but when they come to the shows, then they see us in a different context, because that stage has always been the domain of someone else. And to hear Kaaps on that stage, for them is a huge thing.

(Jansen, 2015)

Jansen referred to the excitement of the learners at the after-show Q&A: 'Now I speak like I speak, I am not ashamed [to speak Kaaps] teacher' (Jansen, 2015). This claimed expression of pride by a Kaaps-speaking learner indicates that *Afrikaaps* has the potential to reach its main goal, namely education. In a personal interview, Henegan (2012) emphasised that 'the *real work*' of *Afrikaaps* is 'education'. The members of the ensemble took on the role 'of being role-models, and of being interrogators of history' (*ibid.*). Furthermore, *Afrikaaps* is 'a beneficial project for the disadvantaged in South Africa' (*ibid.*). Henegan thereby alluded to the socio-economic divide within the Afrikaans speech community. Adhikari (2005:17) notes the root of this divide:

[T]he Coloured community did not enjoy anything near a commensurate level of influence or power under white supremacy. A heritage of slavery, dispossession, and racial oppression ensured that Coloured people lacked any significant economic or political power as a group and that by far the greater majority consisted of a downtrodden proletariat.

Given the extent of this class divide, one can question whether the cultivation of pride in language and heritage has the potential to secure upward social mobility within the Afrikaans speech community. Will pride in Kaaps – stigmatised as 'lower class' by '[a]ffluent society' (Adams *et al.*, 2015) – counteract the symbolic domination of 'pure', 'legitimate' Afrikaans?

Haupt (2012) explores this class and race issue in relation to the Lavender Hill High Afrikaans class scene and Adam's experience of stigma as a Kaaps-speaker (conveyed in the *Afrikaaps* documentary).

(Haupt, 2008:192, 194). In the production, Van Rooy-Overmeyer performs a poem authored by her brother. Titled '*Ken Jy vir My?*' (Do You Know Me?), this poem portrays various social ills: drug abuse, alcoholism, and violence against women (Haupt, 2008:192-193). Haupt (2008:192-193) published the largest part of the poem, calling it 'a call to consciousness' (Haupt, 2008:193).

Haupt (2012:134) asserts ‘the difficulty of converting cultural resources into symbolic capital’ in relation to ‘the respective currencies of standard and non-standard dialects of Afrikaans’:

For both the Lavender Hill High School pupil and Moenier Adams, their use of language is an avenue via which racial and class interpellation potentially limits their agency and freedom to define themselves on their own terms. Their perceived ability to convert Cape Afrikaans – or Afrikaaps, as it is called in the documentary, or *gamtal*, as it has been termed pejoratively ... – into symbolic capital is limited, regardless of their education or intelligence. This perception is confirmed by mainstream media representations of *coloureds*.

(Haupt, 2012:137)

Haupt (2012) concurrently affirms that ‘hegemonic norms’ inform self-perception:

The fragments of ... Adams and the Lavender Hill High school pupil’s subjectivity have been reassembled by others’ view of them; that is, via their awareness of how they are perceived when they speak their mother tongue, the non-standard dialect of Afrikaans. In other words, they are now careful not to speak in ways that come naturally to them for fear of being interpellated in restrictive ways. One might say that they have internalised their interpellation by observing hegemonic norms...

(Haupt, 2012:139)

However, Haupt (2012:139-140) asserts that Kaaps-speakers *do* have agency, albeit limited:

[T]he exchanges presented in Valley’s film suggest that they make strategic decisions about when to speak the Cape Flats Afrikaans dialect. These strategic decisions could be read as evidence of agency on their part, but the idea of how *black* subjects are hailed and located by hegemonic discourses endures.

(Haupt, 2012:140)

One can connect the issues Kaaps learners face in a ‘pure’ Afrikaans educational environment to the notion of the ‘hidden curriculum’. This concept differs from an ‘academic and explicitly taught curriculum’ (Abercrombie *et al.*, 2006:182). A so-called hidden curriculum constitutes:

[A] set of values, attitudes or principles ... that is implicitly conveyed to pupils by teachers. The hidden curriculum is believed to promote social control at school and in society at large by training people to conform and to obey authority, teaching them to regard social inequalities as natural, and ensuring cultural reproduction [Bold removed].

(Abercrombie *et al.*, 2006:182)

Bourdieu (1973 in Abercrombie *et al.*, 2006:182) introduced the concept ‘cultural reproduction’:

The specific role of the sociology of education is assumed once it has established itself as the science of the relations between cultural reproduction and social reproduction. This occurs when it endeavours to determine the contribution made by the educational system to the reproduction of the structure of power relationships and symbolic relationships between classes, by contributing to the reproduction of the structure of the distribution of cultural capital among these classes.

(Bourdieu, 1973:71)

This brings the discussion to the utilisation of ‘pure’ Afrikaans as medium of instruction at university. However, firstly, a brief discussion concerning my socio-economic status as a middle-class standard

Afrikaans-speaker, raised within the social environment of the so-called dominant class. I have never been at a social disadvantage within the Afrikaans speech community; I reap the benefits of cultural reproduction and cultural capital. A ‘pure’ Afrikaans-speaker does not feel excluded from the social and academic context of Stellenbosch University, traditionally an institution utilising standard Afrikaans as the medium of instruction. In addition: So-called white Afrikaans-speakers are, in general, also raised in South African/‘UK standard’ English (Anthonissen, 2013:34). I can therefore write this thesis in ‘academic’ English. I have the cultural capital to communicate in either standard Afrikaans or English. The notion of cultural reproduction does not afford Kaaps-speakers this mobility if standard Afrikaans and standard English are not taught. As Van Rooy-Overmeyer asserted in the *Afrikaaps* documentary, she feels that she does not speak either ‘proper’ English or Afrikaans (Afrikaaps, 2010).⁵³⁶

It is interesting to note that Valley, raised in (South African) English in order to secure upward social mobility, cannot speak Afrikaans or Kaaps. In what ways do I have more social mobility than Valley? Given that I was raised bilingual with Afrikaans as my first language, I have ‘a strong [Afrikaans]-dominant bilingual identi[ffication]’ and ‘a monolingual [Afrikaans] identi[ffication] with [English] having a decidedly second language status’ (Anthonissen, 2013:31). However, I believe Valley has more social mobility within a broader South African and global social context, given that English is his first language. On the other hand, as discussed, Valley was disconnected from Afrikaans identification: It placed Valley at a social disadvantage in some respects.⁵³⁷

On the other hand, do I, as a member of the Afrikaans speech community, have more social mobility than Kaaps-speakers, even though, as mentioned by Jansen (2015), Kaaps-speakers code-switch between Kaaps and ‘*suiwer*’ Afrikaans when the situation demands it? As discussed, ‘*suiwer*’ Afrikaans is utilised to indicate respect for, for example, an elder, or when a person from, for example, a company is on the phone. However, what is Kaaps-speakers’ proficiency in standard Afrikaans in this regard? For me, what is most telling with regard to code-switching and the racialised hegemony of ‘pure’ Afrikaans, is that some Kaaps-speakers code-switch in the presence of a white, standard-Afrikaans speaker. I would speak in standard Afrikaans, and receive a response in English. Such interactions take place everywhere, including on the campus of Stellenbosch University. This brings the discussion to the perceived academic and social exclusion of ‘academic Afrikaans’ at this university.

⁵³⁶ With regard to her spoken English, Van Rooy-Overmeyer may be referring to so-called Cape Flats English. Mesthrie (1999:59) defines Cape Flats English as ‘a cover term for the English of people whether they have it as a dominant language, second language or an equal first language with Afrikaans’. Anthonissen (2013:34) affirms that Cape Flats English ‘is not similarly stigmatised’ as Kaapse Afrikaans.

⁵³⁷ ‘[B]ilingualism and language shift’ within urban families of the so-called Cape coloured community become even more complex if one considers, for example, the establishment of ‘a monolingual English identity with Afrikaans having a decidedly second language status, or a strong English-dominant bilingual identity’ by the third generation (Anthonissen, 2013:28, 31). This third generation ‘invariably could understand the Afrikaans of their parents and grandparents, but themselves would speak only English’. However, as stipulated in a footnote, Valley (2011) was not raised bilingual, in contrast to his cousins. His cousins were raised to speak Afrikaans and English (differing from the findings of Anthonissen (2013:31)). Valley (2011) highlighted that this shows that family members can be raised in different languages.

6.7.3. #AfrikaansMustFall: ‘Academic Afrikaans’⁵³⁸

The perception of the racialised hegemony of ‘pure’ Afrikaans in relation to Kaaps was explicitly foregrounded at a 2015 screening of the *Afrikaaps* documentary. The screening – titled ‘Heritage and Belonging: “Afrikaaps” film screening and discussion on multilingualism’⁵³⁹ – was presented by the student collective Open Stellenbosch on the SU campus. During 2015, the Open Stellenbosch social activists advocated English as the sole medium of instruction at the university.

This screening is relevant for this thesis for two reasons: Firstly, the *Afrikaaps* documentary was screened by a student activist group fighting for Afrikaans to be eliminated as a medium of instruction.⁵⁴⁰ Proponents fighting to retain Afrikaans as a medium of instruction in a climate of the language’s continuing institutional decline may perceive its advocated eradication as a threat to the survival of the language and as disregard of an aspect of Afrikaans history and heritage. Viewed from this perspective, I found it paradoxical and interesting that this group would screen a documentary which delves into the history of Afrikaans (thereby acknowledging the language as part of South Africa’s heritage). However, during the discussion at the screening, it became clear that it is the *racialised* history of Afrikaans (including notions of language purity and the hegemony of ‘academic’ Afrikaans) that the presenters and the audience perceived as contentious issues.

The screening was relevant for another reason: The space in which this event took place is of symbolic significance. According to Vermaas (2011), SU historically represents ‘the heart of the language politics of the apartheid regime’. Given that the members of the *Afrikaaps* group present themselves as stigmatised and marginalised Kaaps-speakers from the Cape Flats, it is of symbolic significance to include such an ensemble in the space of SU, a historical symbol of the hegemony of ‘white’ Afrikaans. Furthermore: at the time of the screening, SU was in the midst of a revitalised language debate (initiated by Open Stellenbosch). I believe that issues pertaining to the racialised hegemony of ‘pure’ Afrikaans were – in contrast to the 2011 screening on campus – extremely relevant within this climate of debate and contention.

Key themes were emphasised during the discussion: ‘academic Afrikaans’, language purity, and the notion creole.⁵⁴¹ In addition, the various functions of language were debated. It was deliberated whether language ought to function as a vehicle for access rather than an ‘identifier’. Furthermore, the utilisation of language for the purposes of power and exclusion was brought into question.

⁵³⁸ Sonn (1990:12) describes standard Afrikaans as ‘*Akademie-Afrikaans met al sy politieke konnotasies*’. (Academic Afrikaans with all its political connotations) (my translation).

⁵³⁹ The screening occurred on the eve of Heritage Day. Ferdinand Rosa, an anthropologist from São Paulo, was invited as the guest speaker.

⁵⁴⁰ Greer Valley, who co-wrote ‘Hip-hop Masala’ with her brother Dylan Valley, was one of the presenters of the event. She is a founding member of the Open Stellenbosch collective.

⁵⁴¹ Two members of the audience misunderstood how *Afrikaaps* engages with the notion of creole language. They thought that Kaaps is ‘the creole language’. However, as discussed in this Chapter, *Afrikaaps* conceptualises Afrikaans in its entirety as a creole language.

‘Academic Afrikaans’⁵⁴² was discussed in relation to other Afrikaans forms. One member of the audience emphasised that ‘the Afrikaans we are being taught in class, is not an Afrikaans that [black and coloured Afrikaans speakers of the area] are familiar with at all’. She stated that she has Afrikaans parents who ‘never spoke academic Afrikaans’; she referred to this occurrence as a ‘disconnect’. The existence of different forms of Afrikaans was also acknowledged by an audience member suggesting that Afrikaans ought to be placed within a broader social context: ‘I think that we must always remember that Stellenbosch is not the only context, that there is a much larger context that we should situate ourselves in’. She offered an example: The Afrikaans in Stellenbosch is different from the Afrikaans spoken in Modderdam. She affirmed that in Modderdam, ‘they laugh at the way I speak Afrikaans’.

In addition to ‘academic Afrikaans’, the notion of ‘pure’ Afrikaans was questioned during the discussion. Rosa emphasised that ‘an idea of a pure language’ was created.⁵⁴³ He argued that ‘pure’ Afrikaans ‘is basically a movement that ... concentrates on one strand of history only of *this* is Afrikaans. All the rest is ... not ... Afrikaans’. For Rosa, the documentary demonstrates that ‘Afrikaans is not a monolith. Afrikaans is internally different from itself’. He suggested that rather than seeing the ‘difference between languages’ such as Afrikaans and English, and Afrikaans and isiZulu, it ought to be recognised ‘that languages are internally diverse’.⁵⁴⁴

The audience member also foregrounded ‘pure’ Afrikaans as a construct. She argued that, within a school context – in which ‘pure’ Afrikaans is taught – many Afrikaans books contain English words: ‘But when we have to write a test, our teacher would say no, you can’t use the English word. You must go and find the word in the dictionary and write that in’. For this person, this was ‘ironic, because ... most [white] Afrikaans people can’t ... speak pure Afrikaans ... they speak ... lots of English words thrown in’. Another member of the audience discounted language ‘purity’ in relation to his mother-tongue: ‘If you look at my Tswana, it has Afrikaans and English in it’. Rosa agreed with both aforementioned opinions:

We have to learn to think about languages as related to each other, like you mentioned the Setswana you know is actually full of English, full of Afrikaans. That is true, Afrikaans is full

⁵⁴² A member of the audience, who identified herself as Afrikaans, discounted Afrikaans as a medium of instruction. She argued: To be taught in English at university ‘makes a lot more sense’, given that ‘academic Afrikaans’ is of no use in the contemporary global context (in which English is the lingua franca). She argued further: Given that the postgraduate degrees are taught in English, it will make a student’s ‘life very very difficult’ to switch ‘from an Afrikaans degree to an English degree’ on a postgraduate level.

⁵⁴³ Rosa stated that ‘purity of language’ is ‘a cultural invention’. Rosa suggested that this construct cannot – by definition – be appropriated: ‘They’re not appropriating something that was there before ... they didn’t really appropriate something belonging to other people’.

⁵⁴⁴ In his introductory speech at the 2012 Joule City performance, Adam Haupt emphasised that Afrikaans comprises different forms. He affirmed that, when you go to the farms in De Doorns, Worcester, and Rawsonville, you will ‘hear a wider range of Afrikaans identities being performed on a daily basis’. He asserted: ‘The kinds of Afrikaans that is celebrated on stage, to think those are dead, you just have to go to De Doorns’. During the time of the Joule City performance, farm workers in the area of De Doorns (which is close to Stellenbosch, Worcester, and Rawsonville) were protesting against the minimum wage.

of English too. And English in South Africa is full of other languages ... So we have to learn to think of languages apart from these discourses of language purity.

Language as a means of access was also emphasised during this discussion. Accordingly, the importance of language proficiency was foregrounded.⁵⁴⁵ One person from the audience argued: 'Especially in South Africa today, we are taught language as a means of access ... So when you are taught English home language it gives you access into the workplace. When you are taught Afrikaans as home language, it also gives you access into different spaces'. She affirmed that 'language is access to power'. She demonstrated this point by referring to the prejudice faced by Adams (conveyed in the documentary). She affirmed: 'Cape Afrikaans would limit his access to certain jobs, certain positions, certain spaces, and would facilitate prejudice against them'.

A member of the audience questioned whether Kaaps ought to be taught in schools: 'How might it look ... practically, to teach... the creole language in schools?' Rosa responded:

[Y]our question is actually very complex. There is no good answer, because the problem with the school is the school works with the language as a standard medium, language as a medium of instruction. And then you have all these imaginings on language purity, which is the proper language to teach to the students. And this is a very serious problem in this country not only with Afrikaans, African languages too.

The audience member who referred to the prejudice faced by Kaaps speakers, questioned whether teaching 'a creole language at school' is indeed practical. She argued that 'a creole language' cannot be taught at school given the limited access Cape Afrikaans provides. She suggested: 'Maybe the issue is not teaching us how to write Afrikaans. Maybe the issue ... is to actually teach people the histories behind their languages, because it's more a matter of contextualisation'.⁵⁴⁶

Rosa agreed: 'It is an issue of purity and power'. He referred to the issues raised in the Lavender Hill High scene to demonstrate his point. For him, the claims of the learners illustrate the phenomenon of an imposed language within the educational sphere. Rosa argued that the hegemony of standard Afrikaans discounts the use of other 'languages': One cannot 'use whatever language he or she has'. The hegemony stipulates: 'No you have to use this'.⁵⁴⁷ Rosa suggested that 'the solution is not

⁵⁴⁵ Another member of the audience underscored that 'languages are about functionality'. She argued that students' request to be taught in English is 'an issue of functionality and accessibility': 'It's not necessarily about English being powerful and Afrikaans dying'. She suggested that 'we could frame the conversation differently': Whether 'you understand languages, or you don't understand languages, and *that* inherently is what limits or allows you access into certain spaces'. She cites 'conversations as though having the one means the other is losing out' as 'very problematic'. To obtain a degree, students need to understand the language they are taught in: 'At the base level, the conversation is that people sit in classes and they don't know what is going on because of the language being spoken. Full stop. That's it'. She argued that indeed, 'English *has* been used to exclude [and] oppress people'. However, 'languages do evolve': 'Before even English came about, Latin ... was also used to include and exclude, so we can't have these conversations as though ... there's a devil that's just pushing the whole process and it's this fatalistic game'.

⁵⁴⁶ She similarly suggested the importance of 'getting a background behind a language as opposed to actually learning the written form'.

⁵⁴⁷ Rosa affirmed that '[t]he language of this documentary is not the language of power'.

necessarily to say no, let's create a creole language, and then you have to study it. Maybe the issue is, let's talk about purity, let's talk about power'. He affirmed: 'It's an issue we actually should talk more about, even at school'. Rosa emphasised that 'all these complicated histories' ought to be highlighted in schools: 'Stop telling them and start teaching them'.

The hegemony of 'academic'/'pure' Afrikaans in relation to the (claimed) disregard of other forms of Afrikaans was a key point of discussion. In Chapter Three, I pointed out that the issue of the language's (claimed) impending 'death' is frequently raised in Afrikaans language debates. During my fieldwork, I wondered how the institutional decline of Afrikaans relates to the increase in coloured Afrikaans speakers. To elaborate: I question whether the functional decline of the standard language on an institutional level will lead to the 'extinction' of Kaaps, a vernacular subvariety spoken by thousands of people on the Cape Flats. I also consider whether the phenomenon of urban, middle-class coloured people raised in English is playing or will play a role in the (possible) future 'death' of Afrikaans. I thought that this discussion was the opportune moment to raise such issues. I specifically asked: If standard Afrikaans is subsequently phased out of the universities (and on a general institutional level), will Afrikaans then 'die', even though a variety such as Kaaps is spoken by thousands upon thousands of people on the Cape Flats (Le Cordeur, 2013).

A presenter of the event responded: 'The power of language [is] kind of lost in a question like that, because language is very much constructed in a home environment, or in a community environment'; therefore, 'not at university'. She affirmed: 'If we take the argument further, then we could say isiXhosa might be lost already because it is not institutionalised, or Zulu is lost because it is not institutionalised. Venda is lost because it is not institutionalised'. Furthermore, she argued, 'we need to *not* ... put that language on that high pedestal, where we say, if it's knocked off the pedestal, then it loses all of its power. So I think that that's the kind of conversation where I think your question leads to'. She asserted, 'when we talk about university ... we come here for knowledge'. Therefore, 'we also [then] give language the highest level of drawing across knowledge, so I think that we forget then where we learn how to speak a language'.

A person from the audience argued: 'It's not necessarily about English being powerful and Afrikaans dying, it's about the fact that we need to get access into certain spaces, by virtue of getting our degrees, and we need to understand how we're going to get to that point'.

Greer Valley responded to this point:

I just want to agree with you, because I think that's also what *Afrikaaps* shows us, that languages evolve, and they also entangle this culture and identity within a more kind of complex, nuanced way ... than with the current debate on language. Or the additive, subtractive argument that's currently being made, which is kind of ridiculous.

She argued further that it ought to be questioned 'whether it is the university's job to preserve language'. She does not think that 'we at SU [should] be concerned with the preservation of Afrikaans as a

language ... we come here to learn disciplines in various fields, not for the preservation of the language'. She suggested, 'By all means preserve the language, you know, establish a centre for Afrikaans, or a centre for Sepedi, or isiZulu or whatever it is ... but if English as a language is more accessible to the majority of this country, then classes should be in English'.

The audience member who identified herself as Afrikaans asserted that she finds 'this whole preservation of the Afrikaans language via an institution actually pretty ridiculous ... it's not as if when we stop ... teaching Afrikaans in class ... I'm going to stop speaking Afrikaans at home ... and people are suddenly going to stop writing in Afrikaans'. What she terms 'the constant ... push against this whole change forward, no but it's going to die out', she cites as 'very ridiculous'. Furthermore, she affirmed: 'I start enquiring into like how much ... you believe in your language if you think it's safeguarded by one university. How much do you think of your language if it is safeguarded by one university in the entire South Africa'.

Rosa argued that the debate at Stellenbosch 'is very simplistic. Afrikaans vs English; Afrikaans has to be preserved'. He also asserted: 'I think when we talk about preservation, we are talking about the preservation of this idea of a pure language. That's what the preservation is about. The language of the *Afrikaaps* was never protected, there was never an issue of preserving this and they're here'. A member of the audience similarly affirmed: 'When people say that we should preserve Afrikaans ... what they're actually saying, because historically Afrikaans, the pure Afrikaans that you talk about is connected to power, so what's actually being said is that we should preserve Afrikaner white power'.⁵⁴⁸

6.8. Conclusion

Taking the entire discussion into consideration: The challenging by *Afrikaaps* of the general notion of Afrikaans as a 'white language of the oppressor' contrasts with the current view of Afrikaans as a 'colonial' by especially #AfrikaansMustFall social activists. The claim that Afrikaans is a 'creole', indigenous language furthers the inclusive notion of the language's development. Emphasis on the shared history of Afrikaans suggests that the language can be liberated from its 'white oppressor' label. In turn, it is suggested that the 'racial divide' can be bridged: The Afrikaans speech community can be 'unified', and Afrikaans can be reclaimed by the entire speech community. Such claims link with current calls for Afrikaans to be regarded as a language of 'transformation' and especially as an African language. The claims of *Afrikaaps* is thereby of extreme relevance in the current climate, which concurrently encompasses either protest against Afrikaans as a 'colonial' language of white Afrikaner hegemony, or, endeavours to emphasise the 'inclusive' language Afrikaans in all its diversity. The

⁵⁴⁸ Gerwel (in Malan and Smit, 1985:41) affirms that 'the future of Afrikaans is often seen as synonymous to the future of Afrikaner nationalism', given that it is 'the language of a white ruling class' (my translation).

celebratory protest of *Afrikaaps* is, in contrast to these opposing views in public discourse, two-fold: *Afrikaaps* protests the former whilst emphasizing the latter.

Furthermore, I became privy to the heterogenous nature of Kaaps itself; it is characterised by constant flux; it cannot be defined. The deliberate unconcern for prescriptive norms of members of the *Afrikaaps* collective contrasts directly with my own experiences as a ‘pure’ Afrikaans-speaker. Even though value judgements regarding anglicisms and English loanwords in the Afrikaans spoken language may not be as austere as earlier generations might have experienced, they are still made if a certain level of ‘purity’ is not adhered to. I noted the ambivalence regarding the possible inclusion of Kaaps in the dictionary: The wish for official recognition and de-stigmatisation intersects with identity-based marginalisation and the fluidity of Kaaps (including the use of Kaaps in hip-hop) (Henegan, 2012; Watkins, 2005; Botha *et al.*, 2014; Valley, 2011).

I also discussed the role Van-Rooy-Overmeyer plays in *Afrikaaps* and her message of anti-violence as part of male-dominated ‘conscious’ hip-hop (Haupt, 2003:22; Haupt, 2012:184; Schuster, 2016:26, 28). In addition to gender, I noted the class dimension of *Afrikaaps* (Haupt, 2012) (in relation to the lack of social mobility of Kaaps-speakers, as well as Valley’s and my own social mobility).

Lastly, the three different spaces where performances took place demonstrated the diverse reach of *Afrikaaps*. Its message can be utilised in a variety of contexts for different audiences: From disempowered, marginalised coloured communities on the Cape Flats rife with gang violence, to language debates surrounding the continuation of Afrikaans as a ‘*wetenskapstaal*’ (language of science). Their international reach is illustrated by commonalities with Dutch artists advocating the value of ‘ancestral roots’ within the African diaspora. All three sites subvert Afrikaner hegemony (within the space of a Cape Town theatre offering a show for Kaaps-speaking learners from the Cape Flats, and the space of an institution, SU) and Dutch ‘colonial hegemony’ respectively.

CHAPTER SEVEN: CONCLUSION

‘Afrikaans go back to the sea!!!’ shouts a placard of a student protestor advocating the ‘fall’ of Afrikaans as a medium of instruction (Simelane, 2016).

As my discussion in Chapter Three on the opposing views of Afrikaans as either a ‘colonial’ or an African language attests, the general perception that Afrikaans is a ‘white language of the Afrikaner oppressor’ has not yet been undone. Recent assertions in the media, such as ‘We need to decolonise and liberate Afrikaans, yet’ (McKaiser, 2016); and ‘In our current climate, it is imperative that we must rediscover our African roots’ (Boezak, 2016), is evidence of this imperative need.

The claim of *Afrikaaps* therefore holds true: Afrikaans is still perceived as the language of the ‘white Afrikaner oppressor’. The claims of *Afrikaaps* are all the more relevant in the context of South African socio-political transformation. The claim that Afrikaans is an indigenous, ‘creole’ language contrasts with the notion that Afrikaans is a ‘colonial language’. *Afrikaaps* claims that the indigenous Khoi and imported Malay slaves – the ‘ancestors’ of coloured Kaaps-speakers on the Cape Flats – were key contributors to the formation of the language at the early cosmopolitan Cape. However, Afrikaans perceived as a colonial language directly relates to the racialised hegemony of standard/‘pure’ Afrikaans. As evidenced by the experiences of the *Afrikaaps* collective, this hegemony is still upheld in relation to Kaaps.

Afrikaaps disputes this hegemony by asserting that Afrikaans constitutes heterogeneity. *Afrikaaps* is a case study in the representation, celebration and reclaiming of Afrikaans ethnic so-called ‘life-worlds’ and socio-cultural identifications (Le Cordeur (2011) *other* than that of ‘white Afrikaners’. The celebration of an ethnified coloured Kaaps identification subverts the stereotype that coloured people are ‘a mixed race’ without a ‘culture’. ‘Coloured’ is re-imagined as a creolised coloured cultural identification (Erasmus, 2001): Linguistic and cultural heritage is celebrated and valued. The symbolic value of Kaaps as a ‘carrier of cultural content’ (Kotzé, 2014) and ‘marker of communal membership’ (Stone, 2002) is a central focus: As, for example, expressed in the celebration of ‘ghoema’, the ‘*Kaapse Klopse*’ (the Cape Minstrels), ‘Arabic Afrikaans’ and the Khoi and Malay origins of Afrikaans vocabulary.

In order to understand the reason and value of this celebration, *Afrikaaps* foregrounds negative perceptions and historical appropriations of Afrikaans as ‘*kombuistaaltjie*’⁵⁴⁹ (Boezak, 2016), ‘*volkstaal*’⁵⁵⁰ (Pokpas and Van Gensen, 1992), ‘*verdrukkerstaal*’⁵⁵¹ (Pokpas and Van Gensen, 1992) and ‘*witmanstaal*’.⁵⁵²

⁵⁴⁹ Little kitchen language. As explained in Chapter Two, Afrikaans was considered as such before white appropriation.

⁵⁵⁰ Language of the [Afrikaner] people/‘nation’ (my translation).

⁵⁵¹ Language of the oppressor.

⁵⁵² White man’s language.

In Chapter Two, I discussed the socio-historical, -political, and -cultural background to the construction of the ‘white Afrikaans-speaking community’ (Webb, 2010). Afrikaner ethno-nationalism led to the construction of ‘pure’, ‘white’ Afrikaans, the Afrikaans of the so-called white Afrikaner oppressor. This imposed ‘legitimate’, ‘official’ and ‘semi-artificial’ language of the ‘Afrikaner nation’ (Bourdieu, 1991) is suggested as the root of the racialised hegemony of ‘pure’/standard Afrikaans. The hegemony, ideology and fiction of ‘pure’ Afrikaans was linked to the one-language-one-culture construct (Silverstein, 1996; Milroy, 2001; Joseph, 2004; Blommaert, 2005). This background is important given that *Afrikaaps* subverts the construct by uncovering aspects of the hegemony.

Furthermore, Afrikaans, conceptualised as an indigenous, ‘creole’ language by *Afrikaaps*, also subverts the construct; the chapter therefore also delineated scholarly arguments viewing Afrikaans as an African, semi-creole language as a background to the claims of *Afrikaaps*. This shows that Afrikaans considered as an indigenous, ‘creole’ language is not a new idea; however, given the current context, *Afrikaaps* brings these arguments to the fore again, making it relevant.

Furthermore: Central to the one-language-one-culture construct is the idea that ‘[a]ll linguistic practices are measured against the legitimate practices, i.e. the practices of those who are dominant’ (Bourdieu, 1991:53). The ways in which members of the *Afrikaaps* ensemble self-label stigmatised ‘*gamtaal*’ (language of Ham/Kaaps) in relation to ‘standard’, ‘correct’ Afrikaans, demonstrate the extent of the consequences of hegemony: Kaaps, in their eyes, is not perceived as ‘legitimate’. For example, Kaaps is referred to as ‘*gêngstertaal*’ (gangster language), ‘*stukkende Afrikaans*’ (broken Afrikaans) and ‘*Englikaans*’. ‘Pure’ Afrikaans is cited as, for example, ‘*hoë Afrikaans*’ (high Afrikaans), ‘*Sewende Laan Afrikaans*’, ‘official Afrikaans’ and the ‘real’ Afrikaans. The value of *Afrikaaps* therefore lies in the reclaiming of Kaaps as ‘legal’, thereby detaching it from its stigmas (as stipulated by members of the *Afrikaaps* collective).

Other ways in which *Afrikaaps* resists the hegemony includes the *celebration* of marginalised and stigmatised Kaaps. This demonstrates the heterogeneity of Afrikaans. Chapter Three examined Cape Vernacular Afrikaans/Kaaps as a valued ‘language’ by especially Cape coloured communities on the Cape Flats. As stated by McCormick (2002b), ‘such dialects are too valuable to be abandoned’. I emphasise the many varieties of Afrikaans, including for example, Namakwalands, Flaaitaal, and Griekwa-Afrikaans. The noting of the heterogeneity of Afrikaans serves to illustrate that not all speakers can identify with standard Afrikaans, as stated by Hendricks (2012b). Furthermore, I note several scholars citing Kaaps itself as heterogeneous: ‘*Die een groep se Kaaps is nie die ander of die res se Kaaps nie.*’ (The Kaaps of one group is not the Kaaps of the others or the rest) (my translation) (De Vries, 2015). Such considerations of Afrikaans and its varieties dispute the perception of ‘standard’ Afrikaans as, well, ‘Afrikaans’.

As outlined in Chapter Three, the stigmatisation of Kaaps as ‘mixed’ – therefore ‘impure’, ‘lower class’ Afrikaans – is rooted in the ‘principled objection [of white Afrikaans-speakers] to borrowing from English’ (McCormick, 2002b:95). McCormick (2002b:96) affirmed that ‘language mixing and switching found in working-class coloured communities’ actually demonstrates an unconcern with ‘purity’.

I also noted the ‘*Alternatiewe Afrikaans*’ (Alternative Afrikaans) and ‘*Kaapse beweging*’ (Cape movement) movements as historical movements that resisted standard Afrikaans. The former asserted that ‘Standard Afrikaans ... is but one of the varieties of Afrikaans’ (Sonn, 1990:12), and the latter, that Kaapse Afrikaans can be utilised as a language of resistance. These historical claims mirrored that of *Afrikaaps*. This shows that even within a more contemporary context, it is important to recognise that standard Afrikaans does not represent Afrikaans. The need for this recognition is still imperative decades after the ‘Alternative Afrikaans’ movement. This claim connects to the contested debate regarding *standard* Afrikaans as a medium of instruction in schools: *Afrikaaps* highlights the struggles of Kaaps learners, an issue also noted decades ago. The section regarding ‘*skoolafrikaans*’ (school Afrikaans) provided background information to this point of contention raised by *Afrikaaps*.

Also in Chapter Three, I foregrounded other background information to contemporary issues raised by *Afrikaaps*. Firstly, the raising of middle-class coloured children in English by Afrikaans parents. As indicated in Chapter Five, Valley (2011) was raised in English, leading to a break/detachment from Afrikaans identification, subsequently ‘reclaimed’ by his involvement in *Afrikaaps*. This trend in coloured middle-class families (albeit not all) shows the extent of the consequences of the politicisation of the Afrikaans language; in turn, demonstrating the extent of the racialised hegemony.

In the second instance, I foreground the question: To whom does Afrikaans ‘belong’ (given the historical white appropriation of Afrikaans)? This question connects to the so-called loss of ownership of coloured Afrikaans-speakers of their language, as claimed by *Afrikaaps*. As noted in Chapter Three, this question has been raised in several recent public discussions, for example, at the ‘*Wie se Afrikaans*’ (Whose Afrikaans?) roundtable discussion at the *Afrikaanse Taalmuseum* (Afrikaans Language Museum) in 2015; the arguments of Nwadeyi (2016) in her speech; and the ‘*Wie se Afrikaans*’ *Afrikaaps* documentary screening and discussion in 2016. Such contemporary discussions are imperative given the extent of the historical appropriation of Afrikaans and current, deliberate calls for the recognition, appreciation and celebration of the heterogeneity of Afrikaans. The relevance of this point is discussed in more depth in the last sections of this conclusion. The recognition of the heterogeneity of Afrikaans connects to calls for the restandardisation of Afrikaans, signifying ‘a higher appreciation of the vernacular varieties’ (Ponelis, 1993:60).

In the fourth instance, I discussed the much contested, topical deliberation whether (standard) Afrikaans will ‘die’ given the scaling down of higher functions (especially regarding Afrikaans as a medium of

instruction at universities). This debate connects to the assertion made during the discussion at the *Afrikaaps* documentary screening (by the Open Stellenbosch collective) in 2015: Kaaps is not the same as ‘Academic Afrikaans’; coloured Afrikaans students (albeit not all Kaaps-speakers) do not even speak ‘Academic Afrikaans’. This argument bears similarities with that of ‘*skoolafrikaans*’ (school Afrikaans). The key issue raised by *Afrikaaps*, is the extreme stigmatisation of Kaaps in relation to ‘*skoolafrikaans*’ and that it is an unnatural way of speaking; it is not how one speaks at home. Therefore, what is of concern in the #AfrikaansMustFall debate is the ‘survival’ of *standard* Afrikaans. Will ‘Academic Afrikaans’ – Afrikaans as ‘*wetenskapstaal*’ (language of science) – survive the scaling down of this higher function?

It is generally recognised that Afrikaans as ‘*spreektaal*’ (spoken language) is alive and well, of which *Afrikaaps* offers a contemporary example. It is also generally acknowledged that this ‘fear’ is from an ‘Afrikaner’ perspective. Given that I was raised in a standard Afrikaans social environment, I could not resist asking Van der Westhuizen whether he thinks Afrikaans will ‘die’. He asserted: ‘*Nie wa’ ek vandaan kom nie, jammer Menán. Hy kannie sterwe nie.*’⁵⁵³ (Not where I come from, sorry Menán. He can’t die) (my translation) (Van der Westhuizen, 2015). When I think of his answer, I am reminded of a statement made by Nathan Trantraal as part of the discussion at the 2016 *Afrikaaps* documentary screening: ‘We’re not in trouble, *you* are in trouble’. What he suggested, is that ‘pure’ Afrikaans is ‘in trouble’, not Kaaps; it is the hegemony of the former that put ‘official’ Afrikaans in its current position as target of protest.

With the background to the hegemony and the marginalisation and stigmatisation of Kaaps in relation to ‘pure’ Afrikaans delineated in Chapters Two and Three, Chapter Four examined aspects of the hegemony as experienced and ‘uncovered’ by members of the *Afrikaaps* collective. This ‘uncovering’ is a strategy of resistance (Du Plessis, 1987). As Henegan (2012) affirmed, *Afrikaaps* is protest theatre. The intent of the resistance is to subvert the racialised hegemony of ‘pure’ Afrikaans by ‘uncovering’ it. *Afrikaaps* thereby overtly responds to, firstly, the appropriation of Afrikaans as a ‘white’ language; and secondly, the marginalisation and stigmatisation of Kaaps in relation to the hegemony. In order to understand the celebration of an ethnified Kaaps coloured identification, examined in Chapter Five, the resistance to the hegemony, as experienced by members of the *Afrikaaps* collective, had to be highlighted.

Firstly, resistance is overtly staged in the symbolic ‘*Land en Taal*’ (Land and Language) scene: *Afrikaaps* ‘portrays’ the moment Afrikaans was ‘hijacked’ as a ‘white’ language by colonialists at the early, creolised Cape. The ‘violence of the colonial encounter’ (Erasmus, 2001) is symbolised by this ‘colonial aggressor’ versus ‘the meek’ colonised binary (Henegan, 2012; Gilbert and Tompkins, 1996).

⁵⁵³ Adam Small (quoted by Gerwel in Malan and Smit, 1985:40-41) similarly asserted in the 1970s: ‘Indeed I am quite confident that my language will not die. Why should it?’ (Gerwel in Malan and Smit, 1985:40-41).

So-called resistance to colonialism/European hegemony is thereby overtly conveyed (Gilbert and Tompkins, 1996). I regard *Afrikaaps* as a post-colonial play (Gilbert and Tompkins, 1996) given the use of Kaaps on stage as a decolonising political tool through South African hip-hop ('a form of postcolonial text' (Battersby, 2003:109)). I argue that the language is accordingly 'taken back'; 'reclaimed'. Kaaps is thereby liberated 'from its image of oppressed-ness' (my translation) (Du Plessis, 1987:108). The 'image' of establishment-Afrikaans (of the Afrikaners) is thus reinforced (*ibid.*). The '*Land en Taal*' (Land and Language) scene thereby connects to the claim that Afrikaans originated at the early Cape, and not with '*Voortrekkers*' or the '*Boere*' (Boers) on farms (argued by some early white Afrikaans scholars). I also emphasise the views of scholars who argue that Afrikaans originated in a cosmopolitan Cape which provides a background to the discussion of this scene and its relevance.

Other aspects of the 'uncovered' hegemony include: The 1976 Soweto Uprising (the most significant historical protest against 'Afrikaner hegemony' (Pieterse, 1998/1999)); the lack of ownership of coloured Afrikaans-speakers over their language; the symbolic subversion of 'white Afrikaans' by *Afrikaaps* performing within the social space of a predominantly 'white' Afrikaner festival (in order to endeavour 'to change a whole mentality'); the misrecognition of Kaaps in several spheres; the struggles of Kaaps learners within a standard Afrikaans educational environment ('*Die Afrikaans wat o's hie doen issie my huistaal'ie*'/ The Afrikaans that we do here is not my home language (my translation)); the ideological misrepresentation of the history of Afrikaans in textbooks ('the story that was written'); the stigmatisation of Kaaps (as, for example, laughable, '*stukkende*' (broken) Afrikaans) and its speakers as, for example, gangsters (leading to speakers being 'scared to speak like [they] really do' and being encouraged by parents and the school environment to not speak in their mother-tongue); the disconnect of coloured middle-class children raised in English from their Afrikaans heritage ('I never thought of Afrikaans as part of my heritage'); and code-switching between Kaaps and standard Afrikaans (cited as 'another persona' by Jansen (2015)). Members of the ensemble also stated that there are different ways of speaking Kaaps, depending on who one interacts with.

Chapter Four evidenced the reasons for the celebratory protest of *Afrikaaps*; why such a celebration is significant and of value. Following this, I examined the construction, celebration and claiming of a so-called creolised coloured identification (Erasmus, 2001) by *Afrikaaps* in Chapter Five: An (ethnified) coloured, Kaaps identification. This strategy of resistance is two-fold. Firstly, Afrikaans linguistic and cultural heritage is connected to an ethnicity other than 'white Afrikaners' in order to subvert the general perception of Afrikaans as a 'white language'. Such an assertion is imperative in the current climate; 'white' Afrikaans is to be considered 'colonial' in relation to 'white Afrikaner hegemony'. However, *Afrikaaps* aims to demonstrate that Afrikaans does not exclusively equate afore-mentioned associations. Secondly, *Afrikaaps* endeavours to undermine 'coloured' stereotypes. I highlighted several stereotypes and issues discussed in, especially, the media as background: coloured people are regarded as the so-called forgotten nation (Coetzee, 2016); the heterogeneity, 'complexity', and 'a multiplicity of coloured

experiences' of coloured communities in relation to Afrikaans are not recognised (McKaiser, 2016); only 'black' and 'white' is recognised, i.e. not '[t]he coloured voice' (Petersen, 2015); and coloured people face an identity crisis (Dido, 2005). Johns (2013) implores that coloured people should be able to self-define, assert and identify their 'Africanness, 'blackness' or 'colouredness'. I discussed the identification of Valley (2011) as 'black', and 'an African', rather than 'coloured' (or only coloured) to illustrate the reality of fluid identification with an apartheid era racial categorisation: 'I identify more with being black'. Furthermore, such fluid identification emphasises the strategic essentialism (Van der Waal, 2012) of *Afrikaaps* as a strategy of resistance.

Other stereotypes include representation in the media. Coloured people are depicted 'in a comical light where the stereotypical Cape Coloured accent is used [and] portrayed with having no front teeth' (Petersen, 2015). Coloured people are also portrayed as, for example, gangsters, criminals (Petersen, 2015) and being drunk, as stated by Adam Haupt in his introductory talk at the 2012 Joule City performance. *Afrikaaps* engages directly with such stereotypes, highlighting, as previously discussed, several stereotypes associated with Kaaps and its speakers. One of the core foci of the production is to claim that Kaaps has a rich linguistic and cultural heritage; the 'ancestors' of coloured Kaaps-speakers played a key role in the formation of Afrikaans. *Afrikaaps* encourages: Be proud of your mother-tongue. Do not be ashamed to speak Kaaps. Lyrics of Jansen in the production demonstrate the aim to counter afore-mentioned stereotypes: '*Wie's jou dom darkie, Afrikaans kom vannie Kaap.*' (Why do you call me a stupid black, Afrikaans comes from the Cape) (my translation).

Another stereotype: Erasmus (2001) affirms that the articulation of coloured identities in post-apartheid South Africa can include the reduction of 'coloured culture to minstrelsy – a dance-music-and-dress understanding of culture'. Such representation is politically neutral if articulated within the rainbow (multi-cultural) nation discourse (Erasmus, 2001). In contrast, *Afrikaaps* constructs an ethnified coloured identification that is overtly political: It 're-imagines' 'coloured identity' as creolised cultural configurations (Erasmus, 2001), albeit within the highly politicised context of the racialised hegemony of 'pure' Afrikaans. Therefore, 'negative "racial" categorisation' is 'rework[ed] ... as a positively valorised identity' (Jenkins, 1997:81-82). 'Us' is thereby identified 'in positive "racial" terms' (Jenkins, 1997:81). By claiming collective Khoi, San and Malay/slave ancestry and heritage (in relation to Afrikaans), 'coloured' is positively 'ethnified' (Eriksen, 2002:6). The re-imagination of 'coloured' identification as a 'mix bredie community' (lyrics of Adams in the production) responds to the perception of other people as well as coloured people themselves: coloured people do not 'have a culture' (Coetzee, 2016).

I discussed the foregrounded indigenous Khoi (and San) and slave/Malay linguistic and cultural heritage as celebration in the production by highlighting the Khoi and Malay influence on 'pure' Afrikaans words, such as '*eina*' (ouch) and '*baie*' (many) respectively. The Cape Muslim Afrikaans word '*tramakassie*' (thank you) is also emphasised. Celebration is also staged by underscoring Kaaps, the

Kaapse Klopse (the Cape Minstrels), ‘Arabic Afrikaans’, ghoema, the clicks of the San, and indigenous cultural practices, as well as utilising the ‘*xaru*’, an indigenous instrument, in the production. Indigenous Khoi utilised at the early Cape as interpreters are also emphasised: Autshumoa (stereotyped as ‘Herry die Strandloper’), Krotoa (Eva) and Doman.

Lyrics of Goliath in the production allude to the foregrounding of ancestors: ‘*Die voorvaders praat deur jou tong*’ (The ancestors speak through your language) (my translation) and ‘the theatre of pre-colonial imagination’. Similarly, lyrics of Jansen affirm: ‘*Kom KhoiSan kry terug jou land, coloureds kom van KhoiSan verstand*’ (Come KhoiSan, reclaim your land, coloureds come from KhoiSan knowledge) (my translation), and Neville Alexander stated in the documentary: ‘*As die Khoi, die San en die slawe veral, nie gedwing was om Hollands of Nederlands ... te praat nie, dan sou die taal Afrikaans eintlik nie ontstaan het nie.*’ (If the Khoi, the San and especially the slaves, were not forced to speak Dutch, the the language Afrikaans would not really have developed) (my translation). Therefore, Kaaps as a ‘carrier of cultural content’ (Kotzé, 2014) is emphasised.

Connecting with afore-mentioned strategic essentialism of *Afrikaaps*: Does it reconfigure ‘colouredness’ in such a way that it conveys ‘a sense of purity based on claims to ethnicity and indigenous roots’? (Erasmus, 2001). I argued that lyrics of *Afrikaaps* counteract ‘notions’ of purity (in contrast to Afrikaner nationalism that was founded in racial and linguistic purity), by affirming that ‘races’ are ‘mixed’, also asserted by Valley (2011): ‘There’s no pure race in South Africa, or in the world’. Adam Haupt asserted at the 2012 Jule City performance that *Afrikaaps* ‘attempt[s] to shift thinking about racial identity away from biological essentialist conceptions of race’. The label ‘Afrikaaps’, he affirmed, emphasises the ‘specific Cape history of Afrikaans ... and actually the slave history of Afrikaans’; the connection coloniser-colonised is thereby emphasised (offerering the possibility for creolised cultural configurations, in contrast to a focus on earlier fixed notions of ‘race’).

These assertions connect to that of Erasmus (2001): ‘[T]he violence of the colonial encounter’ is connected to creolisation and ‘the fragments which make up the history of being coloured’ as these identities were configured within the historical context of ‘colonialism, slavery, segregation and apartheid’ (Erasmus, 2001). It is the notion of ‘creolisation’ – signifying ‘complexity’ – that counteracts ‘purist stereotypes’ (Cohen and Toninato, 2010:17). Effectively, negative historical notions of ‘race mixture’/‘miscegenation’ are subverted via creolised cultural creativity that emerged within historical colonial circumstances as the outcome of contact (Erasmus, 2001). This unique cultural configuration encompasses elements from, for example, Khoi, Malay and Dutch cultures (Erasmus, 2001), as evidenced by the creolised cultural heritage celebrated by *Afrikaaps*. Following this, it can be argued that indigeneity and ethnicity are celebrated, as argued by Knörr (2010:733), as ‘criteria for creolisation’. It is in the process of ‘indigenisation and ethnicisation’ that identities are essentialised (*ibid.*), to become expressions of strategic essentialism (Van der Waal, 2012). In this process, ‘specific cultural characteristics’ and ‘a specific common ancestry and heritage’ are connected. In contrast with

the idea that creolisation is always in process, constituting boundless cultural transformation (Glissant, 1992:142 as cited in Erasmus, 2001), is the notion that it is ‘finite’ (Knörr, 2010:733; Becker and Oliphant, 2014:5). Even though the newly created ‘ethnic group identity’ can be considered ‘heterogeneous and mixed ... it is neither random and flexible in all directions nor free of boundaries’ (Knörr, 2010:733). That is why I foreground the new ‘fixed’ ethnic boundary: It does not permit shared identification with all Afrikaans-speakers. However, why should it?

The value of the assertion by *Afrikaaps* regarding ‘colouredness’ is, as mentioned, emphasised by Van Wyk (2014): *Afrikaaps* deconstructs ‘a previously constructed narrative about what coloured people are, what Kaaps is ... and reconstructing it in a more positive light ... taking control of the construction of “what am I” ... it is this identity formation within the hands of the identity-holder’. Henegan (2014) also highlighted that the show aims to challenge stereotypes, ‘to present Afrikaaps culture and people with elegance, sophistication, intellectual depth and with the highest artistic production standards we were capable of’. For me, the value of *Afrikaaps*, from the perspective of the hegemony, lies in its connection of Afrikaans to an ethnicity other than the ‘white Afrikaner’.

Given that I identify as an Afrikaans-speaker and am identified as an ‘Afrikaner’ (as stated in Chapter One, my ascribed social identity is that of an ‘Afrikaner’), I found it interesting to explore the notion of ethnicity as a social construction (Jenkins, 1997:47), mobilised and manipulated as ‘a social resource’ [Italics removed] (Jenkins, 1997:90). Given the focus of *Afrikaaps* on ‘Afrikaner hegemony’ and its historical mobilisation and manipulation during Afrikaner nationalism and apartheid, I connect the historically constructed ethnicity ‘Afrikaner’ to the ethnified coloured Kaaps identification ‘created’ (Eriksen, 2002:84) by *Afrikaaps*. Given that the latter is a response to the former, ethnicity is, in this case, relational (Eriksen, 2002:34, 58). Therefore, the production ‘enact[s] ... boundary mechanisms’ and employs ‘overt markers of distinctiveness in the reproduction of ethnic identities’ (Eriksen, 2002:173) through the celebration of creolised cultural configurations (Erasmus, 2001). However, the notion of the ethnic boundary (Eriksen, 2002:34) in this case becomes more complex given that ‘Afrikaners’ and ‘coloured’ people share the same cultural heritage, namely language. The cultural boundary can differ from the ethnic boundary: Ethnicity is not ‘a cultural property of a group’ (*ibid.*). Ethnic boundaries are employed to distinguish ethnic collectivities’ members from ‘those of other groups’ (Harrison, 1999:10). Cultural boundaries demarcate ‘the bodies of symbolic practices which these collectivities attribute to themselves ... to differentiate themselves from each other’ (*ibid.*).

I concluded that I therefore cannot identify immediately with the constructed ethnic collectivity presented and celebrated by *Afrikaaps* given that I lack points of reference to the demarcated ‘symbolic practices’ in relation to cultural boundaries (Harrison, 1999:10). In this case, I am so-called dichotomised as a ‘stranger’; I cannot be regarded by myself and others as a member of this ethnic group (Barth, 1969:15). One can argue that ‘exclusion’ may be fostered in this manner. I am not part of the Kaaps ‘life-worlds’. Am I the ‘other’ Afrikaans-speaker? With this question I am reminded of

Valley's tongue-in-cheek statement in the *Afrikaaps* documentary when the production performed at the predominantly 'Afrikaner' festival, the KKNK: 'We do not belong here, however, I was curious to see how the natives would respond to us' (Afrikaaps, 2010). However, 'reverse othering' aside, *Afrikaaps* also paradoxically encourages inclusion in the conceptualisation of Afrikaans as a creole, indigenous language: Language as shared cultural heritage dissipates the cultural boundary across two ethnic collectivities.

In addition, I came to the conclusion that *Afrikaaps* does *not* mirror the ethno-nationalism of Afrikaner nationalism. However, I argued that *Afrikaaps* makes ethno-nationalist claims based on 'common descent' (Kellas, 1991:51). Kaaps is thereby presented 'as an ethno-national [symbol]' and 'a 'powerful emblem of groupness' (Edwards, 2009:258). In contrast, 'pure' Afrikaans functioned during Afrikaner nationalism as 'an emotionally charged symbol, a central pillar of individual and social identity, and a pivotal rallying-point for ethno-national movements' (*ibid.*). The difference between the former and the latter ethno-national symbols, is that *Afrikaaps* aims for 'self-recognition as well as an aspect of its recognition in the eyes of outsiders' (Fishman, 1977:16). They aim to self-define in response to being defined as 'non-members' of the language community (Blommaert, 2005:217) by Afrikaner ethno-nationalism.

Given this exclusion, the production endeavours to overtly emphasise and celebrate the symbolic value of language (Edwards, 2009:55). Therefore, Kaaps 'as carrier of cultural content' (Italics removed), as well as 'a specific ... language form (Italics removed) with which the speakers of it are associated' (Kotzé, 2014:636) are celebrated. It is 'the historical and cultural associations' that form the foundation of 'shared connotations' (Edwards, 2009:55). Therefore, 'cultural unity' can be fostered via ethnic 'identity' 'to counteract oppression' (Joseph, 2004:170).

Part of the value of *Afrikaaps* for specific members of the *Afrikaaps* collective lies in their identification with Kaaps *after* their participation. At a roundtable discussion before one of the Dutch shows, Valley (raised in English by Afrikaans parents) asserted that he rediscovered and reconnected 'with that history ... which we hadn't before'. He affirmed: '[Afrikaans] is a part of who I am'; it is 'part of my heritage'; his parents, his grandparents, and their parents spoke it too. He concludes the *Afrikaaps* documentary: 'Even though I didn't speak Afrikaans growing up, *ek is nou trots op die taal, en ek sien dit as deel van wie ek is.*' (I am now proud of the language, and I see it as part of who I am) (my translation) (Afrikaaps, 2010).

Jansen (2014), a Kaaps-speaker, asserted that he 'fully embraced it', asserting: '*Ek praat soes ek praat, die's my way, ve'staan djy?*' (I speak like I speak, this is my way, do you understand?) (my translation) (Jansen, 2012). Van Rooy-Overmeyer (2011), also a Kaaps-speaker, expressed emphatically that she embraced 'this other side of the story' and that she entirely identified with it. Positive identification of Kaaps-speaking learners are also cited in the documentary after a visit to their Afrikaans class at

Lavender Hill High by members of the *Afrikaaps* ensemble: ‘*Ek issie mee’ so skaam om te praat soes ek praat’ie’*. *Ek gaat’ie mee’ compromise op my taal vi’ anne’ mense nie.*’ (I am not so ashamed to speak like I speak anymore. I will not compromise my language for other people anymore) (my translation) (Afrikaaps, 2010). Van der Westhuizen (2015) stated: ‘*Da’s nie ’n anne’ way wat [ek my] bieter kan express’ie.*’ (There’s not another way that I can express myself better) (my translation).

Thus, ‘a broader social strength and assertion’ against the background of oppression and discrimination, and imposed inferiority (Edwards, 2009:96) is reclaimed. The lyrics ‘*Ek is Afrikaaps!*’ (I am Afrikaaps!) underscore this assertion. Kaaps as a variety – lacking ‘general social prestige’ – is thereby utilised as a vehicle to express ‘group identity’: ‘[I]t is still ours’ (Edwards, 2009:96). Such expression signifies a ‘revitalised “consciousness”’ and functions as ‘a powerful bonding agent’ (*ibid.*). Another focus of the production examined in this chapter – connecting with this expression of group identification – is the notion that Kaaps-speakers ought to make Afrikaans ‘legal’ themselves, namely, to free the language of its stigmas as a ‘white man’s language’; to liberate the language, according to Goliath, from ‘all those boxes in which they pushed Afrikaans’ (Adams *et al.*, 2015).

In Chapter Six, I discussed the claim of *Afrikaaps* that Afrikaans is a creole, indigenous language. Henegan (2012) stipulated that the production endeavours to enable the bridging of the racialised divide with this inclusive conceptualisation of the language. Afrikaans can thereby become ‘dis-associated’ with apartheid, unifying Afrikaans-speakers across the divide by recognising this shared heritage, the Afrikaans language (Henegan, 2012; Van Rooy-Overmeyer, 2011; Jansen, 2012). See the connections, not the ‘separate boxes’, Valley (2011) affirms. The language can thereby become ‘liberated’ and emancipated by acknowledging that Afrikaans is a ‘mixed’, therefore not ‘pure’, language (Valley, 2011; Zeefuik, 2011). A white Afrikaans audience member demonstrated that such a view is possible: ‘It is the history of all of us to a certain extent’ (Smit and Sierone, 2011).

Such claims have never been more relevant than in the current climate of the fear of language ‘death’ due to the decline of the higher functions of Afrikaans (especially regarding the university medium of instruction debate), as discussed in Chapter Three. It is necessary to ‘uncover’, question, protest and subvert the exclusiveness of ‘white Afrikaner hegemony’. It is necessary to deliberate on the origins of Afrikaans: Is it an African language?; is it a ‘colonial’ language? Is it too late to assert that Afrikaans is an African language? Has the hegemony been too extensive? I discuss these questions in the last paragraphs of this conclusion.

Related to the questioning of the hegemony, is the recognition of the differences between ‘*suiwer*’ (pure) Afrikaans and Kaaps. I thereby also discussed the ‘unfixed’ nature of Kaaps (Valley, 2011), as explained by members of the *Afrikaaps* collective. I was never privy to the extent of its heterogeneity. As a standard Afrikaans-speaker, one can be judged by other such speakers on ‘incorrect’, ‘impure’, ‘*plat*’ (literal translation: flat) pronunciation (when one pronounces ‘*huis*’ (house) as ‘*hys*’, for

example). Or one is disparaged for using too many anglicisms or English loanwords. This is not to say that standard Afrikaans (written and spoken) is not creative, metaphoric, etc. I have noted that all spoken varieties of Afrikaans are characterised by more English than the standard. However, I argue that, in contrast to especially the Kaaps variety, one's (standard) language use can be 'governed' and judged, especially when prescriptive rules are not adhered to. In contrast, Kaaps-speakers may display a deliberate unconcern for adherence to such prescriptivity; such indifference is seemingly also valued.

As noted in Chapter Three, Prah (as cited in Prah, 2012:vii) emphatically states that Kaaps is 'the pulsating heart and most creative section of the Afrikaans language'. As discussed in Chapter Six, interviews with members of the *Afrikaaps* collective were evidence for this assertion. For example, Van der Westhuizen (2015) stated that Kaaps cannot be confined. Kaaps is characterised by many influences: '[W]e ... represent only one side of the language [Kaaps]' (*ibid.*). Ways of speaking 'different flavours' of Kaaps also differ (Jansen and Meyer, 2015). Jansen (*ibid.*) explained: 'Even in "Afrikaaps" itself, the way in which different people speak versions of Kaaps, is completely different'.

According to Jansen, communication in Kaaps includes 'different levels' of interaction; levels of who meets whom (Jansen, 2015). For example, one would speak a certain way to an older person out of respect, or, according to Adams, one would communicate in a coarser, messier manner to convey forcefulness (Adams and Van der Westhuizen, 2015). Van der Westhuizen concurred that such a way of speaking is needed in order 'to have more credibility on the Cape Flats'; one seems tougher, one can intimidate (*ibid.*).

For Van der Westhuizen (2015), his language is a '[n]everending source of creativity, creation'. It is the innovative use of Kaaps that is valued; its expansion, to create anew, according to members of the *Afrikaaps* ensemble. The use of Kaaps by 'the people', as Jansen (2015) affirmed, changes all the time. Members also explained that current Kaaps expressions differ from past expressions, and vocabularies differ from one area to another adjacent area (Jansen and Van der Westhuizen, 2015; Jansen and Meyer, 2015). Furthermore, I observed the deliberate unconcern for 'correct' spelling. Schuster (2016:2) similarly argue that *Afrikaaps* 'instilled pride in the differences between Kaaps and what was seen as the rigidity of ... standard Afrikaans. It brought a consciousness to the ability of its multiracial speakers to innovate and create within the dialect of Kaaps'.

In addition, my interview with the editor of the *Woordeboek van die Afrikaanse Taal (WAT)* (the non-prescriptive, thereby descriptive and comprehensive Afrikaans dictionary), Willem Botha, attested that there is a lack of consensus about what Kaaps is. For example, a word such as '*poenankies*' ('*oulik*' (cute)) cannot be labelled as Kaaps given that it is utilised in other areas than the Cape (Botha, 2013). Similarly, Van der Westhuizen asserted, 'we cannot say at present, okay this is what it is, because there are too many influences' (Adams and Van der Westhuizen, 2015).

I reiterate the afore-mentioned assertions about the fluidity and heretogeneity of Kaaps as it contrasts with the notions of ‘correct’, ‘pure’ Afrikaans. Recognition of Kaaps subverts the racialised hegemony that furthered ideas about what Afrikaans ought to be; what it ‘is’. I therefore come to the conclusion that *Afrikaaps* demonstrates that Afrikaans is not necessarily a language that ought to be metaphorically pigeonholed in a ‘pure’/standard Afrikaans dictionary of ‘white Afrikaners’ with static, ‘correct’, ‘pure’ vocabulary words and expressions.

What members of the *Afrikaaps* ensemble demonstrated, is the value of *not* confining this variety in prescriptive ways: It is too fluid, too heterogeneous, coupled with a deliberate lack of concern for ‘correct’ spelling. It is characterised by innovation, imagination, originality, inspiration, inventiveness, and the freedom to expand. It is these characteristics that emphasise the divergence of Kaaps from ‘*suiwer*’ (pure) Afrikaans, as suggested by McCormick (2002b:98) (with regard to the District Six local vernacular having ‘the ... merit of dissociation from ... *suiwer* Afrikaans’). Furthermore, I explored the ambivalence concerning the possible inclusion of Kaaps in the dictionary: The wish for official recognition and de-stigmatisation is connected to identity-based marginalisation and the fluidity of Kaaps (including the use of Kaaps in hip-hop) (Henegan, 2012; Watkins, 2005; Botha *et al.*, 2014; Valley, 2011).

I also discussed the role Van-Rooy-Overmeyer plays in *Afrikaaps*. As the only woman as part of the *Afrikaaps* ensemble, she conveys the message of anti-violence that is a fundamental part of ‘conscious’ hip-hop (albeit male-dominated) (Haupt, 2003:22; Haupt, 2012:184; Schuster, 2016:26, 28). The performance poetry piece written by her late brother (who was killed on the Cape Flats) addresses, for example, violence against women. Van Rooy-Overmeyer’s performance of this piece brings awareness to the male-dominated sphere of gang violence (in contrast to so-called gangsta rap, which expresses misogyny and is associated with violence (Haupt, 2008:193; Haupt, 2001:188; Watkins, 2004: 134)).

In addition, I questioned whether the cultural activism (Becker and Oliphant, 2014:15-16) of *Afrikaaps* has the potential to counter the general low socio-economic status and the lack of social mobility (Haupt, 2012) (given the effects of the ‘hidden curriculum’, ‘cultural reproduction’ and ‘cultural capital’ (Abercrombie *et al.*, 2006:182; Bourdieu, 1973:71)) of Kaaps-speakers on the Cape Flats. I also discussed the ways in which I benefited from ‘cultural reproduction’ and ‘cultural capital’ given my social position within the Afrikaans speech community. In addition, I deliberated on my social mobility in relation to that of Valley (given that we were both raised within middle-class environments).

Afrikaaps is not only confined to the celebration of Kaaps. Also in Chapter Six, I foregrounded three international and local sites in this multi-sited ethnography, either where the *Afrikaaps* production performed, or where the *Afrikaaps* documentary was screened. Each space offered different audiences and different contexts in relation to issues with regard to the Afrikaans language and South African/Dutch society.

Firstly, I emphasise Amsterdam, the Netherlands, where *Afrikaaps* performed at the *Stadsschouwburg*, and members of the collective performed at a spoken word event at Paradiso. The Dutch version of the *Afrikaaps* production addresses the consequences of Dutch colonialism: The white appropriation of Afrikaans, the ‘colonising’ of Afrikaans (Schuster, 2016). The symbolic protest of the ‘*Land en Taal*’ (Land and Language) scene is an explicit response to the hegemonic consequences of Dutch colonialism (as previously discussed).

Furthermore, the Dutch version of the *Afrikaaps* production endeavours to bring the ‘forgotten’/misrecognised Dutch colonial history – including the slave trade in former colonies such as Suriname – to the fore. Lyrics of Ansah emphasise, for example: ‘The black page that you ignore’. Contemporary issues in Dutch society are also addressed by Dutch-born Ansah of Ghanian heritage: His experience of being labelled as a non-standard Dutch-speaking ‘black’ ‘allochtoon’ and associated stereotypes (Ansah, 2011). The purported issues experienced by Ansah mirror those of coloured Kaaps-speakers (as suggested by *Afrikaaps*), disparaged and stigmatised for not speaking ‘pure’ Afrikaans. This common ground connects issues in Dutch society to South African society, making *Afrikaaps* relevant within the Netherlands and beyond.

In addition: At the RE:Definition spoken word event (‘aiming to (re)claim Black narratives’ (Zeeuik, 2015)) at Paradiso in Amsterdam, artistic common ground was found in the celebration of ‘black’ identifications and ‘coloured’ identifications in reaction to Dutch colonialism by Dutch and South African spoken word artists respectively. Parallel identifications with and celebration of ‘ancestral roots’ (namely Suriname heritage and the ‘ancestors’ of coloured people respectively) reflect opposition to historical, colonial hegemony across the African diaspora. The celebration of the poets’ ‘ancestry’ in reaction to Dutch colonial hegemony speaks of the need for the recognition of such identifications that can find expression at a performance poetry event such as RE:Definition.

In the second instance, I foregrounded the Q&A session after the 2015 matinee show at Artscape in Cape Town. Youths from various coloured communities on the Cape Peninsula were sponsored to attend. The discussion between Kaaps-speaking learners and members of the *Afrikaaps* collective emphasised the need for the youth coming from gang, violence, and drug-stricken communities to have role-models – such as members of the *Afrikaaps* collective – to visit them at their schools and to encourage them to ‘walk past the “tik”, walk past the drugs’, and to proverbially make something of themselves.

Furthermore, members of the *Afrikaaps* collective assert that young people join gangs to search for ‘identity’. The production endeavours for learners to obtain knowledge of their ‘dispossessed’ roots and heritage in order to positively identify with the cultural and linguistic heritage of their mother-tongue, Kaaps. One can thereby discover one’s ‘identity’ and be proud of one’s indigenous Khoi, San and Malay slave roots and ‘ancestors’. As Goliath asserts in the production: ‘When you speak in your mother-

tongue/ You keep them alive/ ...they always try to lead you/ Find yourself/ So take your time and listen/ You will hear them'. The hope is that young people from gang-ridden Cape Flats communities will be discouraged from searching for group identity/belonging in membership of a gang. The need for encouragement to be proud of their mother-tongue and heritage, as well as help to 'search for ambition', was apparent. As one learner stated: 'Constantly, we are told we are "gam"'.

The socio-economic, -linguistic and -cultural marginalisation and stigmatisation of Kaaps-speakers, represented by these learners, contrasts with the current ideological calls for 'decolonisation' within academic contexts, including the 'fall' of 'white' Afrikaans (still considered a symbol of 'white Afrikaner hegemony'). In order to emphasise this contrast, I foregrounded the third site: Stellenbosch University, an historically Afrikaans University with apartheid ties. I foregrounded the 2015 *Afrikaaps* documentary screening and Q&A discussion by student collective Open Stellenbosch (social activists who protested against Afrikaans as the main medium of instruction at SU) on Heritage Day, titled 'Heritage and Belonging: "Afrikaaps" film screening and discussion on multilingualism'.

The issues raised during the discussion concerned the general connection of the language to 'white Afrikaner power' in relation to Kaaps. The 2015 #AfrikaansMustFall protests – advocating for 'Academic Afrikaans' to 'fall' as a medium of instruction – reflects the general perception of Afrikaans as a 'colonial' language; a language of Afrikaner hegemony, still present 40 years after the 1976 Soweto uprisings (McKaiser, 2016).

The racialised hegemony of '*suiwer*' Afrikaans was and still is so extensive – as evidenced by the purported experiences of members of the *Afrikaaps* ensemble – that current endeavours in the public and media spheres greatly emphasise the purported inclusivity and diversity of the language. The ideological celebration of Afrikaans in all its 'diversity' is notable since the #AfrikaansMustFall protests. An example includes the launch of '*Projek Afrikaans*' in 2016, as discussed.

The recognition and celebration by '*Projek Afrikaans*' of Afrikaans as an inclusive, African, heterogeneous language – including Kaaps – is exactly what *Afrikaaps* advocates (albeit in a much more politicised manner than the more neutral 'rainbow-nation'-esque celebration of '*Projek Afrikaans*'). The current climate makes the claims of *Afrikaaps* extremely relevant.

One may also ask: Is the recognition of this diversity in several spheres sufficiently timely, because, as Jansen (2015) suggested, 'pure Afrikaans' 'is imploding on itself', it is 'not growing'; 'now they sit with a dictionary in the sense of, this *is*, this *is*'? As discussed, Jansen (2015) asserted that there is a current search for inclusivity given 'that fear, that what they have, will die'. What 'they have', is the exclusive 'box' that was 'created' and 'stolen' (i.e. the exclusive white appropriation of Afrikaans): 'Back in the day [they] stole the box. Now the box does not want to ... grow because [they] took the spices and [so on] out of the box'.

If one agrees with this statement, one may ask: Why the current, resurgent, deliberate and transparent recognition of inclusivity? Indeed, as noted, the appreciation of Afrikaans varieties, calls for the ‘de-exclusivisation’ (Pieterse, 1998/1999:70) of ‘pure’ Afrikaans, and the recognition of Afrikaans as an African language by academics, writers, etcetera have been a trend since the 1980s. What is noticeable in the current climate, is that the need for the appreciation, celebration and recognition is *still* imperative in 2016. I believe that the need for the *Afrikaaps* collective to assert an identification in relation to Afrikaans heritage on their own terms – approximately two decades into the young democracy – is now more relevant than ever. From the perspective from the ‘other side’ of the racialised divide: My identification as an Afrikaans-speaker has been greatly and enduringly enriched by the gained knowledge of Afrikaans heritage.

The question is: Will advertising campaigns and the possibility of restandardisation be able to bridge the racialised divide after decades of socio-economic and -cultural exclusion from ‘Afrikaner hegemony’? The ‘future’ of Afrikaans remains to be seen. In the meantime, I close this study with a varied set of labels expressing divergent historical (Pokpas and Van Gensen, 1992) and contemporary considerations of Afrikaans:

‘*Kombuistaaltjie*’. ‘*Volkstaal*’. ‘*Verdrukkerstaal*’. ‘*Witmanstaal*’. ‘*Bevrydingstaal*’⁵⁵⁴ (Pokpas and Van Gensen, 1992). ‘*Semi-kreoolse taal*’.⁵⁵⁵ ‘*Koloniale taal*’.⁵⁵⁶ ‘#AfrikaansMustFall’. ‘*Afrikataal*’.⁵⁵⁷ ‘*Afrikaaps*’.

⁵⁵⁴ Language of liberation.

⁵⁵⁵ Semi-creole language.

⁵⁵⁶ Colonial language.

⁵⁵⁷ African language.

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