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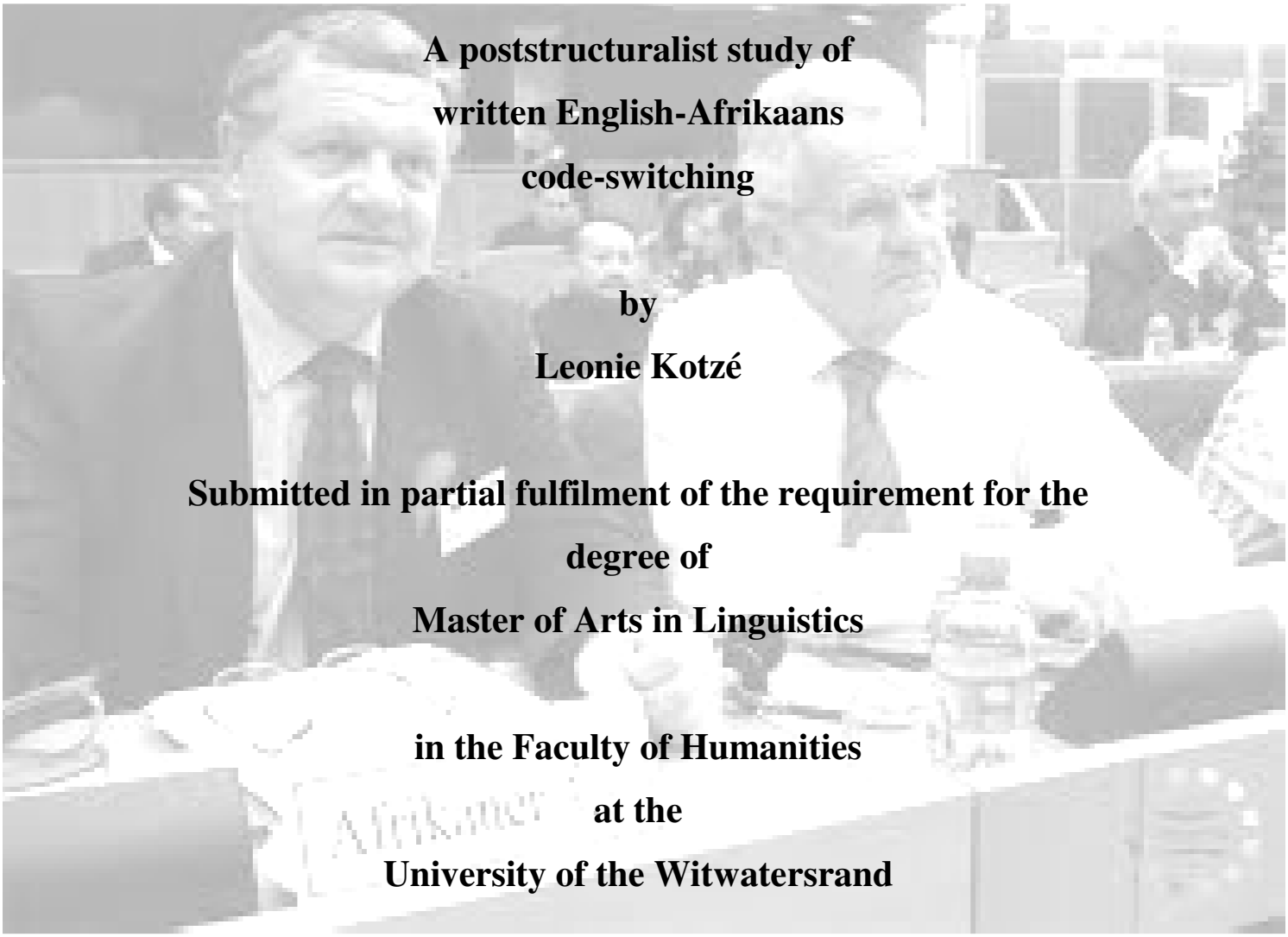
Once a Boertjie, always a Boertjie? a poststructuralist study of written English-Afrikaans code-switching.

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ONCE A BOERTJIE,
ALWAYS A BOERTJIE?



A poststructuralist study of
written English-Afrikaans
code-switching

by

Leonie Kotzé

Submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirement for the degree of
Master of Arts in Linguistics

in the Faculty of Humanities
at the
University of the Witwatersrand

Supervisor: Professor T. Milani

DECLARATION

I, Leonie Kotzé, hereby declare that this is my original work. It has never been submitted before for any degree or examination at any other university. I am submitting it for the degree of Master of Arts in Linguistics at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg.
Signed on the 14th day of March, 2013.



LEONIE KOTZÉ

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1 OUTLINE OF THE STUDY

1.1 AIM AND RATIONALE

This study is a sociolinguistic investigation which seeks to tease out the social meaning of Afrikaans within a post-apartheid South Africa by examining the connotations of Afrikaans in written English-Afrikaans code-switching in the *Sunday Times* during the period January to June 2009. The study was prompted by the observation that the continued use of Afrikaans in an English-language newspaper 16 years after the first South African democratic elections is somewhat unusual, particularly when taking into account that Afrikaans was the main vehicle through which Afrikaner nationalism and apartheid were established and maintained (Dlamini, 2009, p. 136). Although Afrikaner nationalism and apartheid as a state ideology fell away after the 1994 South African democratic elections, Afrikaans is generally perceived as a marker of apartheid and oppression. The fact that Afrikaans is still a marker of apartheid is not the only reason, however, that the use of Afrikaans within South Africa's English discourse is unexpected. It is also the socio-historical as well as the current socio-political situation between English and Afrikaans which makes it unusual, since English, which has always carried more prestige than Afrikaans and has always been regarded as the 'language of business' in South Africa (Ponelis, 1998, pp. 27, 45), is currently increasingly favoured as the language of business and education (Nel, 2012; van Dulm, 2007; Ramsay-Brijball, 2004). According to Heugh (2003, p. 28) "very few English-speakers believe that their language rights are compromised" by the change from an apartheid political system to a democratic one in which Bantu languages were afforded official status alongside English and Afrikaans. This is not the case for Afrikaans speaking citizens: many of them fear that Afrikaans will 'die' and for some prominent citizens of South Africa, such as the well-known poet Breyten Breytenbach, the death of Afrikaans is a reality. Breytenbach is of the opinion that "… dit [die dood van Afrikaans] is aan die gebeur" (*it [the death of Afrikaans] is happening)* (Fourie, 2010, p. 1).

In a socio-political setting of this sort one would have expected to see a diminished use of Afrikaans, certainly within the spoken and/or written English discourse of South Africa, yet Afrikaans occurs within the spoken and written discourses of South Africa, not only as the medium of communication within the Afrikaans community, but also as part of the *English*

discourse in South Africa. Afrikaans words and phrases are used in both English formal and informal communicative events, in both private social interactions as well as in public discourse such as billboards, radio, TV, brochures and newspapers. This rather unexpected continued occurrence of English-Afrikaans code-switching warrants investigation.

1.2 THEORETICAL APPROACH

In her reflection on the practice of sociolinguistics Deborah Cameron (2009, pp. 107–110) points out that the field of sociolinguistics has been dominated for a long time by studies which correlated some formal structural aspect of language such as verbal activities, for instance, to human activities. In addition, early sociolinguistic studies, according to Cameron (2009), viewed speech communities as homogeneous and speaker-hearers as 'ideal'. Language was regarded as a tool which speakers 'used' to express their identity and as a 'reflection of society'. Cameron (2009, p. 108) points out that the correlation between structural aspects of language and human activities does not account for the *reason* why people behave linguistically the way they do. She also points out that the idea that speech communities are homogeneous entities in which ideal speaker-hearers exist is a myth which masks the heterogeneous nature of speech communities as well as the reality of language variation and change. The idea that language (simply) reflects society is also a myth, says Cameron (2009), because "language is not an organism or a passive reflection, but a social institution, deeply implicated in culture, in society, in political relations at every level" (Cameron, 2009, p. 117). The intersection of the domains of language, social history, culture and politics should be the focus of sociolinguistics, according to Cameron (2009, p. 117).

Since a poststructuralist approach takes the larger socio-economic, socio-historical, and socio-political processes into consideration, allowing the researcher to work "in more nuanced and context-sensitive ways [than before]" (Pavlenko and Blackledge, 2004, p. 3), this study is conducted within a poststructuralist framework. The main poststructuralist theoretical perspective employed by this study is that of Irvine and Gal (2000), one which proposes that certain associations come into existence between linguistic forms and other social categories in societies. These associations exist, for instance, between linguistic forms such as genres, styles or variety of language, and social phenomena such as ethnicity, gender, sexuality, aesthetics and morality (Milani, T. and Johnson, S., 2010, pp. 2,3). In this way, linguistic forms become 'indexical' or 'iconic' of social phenomena. The indexicality/iconicity ascribed

in society to linguistic forms plays an important role in the *value* afforded to particular language phenomena, because the "production, reproduction and/or contestation of these indexical ties" are the very instruments through which "language phenomena [become] invested with meanings and values" (Milani, T. and Johnson, S., 2010, p. 3). In South Africa, for instance, an indexical/iconic tie exists between Afrikaans and race so that being a mother-tongue Afrikaans speaker is equated with being white (Dlamini, 2009, p. 144, 150; Botha, 2002, p. 15) even though large groups of 'non-whites' are Afrikaans mother-tongue speakers (Dlamini, 2009, p. 137). This example illustrates that indexical/iconic ties are not necessarily a reflection of social reality, but function as social mechanisms through which social meaning, language ideologies and social identities are constructed and maintained.

1.3 METHODOLOGY

Within the sociolinguistic view set out above, this study aims to determine the social meaning of Afrikaans as well as the social identity for the ethnic group 'Afrikaners' in a post-apartheid South Africa. An investigation into the social identity for the ethnic group 'Afrikaners' is included in this study because any sociolinguistic investigation is inevitably about identity (Ramsay-Brijball, 2004, p. 144) and because language is "…the place where our sense of ourselves, our subjectivity, is constructed" (Weedon, 1987, p. 21). For this purpose the different indexical/iconic values of Afrikaans will be determined by examining a corpus of 266 *Sunday Times* newspaper articles for the period January to June 2009 in which written English-Afrikaans code-switching occurred. Irvine and Gal's (2000) notions of iconization, fractal recursivity and erasure will be employed in order to ascertain whether Afrikaans is associated with (or tied to) 'backwardness', 'whiteness' and 'rurality', for example, or conversely, is used in a more creative way in order to go beyond racial boundaries and ethnic associations.

1.4 THE QUANTITATIVE AND QUALITATIVE NATURE OF THE STUDY

The study uses both qualitative as well as quantitative methods in its analysis. The qualitative aspect of the study involves an analysis of the articles in which English-Afrikaans code-switching occurred in order to determine with which social phenomena, i.e. race, ethnicity, locality, gender, religion etc. Afrikaans is associated in the text. Determining such associations between Afrikaans and social phenomena will indicate the indexicality and/or

iconicity of Afrikaans and how this contributes to creating meaning on individual and/or social levels. From a quantitative point of view the frequency with which certain Afrikaans words and/or sentences occur within the data will be used to buttress the qualitative findings of the study.

1.5 REFERENCING: *SUNDAY TIMES* JANUARY TO JUNE 2009 ARTICLES

In the analysis of the *Sunday Times* (January to June 2009) articles, speaker intention was not taken into consideration but rather the associations between Afrikaans and social phenomena. For this reason, as well as for ease of reading, the name of the *Sunday Times* article as well as the date has been provided but page numbers have not not included as these refer to various sections in the *Sunday Times*. Full detail of the *Sunday Times* 2009 articles referenced in this study are provided as a separate entry in the bibliography.

2 LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 INTRODUCTION

Code-switching, a phenomenon of bilingual speech, used to be a neglected field of study but is currently a vast one (Auer, P., 1998, p. 1). Code-switching has been studied from sociolinguistic, psycholinguistic, grammatical, pragmatic and acquisitional perspectives, with publications appearing as chapters in principal volumes, special journal issues, academic papers, case studies as well as master's and doctoral theses (Gardner-Chloros, 2009, pp. 7-13). The current study is conducted within a poststructuralist framework in which language, society and identity are regarded as multi-faceted entities which are constructed within a specific time and place. This view of language, society and identity is a relatively recent view which differs from the previous structuralist approach to language in which language, society and identity were regarded as closed, finite, predetermined categories. Pavlenko and Blackledge (2004, pp. 10-13) feel that sociolinguistic research received solid grounding in poststructuralist theory during the past two decades due to the pioneering work of Gal (1989), Heller (1998, 1995, 1992) and Woolard (1998, 1989, 1985). It must be said from the onset, though, that the terms 'structuralist' and 'poststructuralist' do not refer to clearly defined historical sociolinguistic periods for which clear cut-off dates exist. The use of these terms is not unproblematic, since many theorists working in the pre-poststructuralist period did not necessarily conceive of themselves as 'structuralists' (Woolard, C. 2012[1]). Reference in the literature to structuralism and poststructuralism does not necessarily compare the two approaches with respect to language and identity, nor does it provide clear explanations for the meaning associated with these terms. From Cameron's (2009) work it seems that the term structuralism has its linguistic origin in studies which investigated the correlation between structuralist aspects of language and human activities, but it also seems that it has become a type of umbrella term for linguistic studies in which language and identity are viewed as static, bounded and single-faceted entities. Ana Deumert (2005, p. 114), for instance, describes structuralism as a view in which language is regarded as "a closed unitary and finite rule-system". In the sections below I offer some academic positions gleaned from

[1] Personal email communication, March 28, 2012.

sociolinguistic literature as to the nature of structuralism and poststructuralism as it applies to language, social meaning and social identity, where after I discuss what relevance this has for code-switching.

2.2 FROM STRUCTURALISM TO POSTSTRUCTURALISM

In references to language and identity in the literature referred to in this study, the 'previous' view is often compared to the 'recent' view. Various terms are used to refer to the previous view such as humanist (Pierce, 1995, p. 15), variationist or quantitative (Cameron, 2009, p. 107), traditional (de Fina, A.; Schiffrin, D.; Bamberg, M. (eds.), 2006), socio-psychological (Pavlenko and Blackledge, 2004) and essentialism (van der Waal, 2008b; de Fina, A. et al. (eds.), 2006). Some of these terms, such as 'essentialism' and 'traditional', refer to views of language, while others such as 'socio-psychological' refer to approaches or paradigms in sociolinguistic studies. For Pierce (1995, p. 15) a humanist conception of identity is one where there is a presupposition that each individual possesses a core which is *essential, unique* and *fixed*. Similarly, identity is regarded as *fixed* and *monolithic* in nature in the variationist and quantitative approach, an approach which presupposes that *language reflects society* and that people *use* language to *express* their identities (Cameron, 2009, pp. 106-111). The socio-psychological view assumes that a *one-to-one correlation* between language and ethnic identity exists (Pavlenko and Blackledge, 2004), while the traditional sociolinguistic approach links *existing* social categories with language variables (de Fina et al., 2006, p. 3), and essentialism regards typologies and classifications as *static* and *rigid*, which, in turn, results in deep distinctions and *polar opposites* (Van der Waal, 2008b, p.53).

My own emphasis, indicated in the section above, is intended to highlight some of the main characteristics of the view of language and social identity from a structuralist perspective. It is a view in which language and identity are regarded as static, fixed, predetermined entities which simply reflect society and/or which can be used to express something about societal life. Recent poststructuralist studies have highlighted the limitations of the premises of the structuralist approach by pointing out that previous assumptions made about language and identity are problematic. Essentialism, for instance, does not account for the complexity of differentiation of society, language and identity (Van der Waal, 2008b, p. 54) and humanism views the individual as a unitary, centred being rather than a *diverse*, *contradictory*, *dynamic* and *multi-faceted* one (Pierce, 1995, p. 15).

A poststructuralist approach, by contrast, proposes that language is not an unproblematic marker of ethnic identities (Pavlenko and Blackledge, 2004, p. 11), but that society, language and identity are constantly shaped by one another and are therefore fluid and multi-faceted entities (see for instance De Fina et al., 2006, p. 3, and Otsuji and Pennycook, 2009). Pavlenko and Blackledge (2004, p. 3) are of the opinion that poststructuralism situates language and identity within the larger socio-economic and socio-historical fields, emphasizing the role of power relations within a particular society. In this view, language is seen as symbolic capital which can be used to gain access to power (Bourdieu, 1991, as referred to in the work of Milani, 2007, Pavlenko and Blackledge, 2004, Stroud, 2004 and Heller, 1992). Drawing on the work of social constructionists, Pavlenko and Blackledge (2004) incorporate the discursive construction of identities into a poststructuralist sociolinguistic view, with the result that identity is regarded as hybrid, multi-faceted and constructed at a particular point in time and place. The use of the term poststructuralism in the present study refers, then, to a view of language, social meaning and identity as complex, multi-faceted, fluid, co-constructed entities which are a result of being situated within a given socio-political and socio-historical setting at a specific time.

2.3 THE RELEVANCE OF POSTSTRUCTURALISM TO CODE-SWITCHING

Prior to the discursive turn of the past 15 years during which poststructuralists' views and theories about language and society emerged, code-switching was seen as a unique phenomenon. Heller (1992), however, argues that code-switching forms part of a society's linguistic communicative repertoire and as such is tied to political and economic power in the same way as languages, varieties or dialects are tied to issues of power. Code-switching, says Heller (1992, p. 124), should not be examined in isolation, "but as part of a range of linguistic practices which people create and deploy to accomplish social goals". In the present study English-Afrikaans code-switching is regarded as one of a range of linguistic practices through which members of South African society are able to construct, maintain or resist societal values, and for this reason the poststructuralists' views of language discussed herein are taken to be equally valid for code-switching. However, the notion of 'code-switching' is not without its difficulties, and before a discussion of poststructuralists' theories relevant to this study of code-switching is presented, a brief discussion of the difficulties with respect to code-switching is offered.

2.4 DIFFICULTIES WITH RESPECT TO TERMINOLOGY ASSOCIATED WITH CODE-SWITCHING

2.4.1 The term 'code-switching'

All recent literature on the alternation of languages such as those by Sebba (2012), Bock (2011), Gardner-Chloros (2009), Nilep (2006) and Auer (2003) mention the difficulties in defining code-switching. Nilep (2006) writes that despite the many articles published on code-switching in virtually every branch of linguistics, "scholars do not seem to share a definition of the term [code-switching]" and the distinction between suggested and used terms such as (inter alia) code-switching, code-shifting, language alteration, language interaction, situational switching, metaphorical switching and language mixing are often not clear-cut and not agreed upon by all linguists (see for instance Bock, 2011; Gardner-Chloros, 2009; Auer, 1998). Heller (2007, p. 7) is of the opinion that the term code-switching is "vexed" and that many linguists want to distance themselves from it. The difficulties around the term code-switching seem to arise mainly from disagreement about the meaning of the word 'code' as well as the many ways in which two or more languages/varieties/dialects can be juxtaposed within spoken or written communication. I discuss these two issues in the following sections.

2.4.2 The term 'code'

Within sociolinguistics the term 'code' is generally taken to mean 'language', but Alvarez-Cáccamo (1998, p. 30) points out that the term 'code' has its origins in Information Theory (from the scientific fields of mathematics and electrical engineering). According to Alvarez-Cáccamo (1998, p. 30), code refers to a "*mechanism* for unambiguous transduction of signals between systems" (my emphasis) and it was this meaning that was applied by Jakobson (1961) and Jakobson, Fant and Halle (1952) to speech communication. Speech, in this sense, referred to the "material, physical dimension" of speech and not to communication or message or meaning of the utterance as such. Within this understanding, the original meaning of code was to be understood as a *cognitive mechanism* which enabled speech participants to decode the physical speech (sounds) of others, whether such speech occurred as monolingual or bilingual speech. Codes were not the speech material itself (Alvarez-Cáccamo, 1998, p. 31). In time, however, the term 'code' became conceptualized as the "alternation not only of *languages*, but also of *dialects*, *styles*, *prosodic registers*, *paralinguistic cues*, etc …" (Alvarez-Cáccamo, 1998, pp. 31-32) (my emphasis), with the result that the meaning attached to 'code' became unclear and problematic.

2.4.3 Suggested alternatives for code-switching

Sebba (2012) points out that the very concept of code-switching is problematic. He discusses Li Wei's (2011), Otsuji and Pennycook's (2009) and Jørgenson's (2008) respective ideas on 'languaging', 'translanguaging' and 'metrolingualism' as alternative terms accompanied by alternative understandings for bi-/multilingual communication. 'Languaging' involves the use of linguistic resources available to language users even in cases where the language users may have limited knowledge of one or more of the linguistic systems which they appropriate, while 'translanguaging' refers to "going between different linguistic structures and systems" (Sebba, 2012, p. 26). Alvarez-Cáccamo (1998) suggests that the notion of code should be replaced with the idea that various linguistic resources are socially distributed and available to speakers in the construction of social meaning and identity, an idea which is also put forward by Otsuji and Pennycook (2009, p. 2), who argue that:

> A recent movement in bi and multilingual studies has been to shift away from a focus on how distinct codes are switched or mixed, in favour of an interest in how boundaries and distinctions are the results of particular language ideologies and how language users manipulate the multilingual resources they have available to them.

Otsuji and Pennycook (2009) feel that the term metrolingualism is a more useful term to refer to bi- and multilingual speech than any reference to switching between languages. For Otsuji and Pennycook (2009) metrolingualism refers to the way in which people from different cultural and linguistic backgrounds play with and negotiate identities through the use of language(s) which are not regarded as their mother tongue in the traditional sense. The notion of metrolingualism does not presuppose connections between languages, culture, identities etc., but is, according to Otsuji and Pennycook (2009, p. 7), concerned with "languages as emergent from context of interaction" and not on the language system itself. They also point out that multilingualism should be complexified rather than pluralized. They illustrate the complexity of multilingualism through their respondents' use of Japanese and English conversations at their workplace in Australia, where none of the speech participants are Japanese in the traditional sense of the word, i.e. they are not Japanese mother-tongue speakers. Otsuji and Pennycook (2009) point out that metrolingualism makes provision for the crossing of 'fuzzy' language boundaries and for flexible identities, but takes the static aspect of fixed identity markers into consideration, so that metrolingualism is "conceived as

the paradoxical practice and space where fixity, discreteness, fluidity, hybridity, locality and globality coexist and co-constitute each other" (Otsuji and Pennycook, 2009, p. 13).

2.4.4 Difficulties in terms of the juxtaposition of two of more 'languages' in communication

Auer (1999) points out that the languages in language alternation can be juxtaposed in different ways. The juxtaposition could take the form of the insertion of one language's single lexemes into the other language, or it could take the form of phrase and sentences which are alternated regularly so that the resultant communication is a 'balanced' mix of two languages and the main[2] language of communication becomes difficult to determine. Auer (1999) therefore feels that a typology for language alternation could be suggested. Based on the way in which languages are juxtaposed, Auer (1999) differentiates between code-switching, language mixing and fused lects, and he conceives of these three types as language alternation 'prototypes'. According to Auer (1999), code-switching is the juxtapositioning of two codes/languages in a way that is perceived as locally meaningful. Meaning, in Auer's (1999) terms, refers here to the situation where the alternation between languages/codes is interpretable as indexing some aspect of the situation or some feature of the speaker. Auer (1999, p. 310) is therefore of the opinion that language alternation is a strategy available to communicative participants to convey meaning. It can change the footing of a conversation (i.e. the relationship between speech participants within a certain space and time frame (Wine, 2008)) but it is not a variety on its own, and balanced proficiency between the juxtaposed languages is not a prerequisite for communicators.

Auer (1999) distinguishes two types of code-switching, namely 'alternational', which involves a switch from one language to the next, and then a switch back to the original language, and 'insertional', which involves the insertion of a content word, usually a noun and/or a verb into a surrounding passage in the other language. The insertion may be morpho-syntactically fully integrated such as the verb *klap* (slap/smack) in this study's *Sunday Times* 2009 data which appears as *klapped* or *klapping* in instances where the English grammar

[2] Cognizance is taken of the difficulties associated with the so-called main language (the matrix language in Myers-Scotton's term (Myers-Scotton, 1993)), but adressing this problem falls outside the scope of this study.

requires it. An English-Afrikaans example from the data of what Auer (1999) regards as insertional code-switching would be:

> "Your eyes look like you need a good klap [slap/smack]." As I duck, Johan, the skraal [thin policeman from Pretoria, pulls up in his off duty Corolla.
>
> (Portrait of a love bird, 21 Jun. 2009)

For Auer (1999) language mixing differs from code-switching in that the alternation is regarded as a recurring pattern in the particular society or within the specific communicative event. Switches between the alternating languages frequently take the form of sentences and phrases, and it is therefore difficult to determine what the main language of interaction is. Language mixing, according to Auer (1999), requires a higher bilingual competency than code-switching. An example from the *Sunday Times* data which can be regarded as language mixing in Auer's (1999) terms is:

> Our spies have been hard at work, and they claim to have stumbled across an intriguing conversation between two ladies with a prominent former rugby player in common. **"***Ek hoor jy's van Bulgarye?***"** ("I hear you are from Bulgaria?") the one lady is said to have inquired, **"***Nee, ek's van Pretoria, maar ek het al 'n Bul gery ja!*" "(No, I'm from Pretoria but I have ridden a bull, yes!") the other said.
>
> (Heaven's XV will be stronger now, 12 Apr. 2009)

Fused lects, according to Auer (1999), are mixed varieties which have become stabilized. The Afrikaans variety spoken by the South African Cape coloureds might be an example of a fused lect in Auer's (1999) terms, since this vernacular (McCormick's, 2009, term) consists of the alternation of English and Afrikaans (see McCormick, 2009, for examples of this vernacular). Auer (1999, p. 315) is of the opinion that language mixing does not seem to have local meaning, and that the alternating use is in itself the "*language*-of-interaction" (original emphasis). Auer's (1999) suggested typology for code-switching is summarized in the table below.

Table 1: TYPOLOGY OF BILINGUAL SPEECH

Compiled from: Auer, P. (1999). From code switching via language mixing to fused lects: Toward a dynamic typology of bilingual speech. *International Journal of Bilingualism,* 3, 309-332.

CODE-SWITCHING	**LANGUAGE MIXING**	**FUSED LECTS**
Juxtapositioning of two codes/languages in a way that is perceived as locally meaningful; Indexing some aspect of the situation or some feature of the speaker; therefore it is a Strategy available to communicative participants to convey meaning; Can change the footing of a conversation; not a variety on its own; Balanced proficiency between the juxtaposed languages not a prerequisite for communicators. **TWO TYPES OF CODE-SWITCHING:** **Alternational Code-switching** Involves a switch from one language to the next; and then a switch back to the original language. **Insertional Code-switching** Involves the insertion of a content word, usually a noun and/or a verb into a surrounding passage in the other language; The insertion may be morpho-syntactically fully integrated.	Alternation regarded as a recurring pattern in the particular society or within the specific communicative event; Switches between the alternating languages frequently constitutes sentences and phrases; therefore Difficult to determine the main language of interaction; Requires a higher bilingual competency than code-switching.	Mixed varieties which have become stabilized; Do not seem to have local meaning; Alternating use is in itself the "*language*-of-interaction" (original emphasis).

Although Auer's (1999) typology appears very attractive, it does pose some difficulties. In the first instance, the typology suggests three distinct categories for bilingual speech, but actual produced communication might straddle the three categories on the suggested continuum. In South Africa, for instance, communication frequently contains characteristics of both code-switching and language mixing in that insertional code-switching (single word insertions) and language mixing (phrases and sentences) co-occur in a single utterance/text with such communication being a recurring pattern (language mixing). In the second instance, Auer's statement that code-switching indexes some feature of the speaker is problematic since such features are often assumptions made by the researcher or analyst and might differ from the speaker's perception of him-/herself.

A third problem is Auer's (1999) statement that language mixing and fused lects have little or no local meaning where meaning should be understood as "indexing some aspects of the situation […], or some feature of the code-switching speaker" (Auer, 1999, p. 310) (see also Sebba, 2012)). Such an understanding of meaning poses a problem for the South African Cape coloured vernacular (McCormick, 2009), for instance, if this vernacular is regarded as a fused lect in terms of Auer's (1999) typology for language, as it would imply that this vernacular has little or no meaning. While it might be true that the Cape coloured vernacular might not index new, unusual or perhaps unexpected meaning in terms of its communicative/social situation, or some feature of the code-switching speaker since it *is* simply the vernacular used by the coloured community to communicate, I would argue that such a view of meaning in terms of a fused lect is valid only within a particular time, place and community and that the use of such a fused lect outside its temporal-spatial social setting could be interpreted as meaningful in terms of some aspect of the situation or some feature of the speaker. If, for instance, the Cape coloured vernacular is spoken in Gauteng by a white person, such use of the vernacular (or fused lect in Auer's, 1999, terms) could be interpretable as meaningful and could index some aspect of the speaker, such as that such speaker lived or grew up in the Cape or has coloureds as parents or family, for instance. I would furthermore argue, from a poststructuralist perspective, that *any* code is indexical of some social phenomenon, because it is infused with some specific social meaning. Therefore any communicative mode, whether it is monolingual or multilingual in nature, whether categorized as language mixing or a fused lect, is meaningful because it remains a socially constructed phenomenon which is infused with certain values through sociolinguistic

activities such as associations made between it and particular social phenomena relevant to its socio-political and socio-historical setting.

2.5 WRITTEN CODE-SWITCHING

Very little research has been done to date on written code-switching with the result that no theories specifically designed for written code-switching exist (Sebba, 2011, p. 1). Specifically designed theories applicable to written code-switching are needed, since elements such as gestures, tone and facial expression are, to a large extent, absent in written code-switching. Moreover, visual aspects, such as font size, colour, headings, and the placement of written (code-switching) texts such as advertisement and articles within larger written texts that should form part of the analyses of written code-switching texts, according to Sebba (2012), are not accounted for in theories on spoken code-switching. Sociolinguistic research on written code-switching has been done by investigating texts such as emails, bilingual letters, diasporic web forums, newspaper articles, posters, advertisement and web pages (Sebba, 2012, p.2, 3), and most of this research has drawn on the theories of spoken code-switching. The bulk of this research, according to Sebba (2012, p. 1 & 3), has applied one of three models, i.e. those of Auer (1984, 1995, 1998, 2010), Myers-Scotton (1993), Gumperz (1982) and Blom and Gumperz (1972). Gumperz's model includes the notions of contextualization cues, the difference between situational and metaphorical switching as well as a typology of discourse functions of code-switching. A contextualization cue is any linguistic form which indicates some aspect of contextual presuppositions (Sebba, 2012, p. 35). Situational code-switching refers to the distinct 'codes' used in different settings and with different speech participants, for instance, while metaphorical code-switching refers to communication where speech participants communicate metaphoric information on how they want their utterances to be understood, based on their understanding of the situational norms (Sebba, 2012, p. 35). Myers-Scotton's Markedness Model (1993) focuses on speaker intention in that speakers know which rights and obligations are applicable in a communicative event and how a switch in code will affect such rights and obligations. Auer's 'conversational model' focuses on the "implicativeness of language choice in conversation" (Auer, 1984, p. 5), which means that the language choice made by speakers in turn exerts an influence on the subsequent languages choices of speakers within that specific conversational setting (Wei, 2005, p. 276).

The opposition between spoken and written communication currently poses some problems for the linguist, both in terms of the actual term as well as for the study field of code-switching. Li Wei (2005b, p. 276), for instance, feels that sociolinguistic and socio-pragmatic studies of code-switching of the 'ideological turn', which takes concepts such as power, authority, prestige and gender into consideration as possible explanations for code-switching, have drawn researchers away from the fact that code-switching is essentially a *conversational* activity. This means that language alternation in written texts cannot readily be regarded as code-switching per se (which in turns brings us back to the problem about a suitable term for language alternation in multilingual settings) and theories and models proposed in terms of (spoken) code-switching cannot be applied to the use of two or more languages in a written text. Sebba (2012, p. 4) feels that Auer's (1994) conversational model is suitable for spoken code-switching, but not practical to apply to non-interactive written texts, since the central notion of 'sequentiality' in Auer's (1994) model (Sebba, 2012, p. 4), i.e. the role played by the sequence of interlocutors' responses to one another, cannot be applied to *non-interactive* written texts. Sebba (2012, p. 4) also points out that Auer's (1999) requirement for the term code-switching as it appears in his proposal for a code-switching typology,[3] where 'code-switching' should be "perceived and interpreted as a locally meaningful event" (Auer, 1999, p. 310), no longer suffices for some instances of language alternation in non-interactive text types, since "there is no text-internal or text-external way of establishing [how participants interpret the juxtaposition of different languages]" (Sebba, 2012, p. 4). The problem which Sebba (2012) raises here can possibly be overcome if the focus is moved away from how *participants* experience or interpret utterances as meaningful, and is placed rather on the emergent *communication* (whether spoken or written) as 'meaningful', interpretable, shaped by the social context in which it occurs while simultaneously shaping the social context, as, inter alia, Cameron (2009), Heller (2007), Irvine and Gal (2000) and Alvarez-Cáccamo (1998) suggest. An analysis of code-switching in which the main focus falls on the meaning of the emergent communicative text rather than on speaker intentions and addressee interpretations would require an analysis which is text-based, and this is indeed the type of analysis offered by Sebba (2012) in his analysis of written texts. The methodology followed in the present study is also text-based, as the focus falls on the *relation* between the inserted Afrikaans lexical item/phrase/sentence and social phenomena as it appears in the text. Speaker intention

[3] See the summary of Auer's (1999) suggested typology for codeswitching on page 12.

and addressee interpretation are not taken into consideration, but the larger socio-historical, socio-political and sociolinguistic contexts in which the texts are produced are taken into consideration.

2.6 THE PRESENT STUDY

As already mentioned, research on written code-switching has not received much attention to date and it appears that research on code-switching between English and Afrikaans is equally scarce, as the discussion in section 2.7 will show. Against the backdrop of the scarcity of research in terms of both written code-switching and English-Afrikaans code-switching, the current study was undertaken to investigate written English-Afrikaans code-switching as it occurs in the *Sunday Times* (January to June 2009) with the aim of determining possible meanings of Afrikaans established through associations between Afrikaans and social phenomena.

2.6.1 USE OF THE TERM CODE-SWITCHING FOR THE PRESENT STUDY

The 266 *Sunday Times* 2009 articles which were investigated for this study are those which contain Afrikaans words, sentences and phrases within the English medium of the newspaper. The data therefore constitutes bilingual texts in which English and Afrikaans are alternated, but it challenges the notion of code-switching in that the dividing line between English and Afrikaans is not a clear-cut one. According to poststructuralist studies the boundaries between languages are fuzzy, and this does indeed seems to be the case for the data of this study, as many of the Afrikaans words which occur in the data such as *ag* (ah, oh), *boep* (paunch), *dop* (alcoholic drink), *gooi* (throw), *kak* (shit), *klap* (hit, slap), *donner* (beat aggressively) and *gatvol* (fed-up) are listed on websites such as Urban Dictionary as South African *English* slang. This means that a text, whether spoken or written, which contains the aforementioned Afrikaans words might be regarded as part of a variety of South African *English* even though the words might not be integrated into what is considered 'standard' English. This situation illustrates the fuzziness of the boundaries between Afrikaans and English, since the assumed clear dividing line between English and Afrikaans becomes unclear when Afrikaans becomes part of everyday English usage. The situation also raises the question as to whether the term code-switching should be used to refer to the data of this study. In section 2.4 above I have discussed some of the problems associated with the term and the concept 'code-switching',

but addressing this problem in full and suggesting a suitable, alternative term for both spoken and written texts in which two or more languages alternate falls outside the scope of this study. For this reason, and in the absence of an alternative, agreed-upon term in the academic sphere, and in view of the continued use of the term by current sociolinguists such Sebba (2012) and (Heller, M., 2007) as well as those in academia whose work is discussed in section 2.7 below, I have persisted with using the term 'code-switching' (albeit somewhat reluctantly) to refer to the English-Afrikaans data. I do, however take full cognizance of the fact that the term is problematic and that studies need to be undertaken to determine (an) alternative and satisfactory term(s) for referring to multilingual texts.

2.7 RESEARCH IN TERMS OF CODE-SWITCHING BETWEEN ENGLISH AND AFRIKAANS

Most of the available literature on code-switching between English and Afrikaans focuses on the use of English within Afrikaans. Recent studies conducted in terms of *Afrikaans-English spoken code-switching* include Gerald Stell's (2010) investigation into white and coloured identities in Afrikaans-English spoken code-switching, Joanine Nel's (2012) research on the "Grammatical and Socio-Pragmatic Aspects of Conversational Code-switching by Afrikaans-English Bilingual Children" and Bowers's (2006) master's dissertation entitled "Grammatical Constraints and Motivations for English/Afrikaans Codeswitching: Evidence from a Local Radio Talk Show". Research in terms of *spoken English-Afrikaans code-switching* includes Kay McCormick's (2003) work on the vernacular of the residents of Cape Town's District Six, Ondine van Dulm's (2007) doctoral thesis on English-Afrikaans intrasentential code-switching and Zannie Bock's (2011) analysis of the function of Afrikaans in English-Afrikaans code-switching in transcripts of selected testimonies given at the Truth and Reconciliation Commission. The only study which might be considered a study on *written* code-switching is that of Kate van Gass (2008), in which the use of Afrikaans in Afrikaans-English code-switching in terms of internet relay chat (IRC) was investigated. However, Sebba (2012, p. 3) points out that texts such as letters, emails and web forums are generally regarded as written texts but resemble spoken conversation, and Van Gass's (2008) study therefore investigates code-switching in a written medium which resembles spoken conversation. For this reason uncertainty exists as to whether Van Gass's (2008) work should be regarded as a study in written code-switching per se.

Two very recent articles which, like the present study, aimed to investigate the value of Afrikaans, are those of Milani and Shaikjee (in press). One article by Milani and Shaikjee (in press) investigated the meaning of Afrikaans outside the borders of South Africa by examining the postings of the Afrikaans discussion board on the BBC voices *Multilingual Nation* forum, while the other article concerned itself with the presence of rationalization in heated ideological debates about the value of Afrikaans. The present study differs from these in that Milani and Shaikjee's (in press) studies are mainly metalinguistic studies with the focus on bloggers' ideas *about* Afrikaans. The current study also differs from those of Milani and Shaikjee (in press) and other studies referred to in the preceding paragraphs of this section in that it investigates the value/meaning of Afrikaans by determining the *associations* between Afrikaans and other social phenomena in *written* code-switching, occurring in texts which d*o not resemble spoken code-switching.* As this study aims to tease out the social meaning of Afrikaans in a post-apartheid South Africa I now turn to recent studies relevant to the notion of 'social identity'.

2.8 SOCIAL IDENTITY

Linguists' concern with 'social identity' has "only recently taken on a central role in sociolinguistic thinking" (Auer, 2003, p. 403). Recent studies on social identity include the work of Pavlenko and Blackledge (2004), Stroud (2004) and Irvine and Gal (2000). Pavlenko and Blackledge's work (2004) is concerned with assumed, imposed and negotiable identities, Stroud (2004) is concerned with the performativity of code-switching in the construction of social identity, and Irvine and Gal (2000) propose the notion of iconization, fractal recursivity and erasure as semiotic processes in the negotiation of identities. The premises of the theories proposed by these linguists are all relevant for the present study, but Irvine and Gal's (2000) notion of indexicality, iconization, fractal recursivity and erasure forms the overarching framework for this study.

2.8.1 Assumed, Imposed and Negotiable identities – Pavlenko and Blackledge (2004)

Pavlenko and Blackledge (2004) point out that the relationship between language and identity is a complex one, because language can be used in society as a marker of national identity, as a form of symbolic capital or as a means of social control. At times, these roles are interconnected (Pavlenko and Blackledge, 2004, p. 2). Drawing on the work of Pierre

Bourdieu (1977, 1982, and 1991), Pavlenko and Blackledge (2004) compare the sociolinguistic sphere within communities with a 'linguistic market', one in which speech participants can convert their symbolic capital into economic and social capital. The language varieties which are used for 'symbolic trading' are not equal in value: their respective values are derived "from [their] legitimation by the dominant group and the dominant institutions, in particular schools and the media" (Pavlenko and Blackledge, 2004, p. 10). Pavlenko and Blackledge (2004) argue that a range of identity options become available to members of a particular society as a result of the cultural and linguistic diversity within the societal market, but because the values of the linguistic varieties are unequal, (identity) negotiations ensue, both publicly and privately (Pavlenko and Blackledge, 2004, p. 3). Pavlenko and Blackledge's (2004) views of language and identity can be illustrated by Dlamini's (2009) chapter entitled "Native Nostalgia" in which he relates how Afrikaans, the language of the oppressor and of power (Dlamini, 2009, pp. 135, 136), served as the means through which he (and other black students) gained education (Dlamini, 2009, p. 136). Afrikaans, in this sense, could be seen as 'symbolic capital' which could be traded for advancement in education and obtaining employment. Furthermore, the cultural and linguistic diversity of South Africa opened up the possibility for many black citizens who spoke Afrikaans to claim the identities of 'clevers', 'old timers', 'hipness', 'jazz' and 'urban blacks' among themselves through the use of Afrikaans (Dlamini, 2009, pp. 137, 138). Even a disdain for Afrikaans and a refusal to admitting one's ability to speak the language served as an identity marker of a "wannabe revolutionary" among black students during the apartheid era (Dlamini, 2009, p. 137). Dlamini's (2009) account of his and other black people's experience with Afrikaans also illustrates the negotiations (and struggles) which can arise from cultural and linguistic inequality, since Afrikaans as the medium of instruction was never accepted by black South African citizens and the public revolt against this situation in 1976 is a well-known revolutionary event in the socio-political history of South Africa.

Pavlenko and Blackledge (2004) distinguish three different types of identities, namely *imposed*, *assumed* and *negotiable* identities. *Imposed* identities are those in which negotiations are denied or prohibited by some form of authority. The classification of all Asian and Indian citizens of South Africa in 1950 according to the Population Registration Act, Act 30 of 1950, as 'coloured' (Kommisie van Ondersoek, 1976, p. 3) is an example of an imposed identity. *Assumed* identities are accepted and therefore not negotiated, while *negotiable* identities are the ones that become the object of contestation and struggle. Because

identity options and negotiations can change over time, Pavlenko and Blackledge (2004, p. 22) suggest that an investigation into the negotiation of identities should be approached from a socio-historical perspective.

To show the ways in which identities are produced and negotiated, Pavlenko and Blackledge (2004) propose a framework which is based on Davies and Harré's (1990) positioning theory. Positioning, according to Davies and Harré (1990, p. 48) is the "discursive process whereby selves are located in conversations as observably and subjectively coherent participants in jointly produced story lines". Two types of positioning are defined – i.e. *interactive* positioning, which occurs when one person positions the other by his/her utterance, and *reflexive* positioning, which occurs when one positions oneself. The interactive positioning of communicative 'receivers' by speech producers is not determined by the content of the speaker's utterance or the intention of the speaker, but by the "extent that it [the utterance] is taken up as such by all participants" (Davies & Harré, 1990, p. 45). This means that speech participants may reject or contest the position afforded to them by others (or themselves), and, in doing so, negotiate an acceptable identity position.

2.8.2 Citationality and Performativity – Christopher Stroud (2004)

Stroud (2004) aptly shows how speech participants reject and contest conventional linguistic ideologies and identities in his analysis of Portuguese-Ronga code-switching in an interaction in a market in Mozambique by illustrating how one of the participants constructs herself as an authoritative speaker by speaking Portuguese (the official language). Nonetheless, this speaker and her fellow conversationalists use Portuguese in such a way that they reconstitute it as a language through which "to carry meanings and construct identities in *direct opposition* to those conventionally associated with the language of the elites" (Stroud, 2004, p. 154) (my emphasis). Stroud points out that the values afforded to Portuguese and Ronga in his code-switching data is only slightly related to their values "on official markets" (Stroud, 2004, p. 149). This illustrates that the values of Portuguese and Ronga, in this instance, obtain their values from the *manner* in which they are *appropriated* as well as the socio-political context in which they are used.

Stroud (2004) draws on Judith Butler's theory of performativity for the analysis of his code-switching data and states that according to Butler's (1994) theory, language and identities

"gain [their] conventional meanings through processes or repetition, constrained within a certain space of regulated semiotic options" (Stroud, 2004, p. 149). The notion of repetition (also referred to as "citationality/iterability" (Stroud, 2004, p. 149)) is central to the theory of performativity, because reinterpretation and resignification becomes possible when an utterance is repeated. Stroud (2004, p. 150) puts it in the following way:

> The temporal distance between an utterance and its repetition, and the fact that an utterance is beyond the control of its speaker means that it is inherently subject to reinterpretation and resignification by other in new contexts …

Stroud (2004, p. 149) argues that the women's speech in his data can be interpreted "as acts of subversive resignification". This finding was obtained by examining his Portuguese-Ronga code-switching data in terms of Harvey's (1998, 2000) four semiotic strategies: *parody*, *paradox*, *ludicrism* and *inversion.* In his study Stroud (2004) shows, for instance, how Portuguese is *parodied* by the Mozambican women when they index and exaggerate Portuguese as the language of power while they simultaneously create a *paradox* by reappropriating Portuguese by infusing it with meaning that is in opposition to the conventional meaning associated with Portuguese (Stroud, 2004, pp. 152-155).

2.8.3 Iconization, Fractal recursivity and Erasure – Irvine and Gal (2000)

The way in which linguistic forms happen to be associated with social phenomena, such as Portuguese being associated with power and elitism in the current Mozambican society, forms the focus of research done in Africa and Europe by Irvine and Gal (2000). Irvine and Gal's (2000) work is concerned with the oppositions/differences between languages in a given social setting. They are particularly concerned with the way in which people's perceptions about language and language differences are mapped onto people, events and activities (Irvine and Gal, 2000, p. 35) and, in doing so, construct different linguistic ideologies on which social identities, in turn, are constructed. For Irvine and Gal (2000), an ideology is people's conceptual schemas which have become "suffused with the political and moral issues pervading the particular sociolinguistic field and [which] are subject to the interest of their bearers' social position" (Irvine & Gal, 2000, p. 35). The semiotic processes iconicity, fractal recursivity and erasure are the ways in which ideologies

> locate, interpret, and rationalize sociolinguistic complexity, identifying linguist varieties with "typical" persons and activities and accounting for the differentiations among them. (Irvine and Gal, 2000, p. 36)

All three semiotic process are concerned with the way in which people perceive of sign relations (links) between linguistic forms and social phenomena (Irvine and Gal, 2000, p. 37) and indexicality seems to be the first step (although not explicitly identified as such by Irvine & Gal, 2000) as the basis on which sign relations are established. In an indexical sign relation, linguistic forms, such as whole languages, dialects, varieties of languages or individual words come to index (point to) social phenomena of a social group such as their typical activities, ethnicity, race, religious convictions, gender, social identities and even habitat/location or place of birth. However, speech participants come to rationalize and justify the indexical links and in doing so create ideological constructions in which the linguistic form is regarded as the *reason* for behavioural and moral differences between social groups (Irvine and Gal, 2000, p. 37). In the South African context, for instance, Afrikaans is indexical of the social group *Afrikaners* and this linguistic feature of the social group is regarded as the reason why Afrikaners are different in behaviour and moral convictions from the Zulus, for instance. Recognition is given to the fact that different languages among social groups do set them apart from each other, but it is not the *language* that has made them different, but rather the different social ideologies which come about within a society, and although language does play a role in the construction of social ideologies, it is not the sole reason for differences between social groups.

A second step in the formation of a linguistic ideology and social identity is iconization, which is the *transformation* of the indexical sign relationship so that it appears as if the linguistic forms "somehow depicted or displayed a social group's inherent nature or essence" (Irvine and Gal, 2000, p. 37). The transformation of the sign relationship seems to entail the process of 'naturalization', a process in which ideological representations obtain the status of 'common sense' (see also Milani, 2010, p. 120; Fairclough, 1995, p. 42). For South Africa's society, iconization would mean that there is an acceptance among its members that everyone knows that a Zulu mother-tongue speaker is a black person and an Afrikaans speaker is a white person.

The process of fractal recursivity, according to Irvine and Gal (2000, p. 38) is the "projection of an opposition, salient at some level of relationship, onto some other level". The opposition referred to here is societal oppositions, which are a result of the process of iconization, because the process of iconization groups individuals together on the basis of allegedly shared characteristics (Milani, 2010, p. 120). During the apartheid era, fractal recursivity occurred when the oppositions created between white and black Afrikaans speakers were transformed onto other domains, such as the domain of religion, so that being a white Afrikaans speaker meant being a Christian, while the majority of 'non-whites' were generally considered non-Christians, a view which can most likely be attributed to historical iconic processes in which blacks were associated with heathenism (Van Jaarsveld, 1971, p. 44). Fractal recursivity occurred within the Christian faith itself, since the Dutch Reformed Church, for example, which "functioned *de facto*, if not *de jure* as the official [Afrikaans] state church" until 1986, set up different religious structures for different racial groups such as whites, blacks, coloureds and Indians (Chapman, 2003, p. 7). The linguistic term "*Sendingkerk*" (Mission Church) was used to refer to coloured followers of the Dutch Reformed Church (Giliomee, 1995b, p. 90), while the Afrikaans term for Dutch Reformed Church, i.e. 'NG-kerk' (< Nederduits Gereformeerde Kerk/Dutch) was used to refer to white members of this denomination.

Erasure, the process by which "some persons or activities (or sociolinguistic phenomena) [are rendered] invisible", is the third semiotic process in Irvine and Gal's (2000) theory of language ideologies and social identities formation. During the apartheid era the term Afrikaans came to be iconic of white, Afrikaans-speaking citizens of South Africa (see for instance Orman, 2008; Vestergaard, 2001, p. 26;Giliomee, 1995a, p. 206), but the all 'non-white' Afrikaans-speaking citizens – there were approximately 445 000 'brown'[4] Afrikaans-speaking citizens in 1904 (Raidt, 1991, p. 112) and 3.5 million around 2000 (Alberts, Botha, & Kapp, 2010, p. 7) – were excluded/erased as a result of this iconic relation. This example illustrates how ideologies can obscure/erase the reality of both societal and individual life.

Irvine and Gal's (2000) notions of iconicity, fractal recursivity and erasure form the over-arching theoretical framework for this study. These two theorists also advocate that

[4] Raidt's (1991 term).

sociolinguistic studies which aim to investigate the nature and/or construction of social identities should take the historical socio-cultural, socio-economic and socio-political context in which the study is being conducted into consideration, since the historical context contributed in shaping the specific sociolinguistic scene under investigation (Irvine and Gal, 2000, p. 36). These factors are also important for any analysis of code-switching, because Stroud (2004) points out that an analysis of code-switching should be formulated in terms of the specific socio-cultural, socio-economic and socio-political context in which the code-switching occurs, as different contexts "generate symbolically different codeswitching practices" (Stroud, 2004, p. 146). It is, of course, not possible to provide a comprehensive South African historical and/or current socio-political and sociolinguistic account within in the confines of this study, but a very brief overview of the South African history with the focus on the linguistic situation between Afrikaans and English is provided. The ideas expressed in the historical overview are based on the work of Orman (2008), Kannemeyer (2005), Giliomee (2003), Raidt (1991) and Van Jaarsveld (1971). Irvine and Gal's (2000) semiotic process, discussed above, is incorporated into the historical overview in order to illustrate how some of the current indexical ties and iconic relations between social phenomena and Afrikaans can be traced back to historical events in South Africa's development.

3 AFRIKAANS AND THE AFRIKANER

3.1 HISTORICAL OVERVIEW

The beginning of South Africa's recorded history, including its linguistic history, is generally taken to have commenced on 6 April 1652 when Jan van Riebeeck, a Dutch officer of the *Generale Vereenighde Nederlantsche Geoctroyeerde Oostindische Compagnie* (VOC) landed at what is known today as the Cape of Good Hope. Van Riebeeck's instructions were to establish a half-way station between Europe (particularly the Netherlands) and India so that ships travelling between the two destinations could stop at the Cape of Good Hope for fresh food. The idea was that Dutch officials would man the Cape, both military and economically for this purpose. What transpired instead was the development of a small community, in part stimulated by the importation of slaves (Raidt, 1991, pp. 89-90) and the arrival of immigrants (Van Jaarsveld, 1971, p. 40). To meet the sailors' ever-increasing demand for fresh meat and vegetables and in an attempt to make the developing 'settlement' self-sufficient in terms of basic needs such as food, Van Riebeeck allowed nine officials to leave the employ of the VOC in 1657 (Kannemeyer (2005); Van Jaarsveld (1971)) to practise farming. Van Riebeeck allocated small farms to these nine officials, who were called '*vryburgers*' (literally: 'free citizens'), whose duty it was to provide fresh food and meat to the VOC. They soon became known internationally as a '*Boerevolk*' (farming nation) (Van Jaarsveld, 1971, p. 38) and by 1707 members of the community who decided to remain at the Cape rather than return to Europe started referring to themselves as 'Afrikaners' (literally meaning 'people/person from Africa', Africans[5]) (Raidt, 1991, p. 90) (Kannemeyer, 2005, p. 21).

3.1.1 Indexicality, recursivity and erasure in terms of South African history

The construction of social identity through the semiotic processes of indexicality, recursivity and erasure proposed by Irvine and Gal (2000) can be illustrated in the synoptic description

[5] Note that although the literal translation for 'Afrikaners' would be 'Africans', the term 'Africans' is quite often understood to refer more specifically to black people from Africa (see for instance the definitions for 'African' provided in the *Collins Concise Dictionary* (Fifth Edition, 2001), which states that 'African' indicates a person from Africa, especially a black person, and *Pharos Tweetalige Woordeboek: Bilingual Dictionary* (1984), which translates 'Africanization' into "*verswarting*" (the process of becoming black). See also Giliomee (2003, p. 23).

above of South Africa's socio-political and sociolinguistic development in the first half of its first century, since the words *vryburgers*, *boere* and *Afrikaners* came to *index* a specific group of people. In this early South African setting, *vryburgers* no longer indicated the literal meaning of the word i.e. *free citizens*, *boere* no longer indicated any farmer, and *Afrikaner* did not refer to indigenous people from Africa. Instead, the words *vryburgers* and *boere* became indexical of only white European (mainly Dutch) farmers who were given land by the VOC and who were allowed to practise farming.

Fractal recursivity, which is the process by which an opposition on one level is projected onto another level, occurred at a racial level (based here on skin colour), because other racial groups such as the Khoikhoi were not included in the indexicality of *vryburgers* and *boere*, thereby effectively *erasing* non-European races from the meaning of *vryburgers* and *boere*, whether such races were themselves free citizens or farmers. The term *Afrikaner*, which was used at the beginning of the eighteenth century to refer to indigenous people, offspring of natives and slaves, or free blacks (Giliomee, 2003, p. 23), soon became indexical of white Europeans, mainly from Dutch descent, who lived at the Cape. Fractal recursivity occurred here as well on a racial level, since the term was used to set the Dutch community at the Cape apart from European Dutchmen (Van Jaarsveld, 1971, pp. 39, 43), and, of course, by the late 1700s the term *Afrikaner* no longer included reference to 'non-white' races present at the Cape such as the Malay slaves and the Khoikhoi (Giliomee, 2003, p. 52).

The 'first' Afrikaners, then, were mainly Dutchmen who spoke Dutch and who had a strong Dutch cultural background. As Calvinistic Protestants they were also strongly religious, and part of their religious convictions was that intermingling with individuals from other races who were not 'Christians' was not allowed by God. Non-Christian individuals who converted to Christianity were regarded as equals and intermingling in such cases was permitted. As most of the non-Christian races whom the Protestants came across in their various world-wide quests were 'non-whites', the word 'Christian' came to index 'white', while the word 'heathen' came to index 'non-white' (Van Jaarsveld, 1971, pp. 43-44). The religious convictions of the Protestants can be regarded as the main reason for the iconic link between 'Christian' & 'white' (race) and 'heathen' & 'non-whites'. Because the Dutch regarded themselves as 'civilized' but found the South African black races which they came across during their inland move 'uncivilized' (Van Jaarsveld, 1971, p. 44), the words 'Christian' and

'heathen' soon became iconic not only of 'white' and 'non-white' but also of 'civilized' and 'uncivilized' (see for instance Van der Waal, 2008a, Roodt, 2005, and Van Jaarsveld, 1971).

During the period 1679–1707 Dutch, French and German immigrants came to the Cape (Van Jaarsveld, 1971, p. 40). Most of these immigrants became farmers and many referred to themselves as 'Afrikaners'. The presence of Europeans (i.e. other *white* people) at the Cape during this time meant that not all Boere[6] Afrikaners or white people were necessarily Dutch. However, Boere, Afrikaners, Protestant Christians and civilized people were all considered to be white. In time the social phenomena Boere, Afrikaners and Protestant Christians became associated mainly with Dutch, because it was the Netherlands, rather than Germany or France, that influenced the character of the Cape, most probably as a result of the Netherlands having considerable power and prestige, since it was the world's largest trading nation at the time (Giliomee, 2003, pp. 4, 5). During the course of South Africa's history the nature of the association between the term 'Dutch' and the social phenomena to which it referred (Boere and Afrikaners, for instance) changed so that Dutch became indicative of Boere and Afrikaners and Boere and Afrikaners were considered to be Dutchmen. The term 'Dutchmen' is currently used to refer to Afrikaners as an ethnic group (albeit in a derogatory way), and 'Afrikaners' and 'Boere' are considered to be synonymous (see for instance Pharos 5-in-1 electronic dictionaries, 2007).

3.1.2 From indexicality to iconicity

At this point it is necessary to revisit Irvine and Gal's (2000) processes of *indexicality* and *iconicity*. For Irvine and Gal (2000) iconicity involves the *transformation* from an indexical relation to an iconic relation, which also involves a change in the "conceptual schema" of the human mind so that conceptual schemas become "suffused with the political and moral issues pervading the particular sociolinguistic field" (Irvine and Gal, 2000, p. 35). I would like to add to this understanding by suggesting that an *indexical* tie between a linguistic form and social phenomena is one where it is perceived that the linguistic form (such as the term *Dutch*) points to social phenomena (such as *white* (*race*), *Boere/Afrikaner, Christian* and *civilized*), but the social phenomena do not exclusive point to the linguistic form. In instances

[6] Referring to the people who claimed the name 'Boere' (< farmers) to indicate race (white). See also 3.1 above.

where it is perceived that the linguistic form, such as *Dutch(men)*, points to the social phenomenon, such as *Boere/Afrikaner, Christians etc.*, and the social phenomenon points to the linguistic term, then such a relationship constitutes an *iconic* relationship. I suggest then that the difference between indexicality and iconicity includes a difference in directionality in terms of the linguistic form and the social phenomenon. I propose that an indexical relation is a one-directional relation and that the cognitive understanding of such relation constitutes a conceptual schema which is a more flexible state of mind, a state in which the association between the linguistic form and the social phenomenon is in flux and open to change. An iconic relationship is a bi-directional one, and the conceptual schema associated or arising from such a relationship is possibly a more fixed state of mind, one in which the association between the linguistic form and the social phenomena is resistant to change. I represent this view of indexicality and iconicity schematically below in what I will call a 'social semiotic tree'. The social semiotic tree below illustrates the possible early iconic and indexical values for the linguistic form *Dutch* during the early years at the Cape.

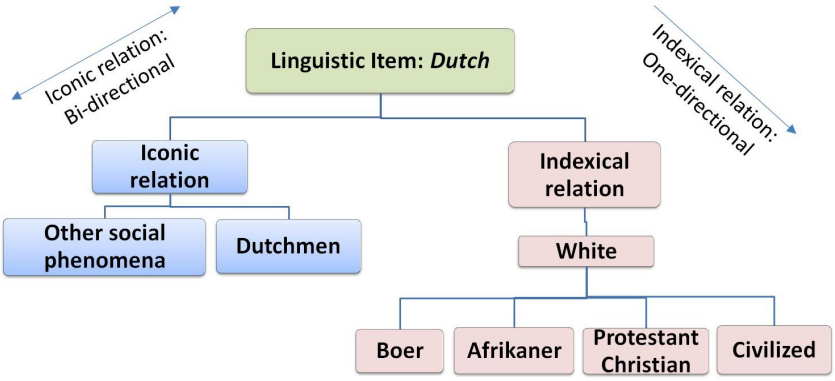


Figure 1: **Social semiotic tree representing some iconic and indexical relations for *Dutch* during the early years at the Cape of Good Hope**

Figure 1 illustrates that the linguistic form *Dutch* is indexical of the social phenomena *race* (*white*), occupation (*boer*, which later became a synonym for Afrikaner ethnicity (see section 3.1.1 above), ethnicity (*Afrikaner*), religion (*Christian*) and morality (*civilized*). The link between the linguistic form and social phenomena is indexical, because not all white people, farmers (*boere*), Afrikaners, Christians or civilized at the Cape during the late 1600s were necessarily associated with the term *Dutch*, since (inter alia) German and French citizens who were boere, Christians and civilized people were also present in the early Cape. Figure 1 also illustrates the association between the linguistic form *Dutch* and the ethnicity (*Dutchmen*),

which is iconic in nature because Dutch was associated with *Dutchmen*, and, conversely, the ethnic group Dutchmen was taken to be Dutch-speaking. I suggest that the transformation process from an indexical to an iconic relationship which Irvine and Gal (2000) propose involves the semiotic process of fractal recursivity so that the opposition *indexical/iconic* is reflected on a node lower down in the semiotic structure. In those instances where the indexical relation becomes an iconic one, fractal recursivity occurs on the iconic node. The schema below illustrates this point in terms of the change from indexical to iconic for the link between *Dutch*, *White* (*race*), *Boer/ Afrikaner, Christian* and *civilized.*

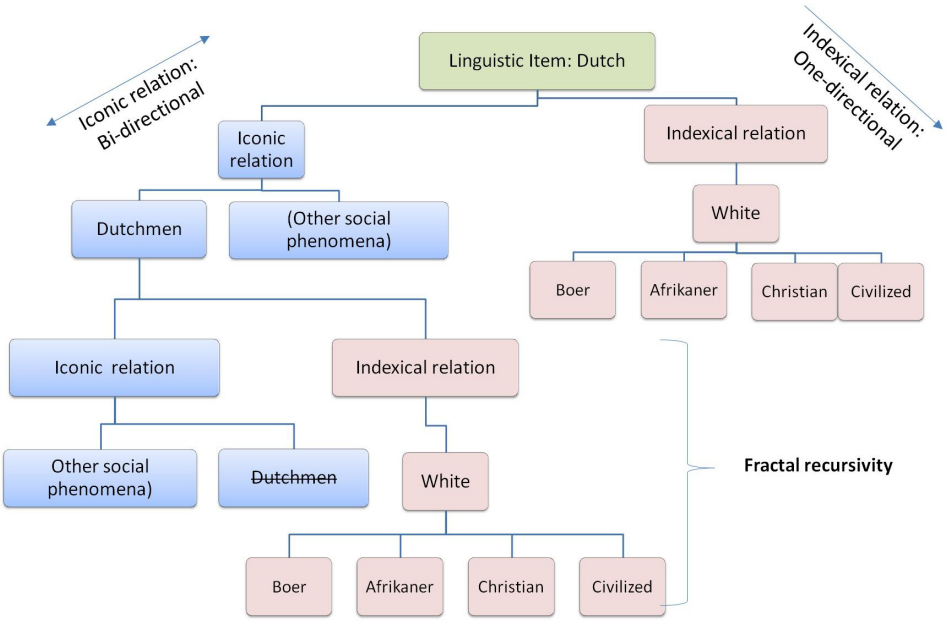


Figure 2: Social semiotic tree representing fractal recursivity of iconic/indexical opposition in terms of Dutch during the early years at the Cape of Good Hope

The fractal recursivity in Figure 2 illustrates the process by which the indexical relation between the linguistic form *Dutch* and the social phenomenon *race* (*white*) and ethnicity (*Boer* and *Afrikaner*) can become an iconic one, because the implication of this type of fractal recursivity is that the indexical relationship between *Dutch* and *White*, *Boer* and *Afrikaner* can now also be regarded as an iconic one (albeit a weak relationship), as it now resorts under the 'iconic' node higher up to the left in the semiotic tree. In this way *Dutch* can be both indexical and iconic in terms of race (white) at a specific historical time. As this type of fractal recursivity results in a circular/redundant reference, i.e. *Dutchmen* is iconic of *Dutchmen* (see

Figure 2), this characteristic is not repeated in the opposition pair lower down in the tree. The term *Dutchmen* is struck out in Figure 2 to indicate its redundancy. Evidence from the data seems to support the suggestion of fractal recursivity occurring in terms of the opposition *indexical/iconic*, and this notion will be discussed in more detail when the analysis of the data is presented.

3.1.3 Iconicity, Afrikaans and Afrikaner identity

In the history of many languages and social communities there is often a watershed event, a situation which prompts members of that specific community to unify by finding a 'core value'[7] (Orman, 2008, p. 83) to which their social identity becomes linked. For the Afrikaners at the Cape this watershed event occurred in 1806 when the British seized the Cape from the Dutch with the intention of establishing a British colony by means of an intense Anglicization policy (Orman, 2008, p. 80). The firm belief of the British in their own cultural superiority served as the justification for the intense Anglicisation process. To the British, the Dutch-speaking citizens of South Africa were an uneducated, rural, isolated, relatively backward people (Orman, 2008, p. 81). Text books on the history of Afrikaans and/or Afrikaners such as Kannemeyer (2005), Raidt (1991)and Van Jaarsveld (1971) cite 1806 as the date of inception for the Afrikaans language, precisely because the Afrikaners, in reaction to the severe Anglicisation policy, identified their language, which had developed at the Cape and which was to be called Afrikaans officially in 1925, as a core value of social identity. Orman (2008, pp. 82-84) says that the British Anglicisation policy "laid the foundation for the crystallisation of an ethnic Afrikaner identity" and that "the survival of the Afrikaners as a cohesive ethnic group depended utterly on the maintenance of Afrikaans". According to Orman (2008, p. 82) "[i]t was in the taalstryd [language struggle] that the absolute link between language and national identity became entrenched in Afrikaner consciousness …"

The Anglicisation policy had far-reaching effects for South African society. The policy caused a "fervently anti-British nationalist movement" (Orman, 2008, p. 82), it divided the black population in terms of social class by bringing about an anglicized black elite through English education, an elitist group which " …exists to this day and has become the ruling

[7] According to Orman (2008, p. 83) the notion of 'core value' was introduced by Smolicz (1995, 1981 and 1979).

class in post-apartheid South Africa" (Orman, 2008, p. 84), and it contributed to the black/white racial divide because the attempt by the British to Anglicize the blacks alienated the Afrikaners from the blacks, because they saw the possibility of a English-speaking black nation as a threat to the Afrikaner *volk* (nation) (Orman, 2008, p. 85), a *volk* whose identity was inextricably linked to Afrikaans. The Afrikaner's belief in an "absolute, one-to-one link between language and national identity" (Orman, 2008, p. 85) became the impetus for the Afrikaner-dominated National Party's (1948-1994) language policy, a policy which played a key role in advancing and implementing *apartheid* (literally: separateness). The National Party's (NP) language ideology, which put forward a strong, definite link between language and national identity, also served as the basis for the Christian National Education policy, which promoted mother-tongue education. Although the idea of mother tongue education might sound linguistically very noble, the NP's mother-tongue education policy was aimed at "subjugating blacks to whites" and it was used as an instrument of "social control and subjugation" (Orman, 2008, p. 86 and 89).

Whereas the semiotic link between *Afrikaans* and *Afrikaner* before the NP's rule might have been an indexical one (see for instance Botha's (2002) perspective on the development of the category *Afrikaner*) it is safe to say that it became an iconic relationship during the NP's promotion of Afrikaner nationalism during the apartheid regime. From a theoretical point of view (see Irvine and Gal, 2000), the transformation from an indexical link to an iconic relationship between the linguistic feature *Afrikaans* and social phenomena such as race, ethnicity and religion, took place during this period. During this period the idea that Afrikaans represented inherent human and social qualities such as race (white), ethnicity (Afrikaners) and religious faith (Protestant Christian) was strongly advocated in South Africa's society (see for instance Giliomee (2003)). The previously mainly one-directional association between Afrikaans and these social qualities became two-directional: Afrikaans-speaking citizens were white, Protestant Afrikaners, and, conversely, Afrikaners and Protestant Christians were regarded as white Afrikaans-speaking citizens. The relationship between the linguistic form *Afrikaans* and other social phenomena (ethnicity, religion and race) became naturalized during this period, giving Afrikaner nationalism the appearance of 'common sense'. In terms of Afrikaner nationalism's ideology regarding race, Orman (2008, p. 86) points out that Afrikaner nationalism became conflated with notions of racial distinctiveness and purity, with the result that "any mixing of racial or national groups in South African

would come to be regarded as a violation of authenticity, as going contrary to *the natural order of things*" (Orman, 2008, p. 86) (my emphasis).

3.1.4 Fractal recursivity and apartheid

Referring to D.F. Malan's speech soon after the National Party's victory in 1948, Giliomee (2003, p. 487) says that Malan stated that South African belonged again to the Afrikaners, but that

> [w]hen Malan said that South African 'belonged' to the Afrikaners he did not have the white-black struggle in mind but the rivalry between the *Afrikaner* and the *English* community … (my emphasis)

As a result of the NP's apartheid policy, the two major existing oppositions at the time mentioned in the quotation above, i.e. that of race (white/black) and that of ethnicity (Afrikaners/Englishmen) became even more prominent within the South African society. Fractal recursivity and erasure of these two opposition pairs occurred at almost every level of social life because everything became 'separate', not only between whites and blacks, but also between different white groups of which the opposition between Afrikaners and Englishmen was the major one. The list of South African social phenomena through which fractal recursivity and erasure as processes of social identity construction can be illustrated as it occurred during the apartheid regime is almost endless. On a religious level, the three sister churches, the *Nederduitsgereformeerde Kerk* (Dutch Reformed Church), the *Gereformeerde Kerk* (Reformed Church) and the *Hervormde Kerk* (no English equivalent) were the main churches of Afrikaans-speaking Afrikaners, because services were conducted solely in Afrikaans, while English-speaking white citizens attended, inter alia, the Anglican Church, the Presbyterian Church or the Catholic Church. Address forms such as *oom* (uncle), *tannie* (aunt), *niggie* (female cousin), *neef* (male cousin), *meneer* (sir) and *mevrou* (madam), which referred solely to white males and females but definitely not to black males and females, are examples of the fractal recursivity which occurred at the level of race and gender. Similarly, address forms such as *kaffer* (kaffir), *meid* (maid), *jong* (young black male), *booi* (black male) and *naturel* (term used during apartheid to refer to 'natural' black inhabitant of South Africa) referred solely to black males and females and definitely not to any person with a white skin colour. Fractal recursivity occurred even at the level of locality, so that a *lokasie* (location) was a place where blacks resided, and *dorp* and *stad* (town/city) were places where whites lived. For the opposition Afrikaners/Englishmen fractal recursivity occurred on the level of

ethnicity, so that words such as *kakie* (Khaki), *rooinek* (lit: 'red neck') and *soutpiel* (lit: 'salt dick') referred to British soldiers or British citizens while *boere*, *rock spiders* and *Dutchman, bittereinders* ('Bitter-enders', i.e. those Afrikaners who fought to the bitter end in the Anglo-Boer War of 1899–1902) and *Hensoppers* (lit: 'hands-uppers', i.e. Afrikaners who gave up and accepted British rule during and after the Anglo-Boer War) were terms that referred to Afrikaners. Fractal recursivity occurred to a great extent on the level of morality as well, and evidence for this can be seen in the concerted efforts by organizations such as the S.A. Akademie vir Wetenskap en Kuns (lit: S.A. Academy for Science and Art) as well as the Taalkommisie (lit: Language Commission) to minimize the "*afbrekende*" (destructive) (Smith, 1962, p. 75) influence of English on Afrikaans. In Afrikaans grammar books, for instance, many long lists of Anglicisms were listed (see for instance Smith, 1962, pp. 61-79) as well as the page long list on page 23 of Terblanche's *Regte Afrikaans*) of "ontoelaatbare anglisismes" (lit: impermissible Anglicisms). Words such as *garage*, *taxi*, *kar* and *boks* were regarded as 'bad' Afrikaans and *motorhuis*, *huurmotor* and (*kartoon)doos* were the prescribed 'suiwer Afrikaans' (pure Afrikaans) equivalents for these words. The influence of English on Afrikaans and the use of so-called Anglicisms were seen as stemming from laziness (Terblanche, 1972, p. 18), and the idea was put forward that the influence of the English language on Afrikaans was tantamount to a deterioration of the Afrikaans language, which in turn was an indication of the moral deterioration of the *Afrikaanse volk* (Afrikaans nation). This belief about the English language, this linguistic ideology, was instrumental in the development of the National Party's education policy, a policy which aimed to promote mother-tongue education and the development of all the languages in South Africa, but which used the Afrikaans language as an instrument to enforce and maintain apartheid (Orman, 2008, pp. 86-87).

3.1.5 Erasure and apartheid

The National Party's Afrikaner nationalism, with its education policy of advancing mother-tongue instruction, was in fact an instrument for social control and subjugation of blacks to whites (Orman, 2008, pp. 86-87). Thousands of black and other 'non-white' Afrikaans-speaking South African citizens were denied an Afrikaner identity (there were already 445 000 Afrikaans-speaking blacks in 1904 (Raidt, 1991, p. 112), and over 200 000 according

to the 1996 census[8] (Simelane, 2002). The denial of an Afrikaner identity for 'non-white' Afrikaans-speaking citizens meant that the National Party acted in direct violation of its own publicly advertised belief, i.e. that there is a one-to-one relation between language and national identity. The irony and the severe tragedy of the apartheid era is that while the National Party tried to impose an Afrikaner identity onto all *white* South African citizens, it made it totally impossible for blacks and other non-whites to accept such an identity, even if they were mother-tongue speakers of Afrikaans. In this respect, then, the reality of the apartheid policy, whether intentional or not, is that it erased black people's social realities from the South African social identity. It is understandable that the marginalization of black people was met with great resistance, that for the 'non-whites' in South Africa, Afrikaans became so strongly associated with oppression and racism that an outcry occurred in 1976 in Soweto when youths protested against education through the medium of Afrikaans, and that

> … many blacks came to identify far more with English than their own native tongues as both a symbol and tool of political resistance – precisely something that apartheid language policy was designed to prevent.
>
> (Orman, 2008, p. 90)

Apartheid came to an end in 1994 when the first democratic elections took place in South Africa and the African National Council (ANC) came to power. Naturally, South Africa's social setting changed totally – privileges and rights which were enjoyed by whites only became accessible to all citizens of South Africa. On the linguistic front, nine Bantu languages were given official status in addition to Afrikaans and English. According to Orman (2008, p. 109), the situation with regard to English and Afrikaans in a post-apartheid era is as follows: Afrikaans is regarded the "'great loser'" and a "problem and an obstacle to national unity" while "… English alone fulfils ever more of the functions that were previously performed bilingually" (Orman, 2008, p. 109). The developing English monolingual situation in South Africa brings us back to the current study, which seeks to determine the social meaning of Afrikaans in a post-apartheid South Africa by examining written English-Afrikaans code-switching in a corpus of documents obtained from a newspaper which seems to have no reason in terms of its readership to employ Afrikaans. The question arises as to

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[8] No statistics are available for the black population prior to 1996, since "[p]revious censuses, from 1970 to 1991, only enumerated the white, coloured and Indian populations and excluded the African population …" (Simelane, 2002, p. 2).

whether Afrikaans is still iconic of white, Afrikaans-speaking racists, and Protestant Christian oppressors, or whether Afrikaans has become indexical of possibly other societal groups or social phenomena.

3.2 POST-APARTHEID AFRIKANERS

To determine the nature of the relationship between Afrikaans and South African social phenomena as it occurs in the *Sunday Times*, January to June 2009, 110 articles from the corpus which contained the words *Afrikaner(s)*, *Afrikaans(e)* and/or *Afrikanerdom* were investigated. The article "And my vote goes to ..." (12 Apr. 2009), which gives an ironic overview of South Africa's political history, seem to indicate that Afrikaans is indeed still iconic of white, Afrikaans-speaking, Protestant Christian racists, as this article refers to the initial group of people who came to South Africa on one of Van Riebeeck's ships (the Drommedaris) in the following order: *Europeans*, *Dutch mutating into Afrikaners*, *Boers at war with the British and the Zulus*, *National Party Afrikaners*, *white people playing rugby and reading the Bible*, and finally at the end of the article as *whiteys*. By implication, these people are Afrikaans-speaking, uneducated, and/or dumb, because they cannot understand the word 'dominion' in a conversation between them and the British. The article states that the Europeans who came to South Africa brought racism, Christianity and guns with them and within the context of the whole article the indirect implication is that it is the *Afrikaners* who are the racists, the aggressors and the Christians. These characteristics are equated to syphilis in the article, indicating that racism and Christianity are to be interpreted as serious diseases. That Afrikaners are from a low social class, have a low IQ, are uneducated and are from rural areas is indicated by referring to them as "thick, hairy clumps of farmers", "barefoot wives", "wagon-mechanic sons" and "child-bearing daughters". Reference to the historical diminution of the Afrikaners' social class at the hands of the British is indicated by a young princess Elizabeth referring to the Afrikaners as "déclassé" in her conversation with her father, the British king. Reference to the Afrikaners' loss of social status could have relevance for the current situation in South Africa as well, since the Afrikaners have lost their social status due the National Party's loss of political power, which means that 'déclassé' in the article could be read as a *current* reference to Afrikaners as declassed.

References in other articles support this rather negative view of Afrikaans and Afrikaners. Afrikaners are Afrikaans-speaking and they are Boers (A world just waiting to be sued, 17

May 2009). They are racist in nature and are therefore responsible for "messing up this country" (Bobbejaan is stupid if he thinks he's not racist, 4 Jan. 2009). Other references to Afrikaners as racists, whether directly or indirectly, occur in "Universities are 'centres of racism'" (17 May 2009), "This is democracy of a special type" (26 Apr. 2009), "Rulers, be warned: this new energy cannot be switched off" (3 May 2009), "Let's get stoned" (24 May 2009) and "Strife is par for the course at this club" (15 Feb. 2009). Afrikaners are also seen as resisting political change and reluctant to change their political views. The appointment of an Afrikaans-speaking man, Steve Booysens, as the CEO of ABSA was seen at the time as a strategy to "*continue* Afrikaner culture at the top" (Totsiens Booysen, 15 Feb. 2009) (my emphasis). Furthermore, Afrikaners don't vote for the ANC (Excited first-time voter, 19 Apr. 2009) and they don't support the blacks, particularly with respect to attending football matches (Whites aren't coming to the confederations Cup party, 21 Jun. 2009). Afrikaners are also portrayed as being aggressive, particularly towards black people. Martinus van Schalkwyk, the former leader of the New National Party (NNP) has just enough Afrikaner left in him to strike *terror* in the hearts of people, according to "Stirring the cabinet pot" (3 May 2009). When Julius Malema visited the all-white town Orania, the expectation was that they would find "… *well-armed* Afrikaners who would not let in blacks" (Malema ventures into all-white enclave, 29 Mar. 2009) (my emphasis) and in "This is democracy of a special type (26 Apr. 2009) it is claimed that "[r]acial violence and murders of blacks" are occurring in "communities that are still predominantly Afrikaans".

3.3 RUGBY, RACISM AND AFRIKANER SOCIAL IDENTITY

An investigation into or discussion of the social identity of the Afrikaner would not be complete without including rugby, because both language (Afrikaans) and rugby were vehicles used to articulate Afrikaner identity (Allen, 2010, p. 46). Although no certainty exists as to why the Afrikaners identified so strongly with this colonial game, which was brought to South Africa by the British in 1861 (Allen, 2010, p. 48; Grundlingh, 2007), it is speculated that the Afrikaners saw their own struggle for freedom from British rule and their need for an own Afrikaner identity reflected in the dual nature of rugby in that it is both a rough game, which requires strength, stamina, speed and courage, as well as a gentleman's game, which was regarded as "an excellent way of inculcating moral discipline in future leaders" (Grundlingh, 2007, p. 413). But probably the most important value ascribed to rugby was the idea that excellence in rugby afforded the Afrikaner the opportunity to beat the British at their

own game. Allen (2010, p. 52) is of the opinion that rugby became infused with an implicit "anti-imperialist message", particularly after the Afrikaners lost the war against the British in the early 1900s, and says that "[w]henever [the Afrikaners] played the Britons, it was the Anglo-Boer War in explicitly nationalistic and ethnic terms all over again" (Allen, 2010, p. 52). Winning became more than just winning a game – it became symbolic of winning the battle for a unique ethnic and national identity, initially against the British, but during the early apartheid years it became a way to demonstrate to the world that "… the Afrikaner [could] beat the best the world could offer" (Grundlingh, 2007, p. 417).

The appropriation of rugby as a vehicle for Afrikaner identity aptly illustrates the way in which Irvine and Gal's (2000) semiotic processes operate in a society. In terms of rugby we see how the indexical association between Afrikaans and rugby became an iconic one, and we also see how the two major oppositions, i.e. *Afrikaans/English* and *White/Non-white* were reflected onto the level of sport, because in the South African context, rugby is associated mainly with the Afrikaner (Allen, 2010; Grundlingh, 2007), cricket mainly with the British, and soccer mainly with the black population (Grundlingh, 2007). Grundlingh (2007. p. 416) says that South Africa's racial stratification resulted in black people referring to soccer as a "black man's game". Furthermore, the appropriation of rugby as a vehicle for Afrikaner identity and the establishment of apartheid could possibly be regarded as the cause for fractal recursivity of the ethnic and racial oppositions (*Afrikaans/English* and *White/Black*) on the level of morality, since rugby was seen as 'good/ideal', while soccer was regarded as 'bad or low class' (Grundlingh, 2007, p. 416). The irony of the situation was that racial discrimination erased the reality and the possibility for blacks/'non-whites' who did, or aspired to, play rugby, to claim the identity of 'Afrikaner'.

Because the Afrikaners were considered racists as a result of the National Party's apartheid policy and since 'non-whites' were excluded (erased) from this national sport, rugby and the South African national team, the Springboks, became iconic of apartheid and racism. A sentence from an article entitled "The man who marked Morgan" (14 Jun. 2009), which mentions South Africa's feeling of national unity during a historic rugby game at Ellis Park, illustrates the associations between Afrikaner, ethnicity (white), power, superiority, the Springbok team and rugby, when it states:

> There was an *Afrikaner* arrogance in having come to *power* on a ticket of *white supremacy* that was reflected in the Ellis Park crowd and in the *Bok* team. (my emphasis)

Similar sentiments are expressed for the current situation regarding rugby in "Why Luke went from loose cannon to hero" (15 Mar. 2009). In the opinion of the writer of this article, rugby is controlled by Afrikaners, rugby is the 'place' where "blacks and anyone who doesn't speak Afrikaans have been made to feel like second-class citizens", and rugby stadiums are places where people can be as 'Afrikaans' as they like, which means, according to the writer of the article, that in some cases they can be as racist as they like.

3.4 SCHEMATIC REPRESENTATION: AFRIKAANS AND AFRIKANER

An examination of the 110 articles in which the words *Afrikaner(s)*, *Afrikaans(e)* and/or *Afrikanerdom* appear, reveals that in 2009, it seems, 15 years after the first democratic election in South Africa, the apartheid era's iconic relation between the linguistic form *Afrikaans* and social phenomena such as race, religion etc. still holds. The linguistic form *Afrikaans* is still iconic of (ostensibly) inherent qualities and cultural aspects such as race (white), ethnicity (*Boere/Boers* and *Afrikaners*), politics (apartheid-supporter, racist), social class (low), IQ (low), education (uneducated), temperament (aggressive) and religion (Christian, Dutch Reformed).

In the schemas below some of the indexical associations for the linguistic forms Dutch and Afrikaans are offered. The schemas also intend to illustrate how the transformation from indexical associations to iconic ones could be the result of fractal recursivity of the opposition iconic/indexical as was discussed in section 3.1.2. above.

Figure 3 shows possible indexical and iconic relationships between the linguistic form *Dutch* and other social phenomena during the early years at the Cape, while Figure 4 shows fractal recursivity of the indexical/iconic opposition. The red, dotted lines indicate fractal recursivity.

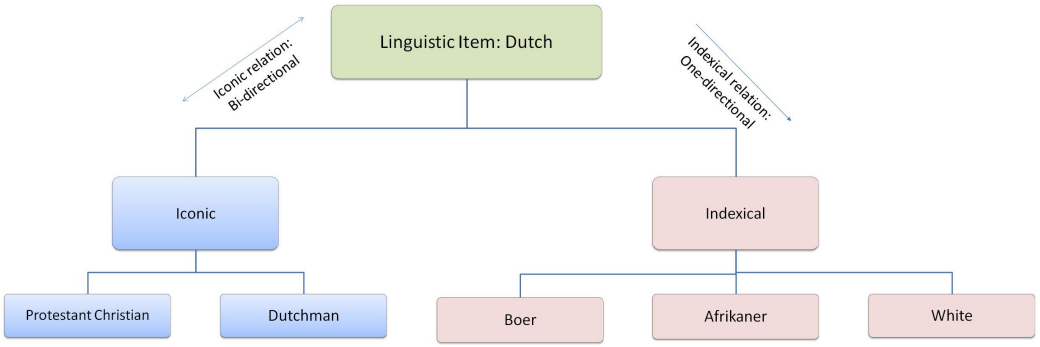


Figure 3: Indexical and iconic relations during the early years at the Cape

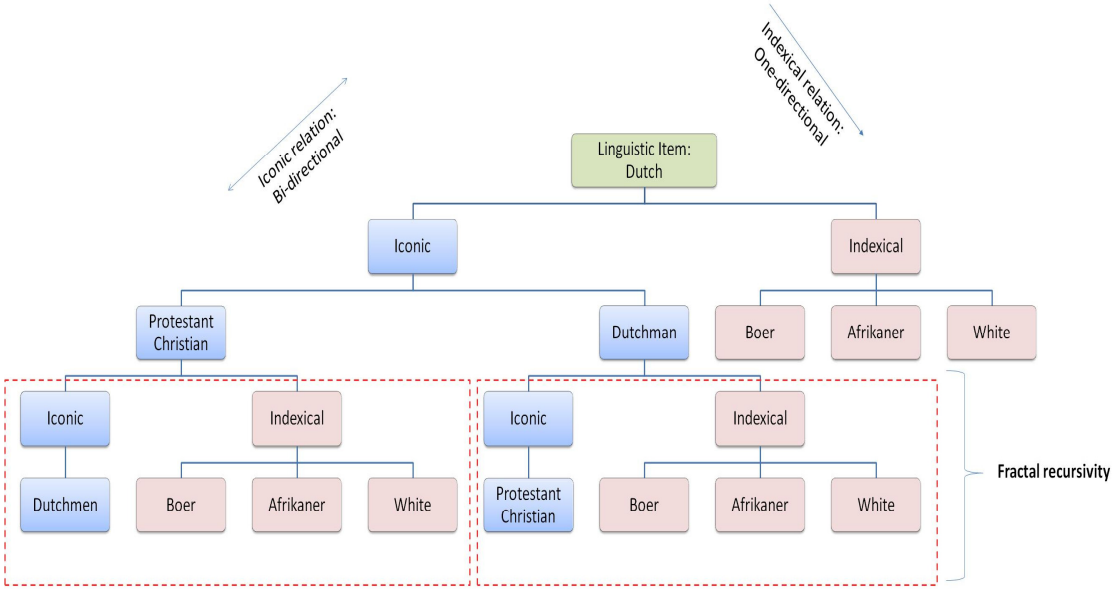


Figure 4: Fractal recursivity of the opposition indexical: iconic

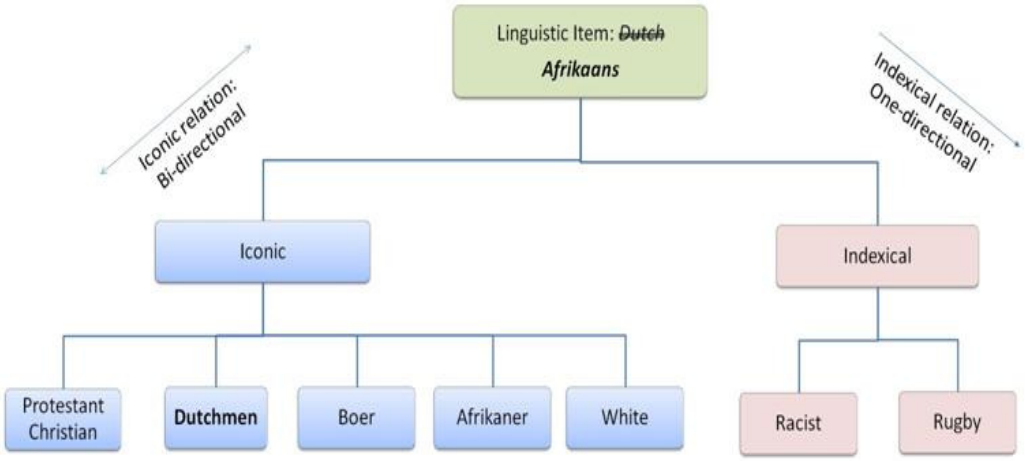


Figure 5: Representation of small sector of the South African social situation in early 1800s

Figure 5 represents the social situation in South Africa's history (late 1800s to early 1900s) during which awareness of the need for a unique Afrikaner identity developed and during which rugby was introduced as a sport to South Africa. At this point rugby has not yet been fully appropriated as a vehicle (or core value, in Orman's (2008) terms) for identity formation, but was an imperial game which was played by both the Afrikaners and the British. At this stage the association between the linguistic form *Afrikaans* and the social phenomena rugby and *racism* is an indexical one. Figure 5 also indicates that the social phenomena *religion* (Protestant Christian), *ethnicity* (Dutchman/Boer/Afrikaner) and *race* (white), which were historically associated with the linguistic form *Dutch*, became associated with Afrikaans as Afrikaans gained recognition as a language in its own right.

Figure 6 illustrates the fractal recursivity of the iconic/indexical opposition in terms of Afrikaans. The fractal recursivity is indicated in terms of 'Afrikaans' only in the figure, but in must be borne in mind that fractal recursivity could occur on all of the social phenomena under the iconic node. This would mean that rugby and racism would be associated with any, or all, of the social phenomena under this node. Figure 6 provides a possible explanation for the historic and current iconic relation between Afrikaans, racism and rugby.

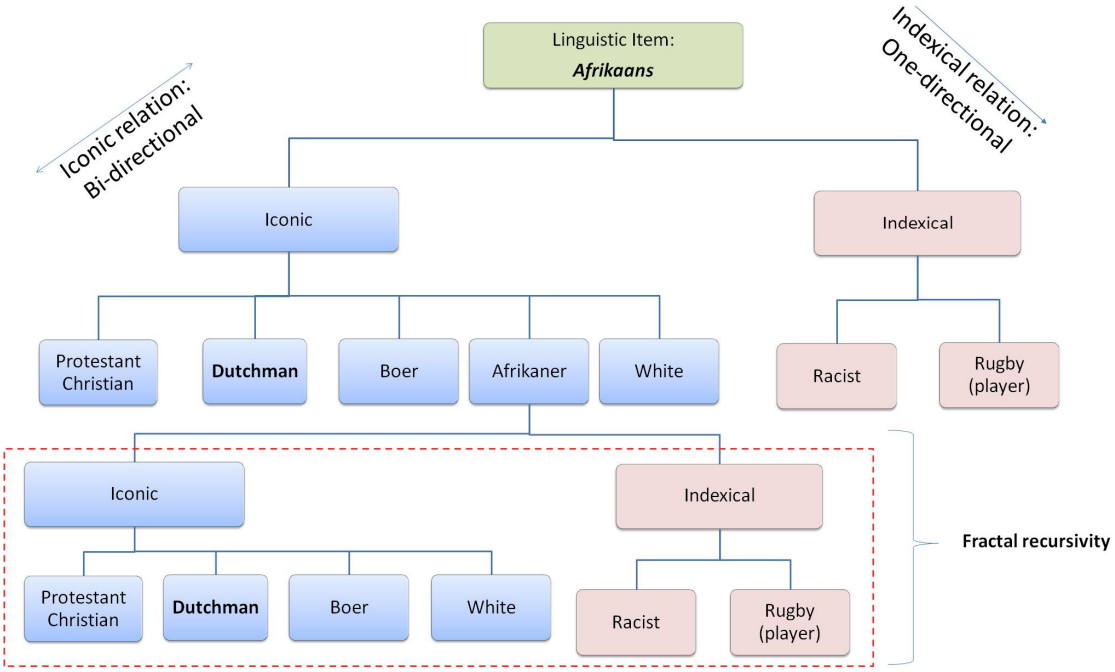


Figure 6: Fractal recursivity of the iconic/indexical opposition

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From Figure 6 it is also possible to see the socio-historical origin of reference to Afrikaners as 'Dutchman'. This term has become a pejorative term, possibly through the derogatory use of the term by the British to refer to Afrikaners *(Collins Concise Dictionary, Fifth Edition, 2001)*. When Luke Watson allegedly said that "the problem with South African rugby is that is controlled by Dutchmen" (Mail&Guardian online, 2008), members of society regarded this as a racist remark (see for instance the public comments on Keo.co.za) and AfriForum, a forum which seeks to protect the rights of minority groups in South Africa, accused Luke Watson of hate speech (AfriForum).

Having illustrated how Afrikaans came to be associated with rugby alongside other social phenomena such as, inter alia, race (white), religion (Protestant) and politics (apartheid), we now turn to the actual code-switching data to determine whether similar associations are evident in the *Sunday Times* articles of January to June 2009.

In the analysis of the code-switching data, some attention will be given to possible English alternatives for Afrikaans words used in certain instances. However, the 'replacement' or

'translation' of words/ideas from one language into another presents many problems. Recognition is given to the fact that possibly no expression in one language can be expressed in exactly the same way in another language. This is a dilemma with which translators have to struggle (see for instance Newmark (1998)). Consider, for instance, the word *klap* in the data when the meaning of the word refers to 'slapping' someone. In such an instance the word *klap* can be replaced by the any of the English words 'slap', 'smack' and 'wallop', but when *klap* is used to refer to losing a sports game (as in "Roma's Riise gets bum rap", 5 Apr. 2009), then 'slap' and 'smack' as a translation of *klap* will no longer suffice. According to a common grassroots language ideology, Afrikaans is a more 'emotional', and therefore more 'expressive' language than English. To take one example, the editor of *Sarie* magazine, Michélle van Breda, says foreigners understand one better if shouted at in Afrikaans, because "[b]eing such an emotional language, it works everywhere, every time" (My kind of holiday, 18 Jan. 2009). Such perceptions about language are of course language myths. Milani, T. and Johnson, S. (2010, p. 2), for instance, says that linguistic phenomena gain their meanings and values "through the production, reproduction and/or contestation of conventional indexical ties", indicating that perceptions of languages as begin 'emotional', 'loud', 'sonorous' or whatever else the case may be, are not inherent qualities of any language, but the result of social semiotic construction processes. Consideration and/or suggestions for English alternatives for Afrikaans items in the data is done against this background: in other words, recognition is given to the fact that Afrikaans words and expressions afford speech participants certain particular semiotic options, but with the understanding that such semiotic options are the result of socially constructive processes within the South African context.

4 METHODOLOGY

4.1 DATA COLLECTION

The data of written code-switching used in this study was collected from a South African weekly newspaper, the *Sunday Times*. The decision to obtain data from a newspaper was motivated by the fact that

> … the print media offer a useful site for the exploration of language ideologies insofar as newspapers are 'loci of ideology production' and one of the key sites for authoritative entextualisation amongst various ideological brokers. (Johnson, S. and Enslin, A., 2007, p. 232)

The *Sunday Times* was selected as it is regarded as "South Africa's biggest national newspaper […] read by over 3-million people" (SouthAfrica.info, 2006, p. 6), making it highly representative of a large portion of South Africa's newspaper reading citizens. Its largest readership is within Gauteng (38%), a province which is considered to be historically significant with regard to language policy and planning, as the most violent protest against Afrikaans education – the so-called Soweto uprisings in 1976 – occurred here. This newspaper can also be regarded as being representative of a large portion of the Bantu- and English-speaking citizens of South Africa, as 61% of *Sunday Times* readers have a Bantu language as their home language, 29% have English as their home language while only 10% have Afrikaans or another language (other than English or a Bantu language) as their first language (SAARF, 2009A). Against this backdrop of the linguistic repertoire of the readership of the *Sunday Times*, it is deemed significant to find English-Afrikaans code-switching in a newspaper which seems to have little or no reason to accommodate Afrikaans in a post-apartheid era. The linguistic profile of the *Sunday Times* readership in terms of its mother tongue is set out in the graph below.

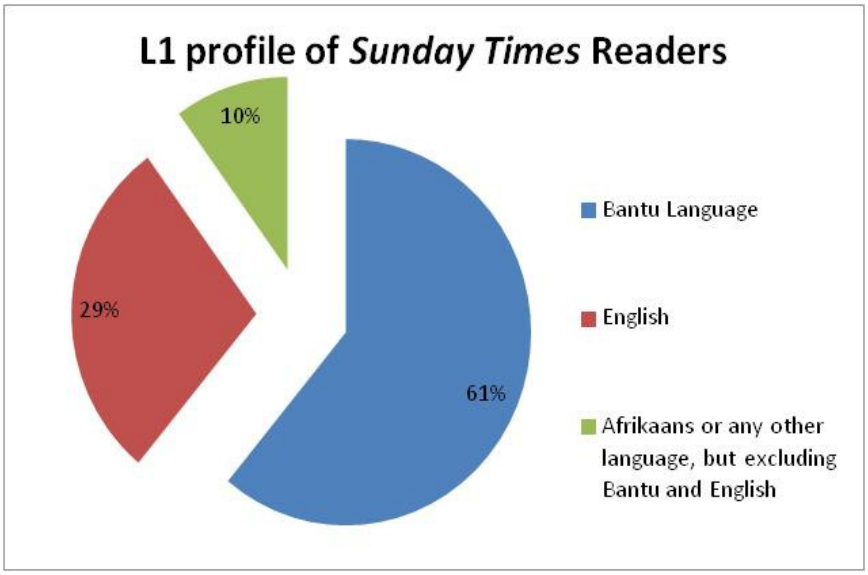


Figure 7: L1 Profile of Sunday Times Readers. Source: (SAARF, 2009A)

The corpus from which the English-Afrikaans CS-data was extracted was obtained from the electronic archives of Avusa, the publishing house of the *Sunday Times*. According to the electronic search results, a total of 6 250 South African articles appeared during January and June 2009. All of these articles were downloaded. The articles were analysed using a software program Antconc 3.2.1 (w) 2007, which, among other functions, organizes data into a wordlist, listing all word units which occur in the corpus. From this list Afrikaans words were identified, and then the 'concordance' function of Antconc 3.2.1 (w) 2007 was used to obtain information about the articles in which the identified Afrikaans words appeared. Each article was examined, and if deemed possibly suitable for the study, printed to be read and analysed. Not all words initially identified proved to be significant for the purpose of this study – the word *donner*, for example, which at face value looked like the Afrikaans expletive (*donner* 'to give someone a thorough beating/beat agressively'), turned out to be the name of a Johann Strauss II Polka namely '*Unter Donner und Blitz*'. A total of 266 articles containing associations between the Afrikaans words and other South African social phenomena were identified for analysis, which constitutes 4.25% of the total number of articles (6 250) which appeared in the *Sunday Times* from January to June 2009. A total of 424 single entries, which include sentences and phrases, were identified for the purposes of this study and the total number of word entries amounts to 456 when the words which occurred more than once are taken into account. The data contains 29 sentences and 14 phrases, leaving the total number of single-word occurrences at 413. The articles in which Afrikaans words, phrase and sentences

occurred were categorized in terms of the main topic of the article, while broad categories for the use of the Afrikaans lexical item were also identified. The topic for the article (Elections 2009: Views on South Africans voting, 19 Apr. 2009), for example, was classified as 'politics' and based on the reference to officials as *windgat* (gasbag/braggart) officials, the use of Afrikaans in this instance was categorized as *impolite/rude*, possibly *insulting*. These main topics and categories were used to identify the social phenomena with which Afrikaans is associated.

The different sections of the *Sunday Times* in which the 266 articles relevant to this study appeared were also noted. Afrikaans words, phrases and sentences occurred in the main section of the newspaper (*Main* and *Mainbody*), the business section (*Biztimes*), two sections dealing with careers and money matters (*Careers*, *Careers*&Money), a section concerned with the running of small businesses (*Itsmybiz*), a section aimed at Zulu-speaking readers in KwaZulu-Natal (*Dbn*), two sections dealing with fashionable trends in all areas of life such as clothing, home décor etc. (*Lifestyle* and *Magazine*), two sections on sport (*Main*&Sport, and *Sport*) one section on travelling and travel destinations (*Travel*&Food), a section in which various social sectors (such as the political sector) are reviewed/assessed (*Review*) and one section on noteworthy products available on the South African market (*ProductYear*). The distribution of the articles in which Afrikaans words, phrase and/or sentences occurred in the different sections of the *Sunday Times* newspaper is presented in Figure 8 below.

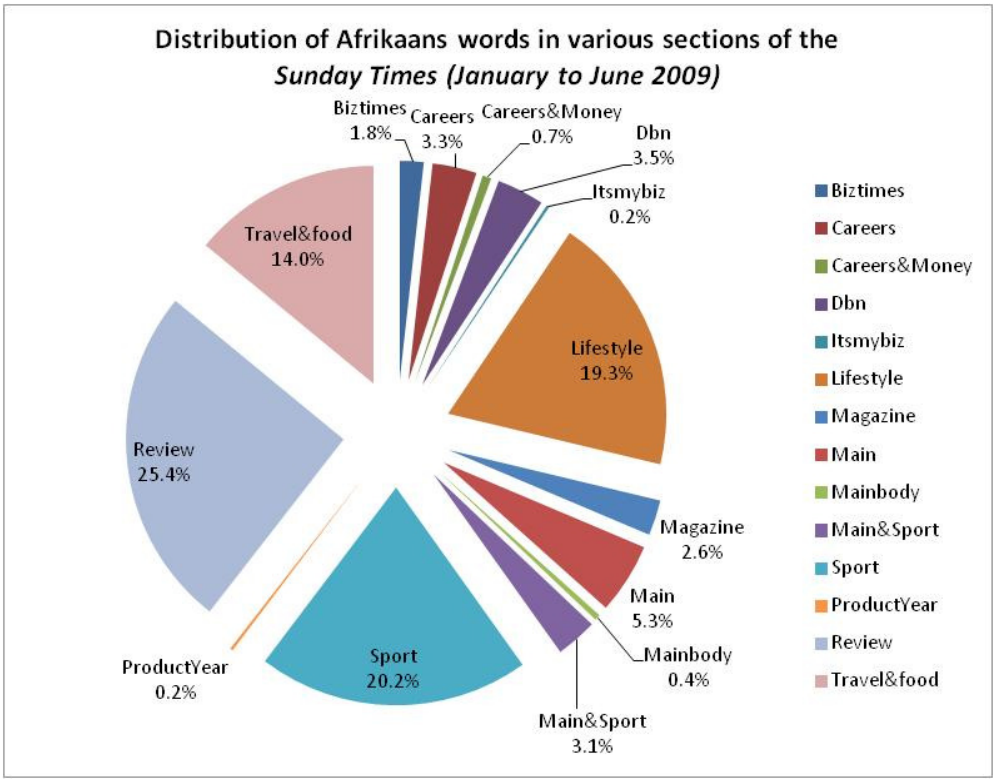


Figure 8: Distribution of Afrikaans words in the various sections of the *Sunday Times* (January to June 2009)

A PowerPoint presentation file obtained via personal email correspondence on 4 January 2002 from Avusa Media's Market Research Manager, Lynette Benjamin, provides information about some of the various sections of the *Sunday Times* newspaper. According to the information on the PowerPoint presentation the *Sunday Times Magazine* and *Sunday Times Lifestyle* are "informative, entertaining and trend-setting supplements", the tone of which is humorous. A host of topics such as "leisure, environment, green living, animals, health, fitness, relationships, science, technology, entertainment, arts, culture, music and film, shopping, fashion, trend-spotting, design, décor, architecture, personalities, celebrities and books" are dealt with in this part of the newspaper. The *Business Times* section of the newspaper is a "straight-talking" section providing information on how to run a small business. Figure 8 indicates that most of the Afrikaans data occurs in the *Review* (25.4%), *Sport* (20,2%), *Lifestyle* (19,3%) and *Travel&Food* (14%) sections, with very little Afrikaans occurring in the main section and business-orientated sections (*Product Year*, *Itsmybiz* and *Careers&Money*).

Additional data, namely images and video clips of Vodacom's 'Player 23' Google and YouTube, was used in one instance in support of a discussion in terms of iconic semiotic ties with respect to the proper noun *Jan*. The need to incorporate Vodacom's images and videos stemmed from a letter to the *Sunday Times* editor (Yes, Jan is a poor choice as example for rugby fans, 22 Mar. 2009) in which the author complained about Vodacom's Player 23. Vodacom's data is used in terms of the discussion in section 5.2.4 only.

The qualitative analysis of the 266 Sunday times articles in which English-Afrikaans code-switching occurred is discussed in the next section, but, where relevant, quantitative findings are also presented in support of, or to elucidate, the findings of the qualitative analysis.

5 ANALYSIS OF THE DATA

The analysis of the *Sunday Times* articles which contained the words Afrikaans, Afrikaner(s) and Afrikanerdom, discussed in sections 03.1.3 and 3.3 above, showed that the ethnic group Afrikaners are considered to be white Afrikaans-speaking citizens of South Africa and that an iconic tie exists between Afrikaans and race (white), ethnicity (Boere/Boers and Afrikaners), politics (apartheid-supporter, racist), social class (low), IQ (low), education (uneducated), temperament (aggressive), religion (Christian, Dutch Reformed) and sport (rugby). In the discussion on the historical background we saw that the opposition between English and Afrikaans came about as a result of the British invasion of the Cape in 1806, and that the British believed themselves to be culturally superior to the Afrikaners, whom they regarded as "relatively backward people" (Orman, Mr, 2008, p. 83). The analysis also showed that the divide between Afrikaners and the English, as well as between Afrikaners and 'non-whites' still exists in post-apartheid South Africa. The social identity of the ethnic group Afrikaners as portrayed by the *Sunday Times* during the period January to June 2009 seems to be a very negative one, a view which is supported by the English-Afrikaans code-switching data, since the analysis reveals that Afrikaans is frequently used to highlight and/or criticize some negative aspect in South African society. In terms of Irvin and Gal's (2000) theoretical framework, Afrikaans seems to be indexical of negativity in the South African context, particularly in the arena of politics and sport. This statement is supported by the quantitative analysis of this study, since 194 out of the 456 Afrikaans occurrences (42.5%) in the data are related to politics and sport, and, of these, 106 (54.6%) are associated with some form of negativity such as derogatory remarks, criticism or insults.

The occurrence of the relatively large percentage of negativity associated with Afrikaans raises the question of censorship, and the question arises as to how such negativity and/or criticism is expressed in terms of public figures such as politicians and sportsmen without the *Sunday Times* being held liable for slander, for instance. Before I present the analysis of the data I would like briefly to discuss the use of satire as a rhetorical strategy, because this strategy is frequently used in the *Sunday Times* (January to June 2009) data to express political and/or societal negativity, and it is one of the rhetorical strategies that affords the *Sunday Times* newspaper the opportunity to express negativity in a legally and publicly acceptable way, as the discussion below will show.

5.1 RHETORICAL STRATEGIES FOR EXPRESSING NEGATIVITY

5.1.1 Satire

Satire is understood for the purpose of this study as "the use of humour, irony, exaggeration, or ridicule to expose and criticize people's stupidity or vices, particularly in the context of contemporary politics and other topical issues" (*Concise Oxford English Dictionary* (2002)). According to Pretorius (1992), satire, as a litery/rhetorical technique, includes (inter alia) the use of irony, wit, sarcasm, cynicism, paradox and antithesis. She explains satire as the artistic use of words to ridicule the discrepancies and inconsistencies between the societal 'ideal' and the 'reality' in a humorous way (Pretorius, 1992, p. 464). According to these two definitions, satire could be regarded as an umbrella term for critiquing social and political matters in an *exaggerated*, *indirect* and/or *humorous* way. These qualities of satire are precisely those which allow the media to "overcome or sidestep hurdles that legally prevented criticism of political leaders or governments" (Terblanche, N.S., 2011, p. 157)(my emphasis), not only because humour, particularly humour pertaining to political issues, is generally enjoyed by most citizens (Terblanche, N.S., 2011, p. 157), but also because the indirectness of a satirical text requires the *reader* to be involved in the construction of the meaning of a text. Terblanche (2011, p. 158) is of the opinion that a gap exists between the textual information and reality, and this gap is the element that allows room for satire, but in order for the humour intended by the use of satire to be successful, the reader has to recognize the gap between reality and the textual information in order to construct the *meaning* of the text. The fact that the reader is involved in the construction of the meaning of the text means that multiple interpretations become possible for one specific text, which in turn means that it becomes increasingly difficult to ascribe agency to the producer of the text only. Simply put: the use of satire allows the media, in this case the *Sunday Times* newspaper, the opportunity to share responsibility for the meaning of satirical texts with its readers.

5.1.1.1 Irony

The use of irony can be illustrated by a *Sunday Times* (14 June, 2009) snippet with the heading "Afrikaans, in Greek" which contains short comments on various social issues when it states:

> Ours is a wonderful language. Consider: "kakistocracy — noun. Government by the worst persons; a form of government in which the worst persons are in power. From the Greek kakós — bad." And, Hogarth might add, a synonym for democracy.
>
> (Afrikaans, in Greek, 14 Jun. 2009)

The link between Afrikaans and South Africa's bad democracy is established by the title. The title implies that the English word 'kakistocracy' should be read as an Afrikaans word, not because the Afrikaans orthography *kakistokrasie* renders any other meaning than a bad government, but because the syllable 'kak-' is the same as the Afrikaans word *kak* (shit). The implication of the title is that South Africa's democratic government should be read as a *kak* (shit) government. Hutcheon's (1994) definition of irony explains irony as:

> the making or inferring of meaning in addition to and different from what is stated, together with an attitude toward both the said and the unsaid. The move is usually triggered (and then directed) by conflictual textual or contextual evidence or by markers which are socially agreed upon.
>
> (Hutcheon's (1994) In: Benwell, Bethan, 2004, p. 11)

Thus the implied message of a *kak* (shit) South African government is an additional and different meaning to the meaning of the opening sentence "Ours is a wonderful language" for the following reasons: the opening sentence creates the impression that something 'wonderful' and positive is about to be said and in addition, the pronoun "ours" in the opening sentence, which directly follows the title "Afrikaans, in Greek", creates the idea that Afrikaans is accepted by South Africans as 'their' language and that this language is a wonderful one. However, from the articles discussed in this study so far, it seems evident that Afrikaans is neither claimed by the majority of South Africans as 'their' language nor regarded as something 'wonderful'. Afrikaans is, by contrast, the language of the oppressor and the racist (see for instance "Let's get stoned", 24 May 2009; "Strife is par for the course at this club", 15 Feb. 2009), and the opinion is expressed that it would be better if Afrikaans were eliminated from the South African society altogether (see for instance "Straight up smiling", 24 May 2009; "This is democracy of a special type", 26 Apr. 2009). In terms of Hutcheon's (1994) definition, irony is triggered by the conflicting textual evidence ("ours", "wonderful" vs. "bad" and (inferred) *kak* (shit), which is then directed by the contextual evidence to indicate that Afrikaans is neither "our" language nor a "wonderful" one. The use of irony makes it possible to express this opinion about Afrikaans, which, if expressed directly, might be regarded as politically incorrect and offensive.

An excellent example of irony is found in "Top of the pops" (21 Jun. 2009). This article documents an interview conducted by Sipho Mdluli with an unknown 40-year-old owner of a Porsche Boxster. The article is about the different cars which were owned by the interviewee, and the last question asked by the interviewer in this article is what, in the opinion of the car owner, is the most boring car on sale. The owner of the Porsche responds that it is definitely a SAAB and then states that the reason for his opinion is that it reads 'BAAS' (boss) spelt backwards and that this is a real turn-off for a "darkie". Although this remark can be interpreted as being quite humorous, it is also an ironic statement which makes a comment about racial issues between whites and blacks (darkies), calling into existence the apartheid relationship between the white, Afrikaner *baas* (boss) and the oppressed black person, which, in terms of car ownership, translates into the *baas* (boss) owning the smart, expensive cars in most instances, while most black men have to make do with a *skedonk* (jalopy), because on their meagre wages they cannot afford anything better. The remark also calls into existence the social perception that blacks aspire to steal the smart cars owned by the white *baas* (boss). In this reading of the Porsche owner's remark, one can understand that a car which has 'BAAS' in its name, even in a back-to-front form, would be a turn-off to a black person.

Irony is both a powerful and a safe discourse strategy. It is powerful because the meaning of the text is vague and uncertain and it is up to the reader to infer the additional meaning of the text. Benwell (2004, p. 10) is of the opinion that irony "refuses certainties". The pronoun "ours" in the opening statement of "Afrikaans, in Greek" (14 Jun. 2009) discussed above, is an example of the uncertainty which can be created by irony, because exactly who the "ours" ('us') refers to, is not specified, leaving the meaning of this pronoun open to interpretation – "ours" could refer to all South African citizens, certain ethnic groups within South Africa such as the Afrikaners, for instance, employees of the *Sunday Times*, readers of the *Sunday Times*, or it could refer to no one in particular, which would make the "ours" a patronizing reference to an imagined 'universal' group. The vagueness about the meaning together with the fact that additional meaning has to be inferred by the receiver allows for multiple meanings to be constructed from a single text to which it is difficult (if not impossible) to attach a value judgement such as 'good', 'bad', 'true' 'false', 'offensive' etc. Since the conflicting textual and contextual elements in an ironic text make it near impossible to pin down a *specific* meaning of a text, the use of irony exonerates the producer, in this instance the *Sunday Times* newspaper, of responsibility for any of the inferred reader meanings. In

other words, irony creates a safe situation in which less palatable views can be expressed (Benwell, 2004, p. 7) without ascribing agency to any particular person or institution. This would mean that the use of irony allows the *Sunday Times* to express political or other social negativity and/or criticism while at the same time making it nearly impossible to ascribe agency to the *Sunday Times.*

Irony could also be a contributing factor in the way in which the media "implicitly *promote* a dynamic set of ideological frameworks" (Johnson and Ensslin (2007a), In: Milani T. M., in press (a)) (original emphasis) because Benwell (2004, p. 13) points out that the "ability to recognize or attribute irony is *very intimately bound up with shared beliefs, shared culture, and shared assumptions*" (my emphasis). Furthermore, if we regard 'ideologies' as a set of 'shared beliefs', and we regard ideologies as iconic relations between linguistic forms and social phenomena (Irvine and Gal, 2000) and we consider Benwell's (2004, p. 13) suggestion that irony *affirms* "notions of group belief and solidarity", then we might suggest here that irony strengthens the semiotic process of iconization.

5.1.2 Emotional force of Afrikaans

Not all negativity, criticism or dissatisfaction is expressed in a satirical/ironic way. In some articles negativity is expressed directly, as in the dissatisfaction about the South African Football Association's (Safa's) erroneous spelling of "Lumerick" for the Irish city of "Limerick", as well as the quality of its planning, which reads as follows:

> Maybe *kak* [shit] spelling is not that big an issue, but in Safa's case, it's just one symptom of *kak* [shit] planning. (my emphasis)
>
> (Forgetting the flimsies pays off, 3 May 2009)

Negativity associated with losing a sports game expressed by Afrikaans words such as *klapped* (smacked) and *donnered* (beaten aggressively) discussed in section 5.2.2 does not occur in satirical or ironic statements either. The presence of profanity, taboo language and impolite words (referred to collectively from here on as 'offensive language') such as *kak* (shit) and *donnered* (beaten aggressively) brings us back to the issue of censorship, and the question to be asked is why readers of the *Sunday Times* would accept the presence of offensive language. The incidence of offensive Afrikaans language is quite high when compared to offensive English language – 24 offensive Afrikaans words occur in the 266

articles (9%) in which English-Afrikaans code-switching occurs, but only 66 offensive words occur in all of the 6 250 *Sunday Times* articles (1%) which appeared in the newspaper during the period January to June 2009 (Avusa's electronic archives, accessed June 2009). Using the Antconc 3.2.1 (w) 2007 wordlist function, the following English offensive and/or impolite words were found in the 6250 *Sunday Times* articles: *shit* (x 9), *crap* (x 12), *arse* (x 4), *dick* (x2), *fart(s)*, *farted* (x 9), *clobber* (x2), *bastard(s)* (x 13), *tit* (x1), *bugger(s)* (x 14). The words *fuck* and *cunt* did not occur in any of the articles. The offensive Afrikaans words which occurred in the 266 articles in which English Afrikaans code-switching occurred are listed in the table below.

Afrikaans swear, taboo or impolite word	***Sunday Times* Article**	**Date (2009)**	**Page nr**
'bedonnerd' (fucking mad)	Book '*bedonnerd'* in the Karoo	24 May	20, 21
doos (cunt)	One missed calling	07 Jun.	16, 17
gatvol (fed up)	The boys from Bellville	29 Mar	8, 9
	'Straighten up' guys always go crooked	08 Mar	9
	An elegy for Babsy, slain in his prime	03 May	5
	How can we stop the rot?	31 May	13
	Lessons from an election that brought out our best and worst	26 Apr.	4
	Presidential privacy	01 Feb.	8
	Why Luke went from loose cannon to hero	15 Mar.	2
	Here be wagons	03 May	17
	Get off the blame bus for a new ride	08 Feb.	2
	Bafana are *gatvol* of flexitime Benni	29 Mar.	2
kak (shit)	Iron hand on Lions' defence	07/06	5
	Leave Mccarthy in the cafeteria, where he belongs	29 Mar.	2
	Forgetting the flimsies pays off	03 May	2
	My Cape Town	22 Feb.	14, 15
moer (clobber)	30 seconds with referee Craig Joubert	01 Feb.	3
piel (dick)	The boys from Bellville	29 Mar.	8, 9
poephol (arsehole)	Bored, James Bored	19 Apr.	8, 9
poep (fart)	How we saved the Dalai Lama	05 Apr.	2
snotkop (nincompoop)	Leave the *snotkop* alone	08 Mar.	9
windgat (braggart, gasbag)	Elections 2009: views on South Africans voting	19 Apr.	10

We have already seen in 3.4 above that the editor of *Sarie* magazine, Michélle van Breda, is of the opinion that Afrikaans is "such an such an *emotional* language, *it works everywhere, every time*" (My kind of Holiday, 18 Jan. 2009) (my emphasis) and it is possible that the "perceived emotional force" (Dewaele, 2010) of Afrikaans contributes to the acceptability of

(potentially) offensive words and directly negative statements or criticism in the *Sunday Times*. What this means is that perceived emotional force of Afrikaans, as the non-mother tongue of the majority of *Sunday Times* readers (see L1 of *Sunday Times* readers in 4.1 and Figure 7 above) is most probably regarded as less offensive, but with a strong perlocutionary force, i.e. it gets the point across without appearing to be too offensive. Negative statements or criticism expressed by using offensive Afrikaans language is therefore not taken too seriously. Dewaele's (2010) study on the emotional force of swear and taboo words, conducted among 1 039 multilinguals, provides substantiation for the aforementioned view on the perceived emotional force of Afrikaans when he writes:

> bilinguals may codeswitch to their second language to distance themselves from what they say. Ideas that would be too disturbing when expressed in the first language are less anxiety-provoking in the second language.
>
> (Dewaele, 2010, p. 219)

The discussion in the aforementioned sections shows the ways in which negative and possibly offensive ideas and opinions might be expressed in a non-threatening manner by the *Sunday Times*. I now turn to the analysis of the data, but as the aim of this study is to tease out the social meaning of Afrikaans, the focus in the analysis falls mainly on the way in which indexical ties (associations) between Afrikaans and various social phenomena are established. The focus does not fall on the possible emotional value of Afrikaans, nor on the way in which satire (and irony) are present in the data. However, it should be borne in mind that the social and political negativity and/or criticism in the data might be seen as less offensive, or as satirical or ironic, when expressed in Afrikaans.

5.2 AFRIKAANS INDEXICAL OF SOCIAL NEGATIVITY

5.2.1 Political issues

An example illustrating the use of Afrikaans linguistic items to express political criticism is the article "Getting needled is part and parcel of a politician's life" (01 Mar. 2009). The article opens with the statement that it is Jelly Tsotsi's (Julius Malema's) *tottie* (willy) that received an unusual amount of attention in the press during March 2009. The Afrikaans word *tottie*, a clipping from *tottermannetjie*, is an informal word for 'willy' (penis) used mainly when referring to the penis of a young boy. The implication of this Afrikaans euphemism

used to refer to Malema's genitals is that Malema's penis is equated to the genitals of a child,

which, in the first instance, is an insult in terms of the common belief that genital size is important to males because of its associations with 'real masculinity'. Equating Julius Malema's masculinity with that of a child suggests that Malema is (acting like) a child and not like a responsible adult. That Julius Malema is regarded as an immature person is not a new idea in the current South African society. His nickname is *Jelly Tsotsi*, a name which is derived from *Jelly Tots*, the name for a brand of South African children's sweets, and *tsotsi*, an African slang word for a 'thug'. The name was given to him by a journalist, Andrew Donaldson, who explains his reason for nicknaming Julius Malema *Jelly Tsotsi* as follows:

> I had a column in the *Sunday Times* in which I routinely referred to Julius Malema, the president of the ANC Youth League, as "Jelly Tsotsi" – which was a play on the words "Jelly Tots", the children's sweets. As a political figure, Malema is both rather childish and thuggish, so I thought it quite appropriate. (Donaldson, personal email communication, June 13, 2011)

The article establishes an association between *immaturity*, *political issues* and *crime*, and it is noteworthy that it is the Afrikaans word *tottie* which is used to index immaturity in relation to Malema. This is a case where one might ask the question why the English equivalent (willy) was not used and whether the use of 'willy' would not have had the same meaning implications as *tottie.* Cognizance is taken of the fact that alliteration of '*tsotsi*' and '*tottie*' makes '*tottie*' an ideal word in this instance, but the point here is that the association between *Afrikaans* and political *negativity* remains, even if the alliteration was the possible (sub-conscious) motivation for using the word '*tottie*'.

In the same article the opinion is expressed that Helen Zille did not actually call Malema an "uncircumcised boy", but rather a "wanker". The article immediately states that wanker does not mean that Malema spends his time "rodent wrangling" (masturbating), because masturbating is after all normal and healthy, but rather that he is a *piepiejoller.* ***Piepiejoller*** is a slang word (De Klerk, 1995, p. 271), a compound from *piepie* (here meaning 'willy') and a derived form of the stem *jol* ('have fun' or 'play')[9], thus literally meaning 'penis/genital player', which means that it is to be understood as a synonym for 'masturbate'. The article

[9] See also the discussion in Section 6 .

qualifies, however, that *piepiejoller* should be understood as "a *political* lightweight, easily dismissible" (my emphasis). In this text an English word and an Afrikaans word, both having the meaning of 'masturbator' are employed in different ways: the meaning of the 'English wanking' should be understood as a pleasurable, normal activity, but the 'Afrikaans wanking' should be read as metaphor for negative political issues.

In a similar vein, in an article entitled "I will not take Zille's challenge lying down" (24 May 2009) the leader of the DA party, Helen Zille, is criticized by indirectly referring to her genitals as *koekie* (fanny), a word used to refer to female genitals. In the article Helen Zille is portrayed as a 'wanton' *fille de joie* and a wild whore of Babylon whose campaign is a "painted harlot's run for premier of the Western Cape". According to the article, those readers who wish to spy on her at her home on a Friday night will see Zille walking around with her skirt lifted high singing "Hey Looky Koekie". According to the article, Zille is displaying her *koekie* (fanny) in public so that she may lure any available MEC to her bed with the aim of furthering her political career. The English title of a popular 1969 seven single song, *Looky Looky* by Giorgio Moroder, is altered and rendered in Afrikaans phonology in this instance to create an association between Afrikaans and an implied adulterous Helen Zille, who fornicates her way to the top of the political world. Within this 'prostitute' setting, the author, Ben Trovato, calls himself 'n *hoernalis* ('whorenalist', < journalist) and it is again noticeable that Afrikaans phonology is used to change *joernalis* (journalist) into *hoernalis*. It is possible that readers of this study will argue that the neologism *hoernalis* (< *joernalis*) is a more effective neologism than, for argument's sake, 'whorenalist' (< journalist) and that Afrikaans affords the author this possibility. However, as was the case with *Piepiejoller* Julius Malema, the point is that it is *Afrikaans* that is being used to emphasize the negativity around Helen Zille and the DA party, and, in doing so, a semiotic tie between Afrikaans and negative political issues is created.

Afrikaans is also used to lash out at Julius Malema and Jacob Zuma in "It strips your conscience bare, it's witchcraft ..." (1 Feb. 2009), when the statement is made in the article that Malema and Zuma can do "outrageously '*dof*' stuff". Many English alternatives are available for the word *dof*, such as 'silly' (used earlier in the article) or 'stupid' 'unintelligent', 'thick', 'brainless', 'dim-witted', 'foolish', 'daft' or 'ludicrous', but, again, it is Afrikaans that is used to criticize the actions of two politicians.

I conclude the section about the negativity associated with political issues with a brief discussion of the word *mampara*.[10] Recognition must be given to the fact that *mamparra* is a blend between a Bantu language and Afrikaans, and that *mamparra* might be perceived as a Bantu language word rather than an Afrikaans word because of the *(a)ma-* initial syllable. The etymology of this word is uncertain. Boshoff and Nienaber (1967, p. 407) are of the opinion that the word is a blend of the Bantu language plural prefix (*a)ma-* and a content morpheme which is most probably derived from the Afrikaans *padda (> parra)* (frog). Another possibility, according to (Boshoff, S.P.E. & Nienaber, G.S., 1967, p. 407) is that the Afrikaans word *baar* (uncivilized) became *mambar(r)a/mampar(r)a* in Bantu, which in turn entered the Afrikaans language as a borrowing from Bantu viz. *mamparra.* Determining the perception of South Africa's society in terms of which language *mamparra* belongs to falls outside the scope of this study, but based on the fact that *mamparra* does not occur in a Bantu-language dictionary but does occur in the Afrikaans etymology handbook and Afrikaans dictionaries such as the *Groot Woordeboek/Major Dictionary* (1997) and *Verklarende Handwoordeboek van die Afrikaansse Taal* (*HAT)*, (1994), the word will be considered to be an Afrikaans word.

The meaning of *mampara*, namely "stupid person; worthless ore" *(Groot Woordeboek/Major Dictionary*, 1997), is the title afforded by the *Sunday Times* to a public figure who is regarded by the newspaper as an idiot. This word has the highest frequency in the data, occurring 34 times. Figure 9 below shows the occurrence of the word *mampara* in terms of South Africa's social sectors and detail of persons to whom the title of *mampara* was awarded is provided in the table thereafter.

[10] The standard Afrikaans spelling is '*mamparra*'.

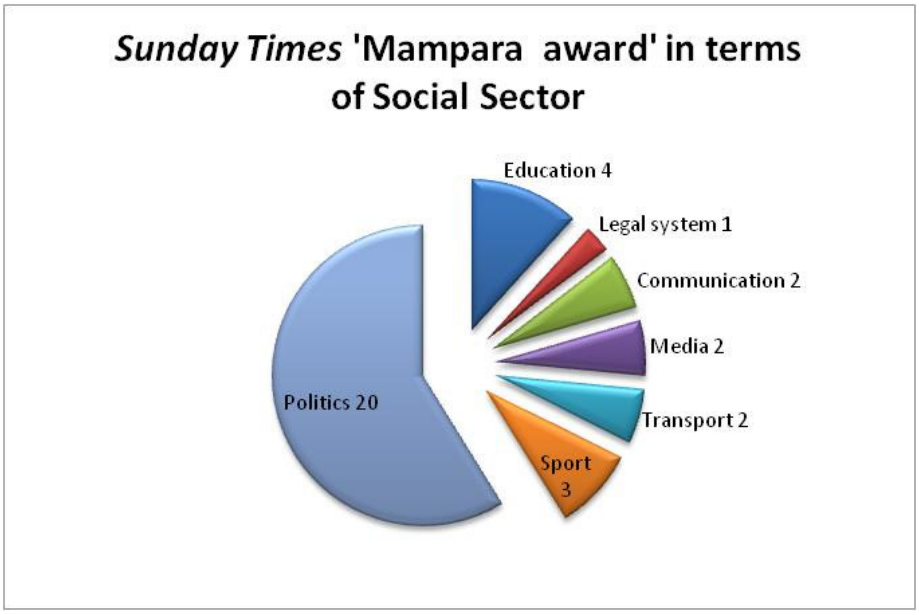


Figure 9: Occurrence of the word *mampara* (stupid person) in terms of various South African social sections as it occurred in the *Sunday Times* (January to June 2009).

SOCIAL SECTOR	NAME AND POSITION OF PUBLIC FIGURE	
Commerce	Marcia Socikwa	Councillor: Independent Communications Authority of SA (ICASA)
Education	Naledi Pandor	Minister of Education
	Simon Mkhatshwa	Founder: CEFUPS Academy
	Ronnie Nyathi	Gauteng leader: SA Democratic Teachers' Union
Legal system	John Hlophe	Cape judge
Media	Gab Mampone Brad Wood	SABC TV: Big Brother reality show
Politics	Julius Malema	President, ANC Youth League
	Oupa Monareng	Member of mayoral committee responsbible for economic development
	Peggy Nkonyeni	MEC
	Jesse Duarte	ANC Spokesman
	Carl Niehaus (x2)	ANC spokesman
	Fatima Hajaig	Deputy Foreign Affairs minister
	Zet Luzipo	Provincial Secretary, COSATU KwaZulu-Natal
	Angie Motshega	SA Secret Service
	Mo Shaik	Head of the South African Secret Service
	Mosiuoa Lekota (x2)	President, COPE
	Mangosuthu Buthelezi	Leader: Inkatha Freedom Party
	Kebby Maphatsoe	Chairman: MK Veterans' Association
	Benno Robinson	Ekurhuleni DA councillor
Sport	Benni McCarthy (x2)	Football: Bafana Bafana striker
Transport	Alpheaus Mlalazi)	Secretary General of National Taxi Alliance

The fact that the word with the highest occurrence in the data is an Afrikaans word which is used to 'label'/identify public and political figures as stupid, supports the findings of this study, namely that Afrikaans is used to highlight social negativity, particularly in the field of politics and sport. Figure 9[11] shows that of the 34 occurences of the work *mampara*, 20 (59%) occur within the political arena, with four (9%) in the sports arena. Negativity in terms of sport is discussed below.

5.2.2 Sport issues

Negativity in relation to sport is expressed in terms of sport actions as well as the actions of sportsmen. Losing a game is often expressed as being *klapped* (slapped) or *donnered* (beaten aggressively) (Bargain-hunter's guide to the best seats in the stadium, 9 Mar. 2009), while bad playing is described as having a "*babalas*" (sic).[12] When one of the Bafana players forgot to keep a complimentary ticket for his girlfriend, the indignation about his action is expressed through the Afrikaans word *sies* (Roma's Riise gets bum rap, 5 Apr. 2009). Afrikaans nicknames, often indicative of negative (physical) aspects, seem to be popular among sport players. Consider Coldrin *Boere* Coetzee (Young guns all fired up for title, 18 Jan. 2009) (my emphasis), Gavin *Dikbek* Hunt (pouter, broody; literally: 'thick mouth') (Can the news be bigger than this?, 25 Jan. 2009) and *Oupa* Shoes (grandpa) (Lunga fouls up once again, 15 Mar. 2009). In this last article, the opinion is expressed that John "Shoes" Moshoeu is too old for the game and should hang up his soccer boots (Lunga fouls up once again, 15 Mar. 2009). To emphasize his oldness, this soccer player is called '*Oupa* Shoes' (Grandpa Shoes). According to the article, he is a player with "battered knees" who seem to come from the time of the "Boer War". The gloss provided for the Afrikaans terms in the previous sentence shows that English alternatives for the Afrikaans nicknames do exist. The dissatisfaction with the soccer player could have been expressed in any of the following ways (to give but a few examples): *Grandpa* Shoes, a player with 'battered knees' who seem to come from the time of the *British Settlers*; or: *Madala* (Zulu word meaning 'grandpa') Shoes, a player with 'battered knees' who seem to come from *ancient* times.

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[11]Figure 9 shows a high occurrence of the word *mampara* in terms of the educational arena (12%). It is possibly an indication of the dissatisfaction with the educational system in the current South Africa, but since no other Afrikaans words, phrases or sentences occur in the data in respect of education, this issue will not be discussed further.

[12] The standard Afrikaans spelling is *bab(b)elas*.

That alternative English terms are available for criticism in sport is illustrated by an article which discusses the actual physical crying of 10 specific sportsmen. The article refers to the 10 sportsmen as 'crybabies' (Who's who of boo hoo, 8 Feb. 2009) and three of the 'crybabies' are South Africans. For nine of the 'crybabies' the crying is described as either "tearful", "weeping", "turning on the water works", "breaking down", "bawled", "blubbed" or "leaking a few tears". The three South Africans' crying is described as "blubbed", "breaking down" and "*tjanked*". Two of the three South Africans mentioned in this article are white, namely James Dalton (rugby player) and Hansie Cronje (cricket player). According to the article, James Dalton "blubbed" while Hansie Cronje "broke down". The third athlete is a black soccer player Jimmy Tau and his crying is described as *tjanked*. The word *tjank* is derogative in meaning as it refers to the whining (crying) of an animal, usually that of a dog, and when used in relation to humans, it is indicative of irritation on the part of the observers of such crying because the observers are of the opinion that there is no real reason for the crying. Reference to human crying as *tjank* is an indication that the crying is not to be taken seriously. The use of specifically Afrikaans (consciously or unconsciously) to degrade the public crying of Jimmy Tau could be regarded as adding insult to injury, because not only is Jimmy Tau's crying irritating and not to be taken seriously, but it is expressed in a language which is associated with racism and oppression of black people in South Africa. This article illustrates that the associations between a word in a specific language and certain social phenomena in a given context at a specific point in time could broaden the meaning of such a word because the associations which are assumed to be socially shared knowledge, are called into existence when the word is used. This would mean that the social injustice of apartheid, which was maintained through Afrikaans against black people such as Jimmy Tau, is called into existence when an Afrikaans word such as *tjank* is used to refer to his crying.

5.2.3 Social arenas other than politics and sport

Over and above politics and sport as social areas in which Afrikaans is used to express criticism and/or dissatisfaction, Afrikaans is used when criticism is expressed about location, a public figure's style, a new South African wine, and in one article it is used as a metaphor for personal 'difficulties'. Afrikaans is associated with dissatisfaction about Sun City, a place where the vendors are made out to be drug dealers who probably stuff the weed (grass/pot/marijuana) down their *broeks* (pants) (Vulgar? So what, check the kugels, 17 May

2009). Dissatisfaction about Noluthando Meje's dress at the Cosmo Sexiest Men Calendar event held in Cape Town in February 2009 is expressed as an "*eina* cherry chiffon frock" (Lit: ouch! cherry chiffon frock, meaning Noluthando was scantily dressed) (my emphasis), which she just managed to wear with impeccable style (Where the boy (and B-list) are, 1 Feb. 2009). In "Elegant in Elgin" (21 Jun 2009) the location Elgin, the winemakers Adi and Cornelia as well as the wine they make are belittled through the use of Afrikaans. The article discusses the owners of a farm in the Elgin region, a desolate place that cannot even be described as 'there' according to the article. The owners are Adi and Cornelia. Cornelia is pregnant and some attention is given to the fact that a name for the new child must be chosen. This might come from a *gogga* (bug) book, with options such as "Oogpister" (lit: an eye pisser), or "Blaartrektor" glossed in the article as "a pugnacious ground beetle" and as "a blister beetle" respectively. The child's middle name, according to the article, is going to be *Kalander* (weevil). It should be self-evident that it is rather disrespectful to suggest that an unborn baby's name should be selected from a book on insects, let alone insect names which include the meanings of 'pister', 'blister' and 'weevil'. Adi and Cornelia must also choose a name for a new wine they are making. That there is a subtle reference to the possible Afrikaner ethnicity of Adi and Cornelia can probably be inferred from the fact that they might be tempted to call the wines Sannie or Japie. This suggestion is, as is the case with the name for the unborn baby, also a bit degrading, since Sannie and Japie are common Afrikaner names, strongly associated with jokes in which Sannie and Jannie, or Japie, are depicted as common, naïve, stupid characters. The article also mentions that in the process of wine naming, Adi has to counter the name *vaaljapie*, which is a home-made, inferior wine (Pharos, 2007).

Whereas the word *gogga* is used in (Elegant in Elgin, 21 Jun 2009) to serve as a source of rather offensive names for Adi and Cornelia's unborn child, *gogga* is used in "From gangster knives to the great outdoors" (1 Feb. 2009) to refer to emotional difficulties or hardships people might experience. The article reports on a programme called Educo Africa, which seeks to take troubled persons through a process of healing, growth and training in natural settings. Research conducted around this programme have found that when people survive "troublesome *goggas*" (i.e. troubles and hardships), they tend to heal.

5.2.4 Iconicity of Afrikaans proper nouns

In section 5.2.2 above, mention was made of Afrikaans nicknames such as *Dikbek* Hunt and *Oupa* Shoes, which are associated with sportsmen. Nicknames in the data seem to be *indexical* of some undesirable quality associated with a particular person. The semiotic tie is not iconic, which means that the nickname *Dikbek* is not indicative of race, ethnicity or gender, for instance, but simply a negative quality of the person to whom this nickname is given. The semiotic tie with proper names, on the other hand, seems to indicate that proper names are afforded 'inherent quality status' so that Afrikaans is associated, for example, with race (white), ethnicity (Afrikaner) *as well as* proper names, such as *Jan*, *Koos*, *van der Merwe* and *Koekemoer*. In line with my argument presented in section 3.1.2 where I proposed that iconicity is a bi-directional semiotic process, an *iconic* relation in terms of proper nouns would mean that the names *Jan* and *Koos*, for instance, would index social phenomena such as ethnicity, race and intelligence. This does seem to be the case, and not only in the South African society. Consider for instance the use of the following proper names to indicate ethnicity, race and/or stupidity: *Paddy* for the Irish, *Gretchen* for Germany, *Vusi*/*Sipho* for black South Africans, and *Jan*/*Koos* for white Afrikaners. In the South African context, *Jan* and *Koos* are the proper names for the idiot in South African jokes as the respective 190 000 and 22 000 hits for Google searches with the specific phrases "Jan van der Merwe + jokes" and "Koos van der Merwe + jokes" attest to. The *Jan/Koos (van der Merwe)* jokes depict *Jan/Koos* as the idiot: he is the character who cannot distinguish between a microwave oven and television set when trying to buy a television in a shop, and he is the one who is not concerned when his enemies inject him with the AIDS virus because he is wearing a condom.

Vodacom's use of the name *Jan* in their Player 23 Campaign in which *Jan*, a rugby fan, is the so called 23rd player who represents South Africa's rugby fans, offers support for the view in terms of proper nouns suggested here. I would like to suggest that Vodacom's choice of the name *Jan* to index South Africa's rugby fans most probably stems from the iconic semiotic tie between rugby and Afrikaners, on the one hand, and *Jan* and Afrikaners on the other. Images of Vodacom's *Jan* on the many video clips available on Google and YouTube portrays the Afrikaners as a white male with a *boep* (paunch), sporting both a pair of khaki shorts and a green rugby T-shirt or a bare torso. The negative image of Afrikaners established by the iconic relation between the name *Jan* and Afrikaans/Afrikaners was not well received by all South Africans. In a R500-winning email letter to the *Sunday Times* (Yes, Jan is a poor choice

as example for rugby fans, 22 Mar. 2009) Darryl "Not Player 23" from Balfour writes that 'Jan' is "… perpetuating stereotypes of biltong-eating, brandy-and-coke drinking *Afrikaners*" (my emphasis). I suggest at this point that proper nouns gain their iconic status through fractal recursivity of the iconic/indexical semiotic opposition created in a given society in the same way as I have argued for the iconic status of rugby, for instance, earlier on in section 3.3. I illustrate this process in Figure 10 below.

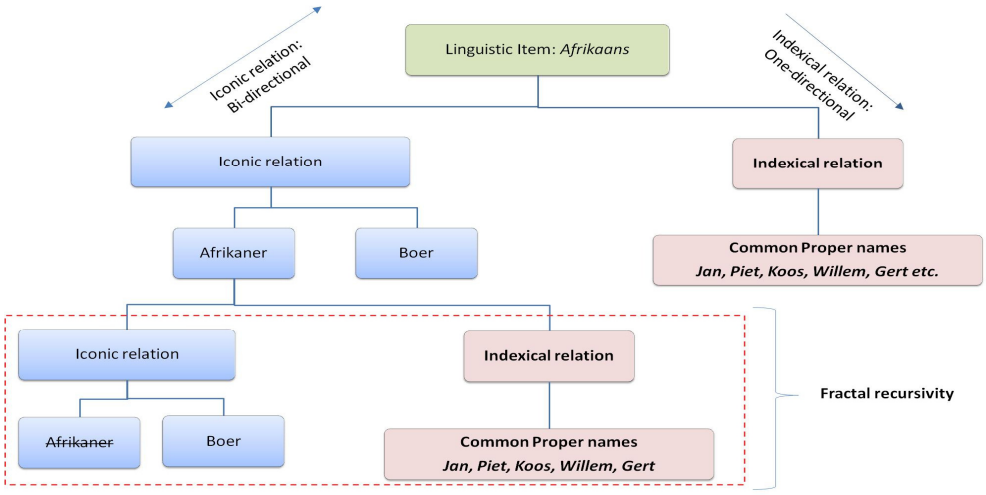


Figure 10: Iconic status of proper names

The indexical node to the right of Figure 10 shows that Afrikaans is indexical of names such Jan, Koos, Piet, Willem and Gert. Because it is an indexical relation, not all persons named Jan, Koos, Piet, Willem and/or Gert are necessarily Afrikaners. However, through fractal recursivity, proper names are afforded iconic status, since they now form part of an iconic node within the semiotic tree. As discussed before, fractal recursivity of this nature opens the possibility for items in the indexical node to be regarded as iconic in nature. What is upsetting is that Vodacom's *Jan*, as being the representative of rugby fans, enforces the existing view (whether consciously or subconsciously) in South African society that rugby is mainly an Afrikaner game and that Afrikaners are white, dumb people. It is a view which erases all non-white Afrikaans speaking citizens, all white non-Afrikaans speaking citizens and all intelligent Afrikaans speaking citizens as supporters of rugby. It is understandable that some readers of the *Sunday Times* expressed their dissatisfaction with this portrayal of rugby lovers.

In the discussions in sections 5.2.3 and 5.2.4 above I offered some areas in which Afrikaans is associated with negativity in the South African context. I have endeavoured to show how the Afrikaans word *gogga* as well as various Afrikaans names for specific *goggas* are appropriated to show disrespect for an unborn child (and its parents) and to refer to emotional difficulties, how the common Afrikaans names *Sannie* and *Jannie* are appropriated to indicate low social class and low IQ, how the Afrikaans word *vaaljapie* is used to indicate the inferiority of an intended new South African wine, and how names such as *Jan* and *Koos* are iconic of Afrikaners and the negative aspects associated with this ethnic group. Evidence for the negativity with which Afrikaans is associated can also be gleaned from the quantitative analysis and I offer evidence here in terms of the social arenas in which more than 10 Afrikaans linguistic items occurred as well as the semantic properties of the verbs occurring in the data.

5.3 STATISTICAL EVIDENCE OF NEGATIVE INDEXICALITY OF AFRIKAANS

5.3.1 Evidence in terms of the identified themes of the articles

Most of the Afrikaans words in the data are associated with negativity. The themes in which more than 10 Afrikaans lexical items occur are listed in the table below. The items total 388, and constitute 85% of the total items of 456. The total number of Afrikaans occurrences in the respective broad themes is provided in the table below. It is worthwhile noting that of the 78 articles which deal with some or other political aspect, not one contained a positive association with Afrikaans.

THEME	# AFRIKAANS ITEMS
Sport	116
Politics	78
Social	63
Review	60
Art	39
Interview	17
Business	15
	Total: 388

5.3.2 Evidence in terms of the word types occurring in the data

Figure 11 below shows the statistics in terms of the verbs which occur in the data. The majority of verbs occurring in the data denote some form of negativity.

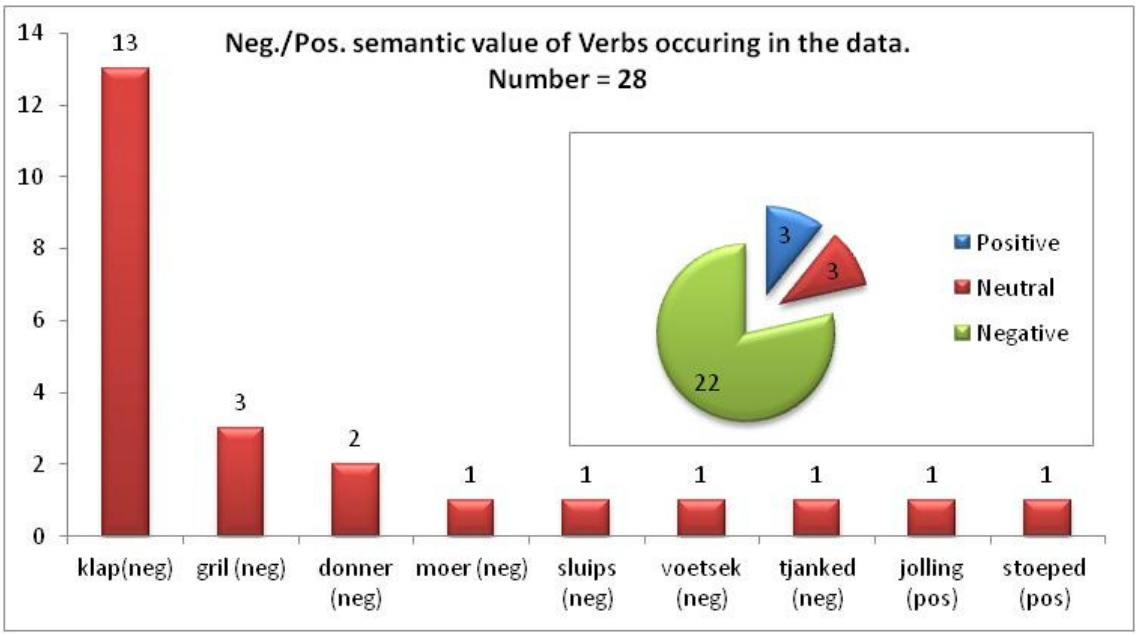


Figure 11: **Negative or positive semantic values for verbs orrcuring in the *Sunday Times* (January to June 2009 data)**

The verb with the highest frequency is *klap*, occurring five times as *klap*, six times as *klapped*, and twice as *klapping*. Because the meaning is the same in all instances, it is presented in the graph as the stem *klap* only. The verbs marked 'negative' in the graph are those which contain a negative aspect in the denotational semantic meaning of the word. *Klap* (slap, smack), *donner* (beat aggressively) and *moer* (beat, wallop, clobber) refer to slapping or beating something/someone, while *moer* and *donner* are considered expletives in Afrikaans. *Voetsek* (sic)[13] (buzz off!) and *tjank* (whine), in turn, are words which gain there negative connotation when used in relation to humans, as these verbs are usually used in relation to animals. *Gril* (shudder) refers to something which causes unpleasant feelings, such as those experienced by

[13] The standard Afrikaans spelling is '*voertsek*'.

some people when seeing a snake or a spider. Furthermore, two of the verbs which are classified as 'neutral' in Figure 11, namely *dop* and *braai*, occur in articles in which a complaint about possible racism in Beaufort West is brought to the fore (Strife is par for the course at this club, 15 Feb. 2009) and in an article which discusses the high incidence of alcoholism in South Africa (Hug a tree and save your liver, 1 Feb. 2009), effectively 'infusing' the seemingly neutral verb with negative aspects, in this instance, racism and alcoholism.

The Afrikaans qualifier (adverb/adjective) *lekker* (pleasurable, dainty, nice, sweet, palatable, delectable, savoury, delicate, delicious; pleasant; cosy; tipsy; luscious, exquisite; cushy, merry), which has a positive denotational semantic meaning, is, interestingly enough, used in the *negative* form (not *lekker*) for three out of the four occurrences of this word in the data to indicate some unpleasantness. The seemingly once positive use of *lekker* is possibly not entirely positive when it occurs as a qualifier for 'liquor' ("*lekker* liquor") in "Hard times aren't what they used to be" (18 Jan. 2009), which discusses the irony of South Africans' continuing purchase of liquor in bad financial times. The use of irony with respect to "lekker liquor" is indicative here of the negative effects of liquor, possibly addiction to this "*lekker* liquid" which is responsible for South Africans throwing caution to the wind during hard financial times. The three occurrences of the negation of *lekker*, i.e. 'not *lekker'*, are associated in the data with the famous South African Paralympics athlete Oscar Pretorius's jail experience in Amsterdam ('I wouldn't be the man I am' with normal legs, 3 May 2009), a badly played soccer match (Bucs and Santos sapped by heat, 8 Feb. 2009) and the failure of provincial governments to provide basic service delivery (Local's not lekker for Zuma, 31 May 2009). The use of "not *lekker*" in the heading "Local's not Lekker" of the aforementioned article is an interesting example in that it establishes a meaning in direct opposition of the South African slogan "Local is Lekker", which is aimed at promoting the "movement towards locally-made and locally-sourced raw materials and goods" (Fluxtrends.co.za), but the meaning has been extended to include almost any South African social phenomenon which is considered *positively*. The meaning associated with both the heading and the content of the article is 'local is *not lekker*'. The rhetorical effect of paradox established here is reminiscent of the contradictory reading of the FRELIMO slogan "*o futuro melhor* (for a better future)" afforded by women street vendors in Mozambique when they infuse the slogan with the meaning of a "worse future" through code-switching between Ronga and Portuguese (Stroud, 2004, pp. 155-158). With the inversion of the FRELIMO

slogan's meaning, Stroud (2004) illustrates how Portuguese, which during the Portuguese rule of Mozambique was associated with power but which could no longer at the time of his research be regarded to "automatically confer social mobility and economic advantages on its speakers" (Stroud, 2004, p. 148), is appropriated to expressing distrust in the promises of the politicians. Reference to the FRELIMO slogan also serves to call up a host of public discourses about political dissatisfaction, according to Stroud (2004, p. 148). Stroud's (2004) analysis of this instance of Ronga-Portuguese code-switching seems applicable to the "local is not lekker" example, since Afrikaans, a language which was associated with political and economic power during the apartheid era but which no longer automatically afforded its speakers social advantages, is appropriated to call up "a whole set of public discourses" (Stroud, 2004, p.148) around poor service delivery, while simultaneously expressing distrust of the government's promises for (better) service delivery.

I conclude this section with a discussion of use of the word *gatvol* (had a belly full; is fed-up) in the data. It is used mainly as a qualifier (adjective) to express the 'fed-up' feelings of citizens about various South African social phenomena such as crime, politics, racism and poor health services. *Gatvol* occurs 11 times in the data, four times as an adjective expressing dissatisfaction about the high crime rate in the majority of cases (Cops want soft targets, 1 Feb. 2009) ('Straighten up' guys always go crooked, 8 Mar. 2009) (An elegy for Babsy, slain in his prime, 3 May 2009), once about a footballer's negative attitude (Bafana are gatvol of flexitime Benni, 29 Mar. 2009), once referring to the Voortrekkers' (Afrikaners') dissatisfaction with the political situation during the 1800s (Here be wagons, 3 May 2009), once about the health sector (How can we stop the rot? , 31 May 2009), once about racism and marginalization of black people in rugby (Why Luke went from loose cannon to hero, 2009) and once about the continuation of Afrikaner ideology (The boys from Bellville, 29 Mar. 2009). *Gatvol* also occurs as a pseudonym for a reader who is *gatvol* (fed-up, had a bellyful) about the high crime rate due to the sloppiness of police services (Get off the blame bus for a new ride, 8 Feb. 2009) and as a noun which indicates an unknown group of disgruntled people who, together with the other groups, namely the 'content' and the 'optimistic', came to vote in favour of democracy during the 2009 elections (Lessons from an election that brought out our best and worst, 26 Apr. 2009). What is significant about the use of *gatvol*, though, is the near absence of the divide between clear ethnic and racial categories for those who are *gatvol*. Although *gatvol* is associated with negativity in terms of social phenomena, it is indexical in the majority of cases of *South Africans* and not of specific ethnic

or racial groups. Only in one instance, that contained in the article about black people's dissatisfaction around rugby and alleged racism in South Africa, is *gatvol* employed to juxtapose the two racial groups, *white* vs. *black* (Why Luke went from loose cannon to hero, 2009). The indication from the use of *gatvol* is that *all* South Africans are *gatvol* of crime, poor health services, poor service deliveries etc. and not only certain ethnic or racial groups.

The negativity associated with Afrikaans can possibly be explained in terms of Irvine and Gal's (2000) semiotic process of fractal recursivity. I propose that fractal recursivity of the ethnic opposition English/Afrikaans is projected onto a moral level so that English = positive/good and Afrikaans = negative/bad. I use the term morality to refer to the distinction between negative and positive, where 'negative' includes (but is not limited to) 'bad' and/or 'undesirable', while positive includes (but is not limited to) 'good' and/or 'desirable'. The term morality used in this sense could include, but does not necessarily refer to, the distinction between right and wrong *according to conscience*. Using the term morality in this way would mean that the reference to a sportsman's crying as *tjank* (Who's who of boo hoo, 8 Feb. 2009) could be regarded as (morally) undesirable, but not necessarily as morally wrong. Since negative or positive values can be ascribed to any experience within any social sphere, fractal recursivity on the level of morality can be illustrated in terms of other social areas in which it occurs, such as the levels of locality, socializing and naming, for instance. In the discussion below some examples of the way in which Afrikaans is associated with negativity and English with positivity in terms of locality, socializing and address forms are provided.

5.4 FRACTAL RECURSIVITY ON THE LEVEL OF MORALITY

5.4.1 Locality: *Dorp* vs. Town

The way in which English and Afrikaans are used differently in the data to refer to the same locality, for instance, seems to indicate that in the current South Africa, Afrikaans is associated with negativity, while English is associated with positivity. Rural areas, for instance, are referred to as *dorp* when some negative aspect of the locality is brought to the fore, but in articles where some positive aspect is discussed such rural areas become a town or a hamlet. In instances where the area is associated with socially perceived negativity such as apartheid, racism, Afrikaners, backwardness, the ANC's oppositional party, the Democratic Alliance, or even boredom, then the area is identified as a *dorp*, but in instances where an area has positive associations, such as development, upper-class citizens such as politicians, elite activities and/or activities or aspects of the ruling ANC party, then such areas are called

towns, hamlets, places or villages. The word *dorp* is used for areas described as "far-flung rural areas" and "least-known places" in the Karoo and Free State (Politicians press flesh in back of beyond in final run-up to poll, 19 Apr. 2009), a "one-horse" place (Learning on the wild side, 18 Jan. 2009), a place populated by "Christians, who are "white" and which is ruled by "white political parties" (Wake up, blinkered Christians, 26 Apr. 2009), a boring place (Proteas party with models and mates, 1 Mar. 2009), and a place "where the hand of apartheid once gripped them [the rockers] by the throat" (The boys from Bellville, 29 Mar. 2009). By contrast, the Karoo 'town' of Prince Albert is called a "hamlet" in an article which describes the delicacies on offer at the olive festival (Where to put it all: that is the question, 24 May 2009) and Oudtshoorn is described as a "sleepy corner of the land", a town of "elegant thin-stemmed palms and opulent distant homes suggestive of the old frontier" in an article which reports on the development of talented young cricketers in Oudtshoorn (Cricket catching on in the Karoo, 25 Jan. 2009). Recall that within South African society cricket is socially perceived as primarily an Englishman's game.

5.4.2 Socializing: *dop* vs. drinking

The use of the Afrikaans word *dop* (an alcoholic drink) vs. English equivalents reveals a similar pattern, that is, *dop*, referring to an alcoholic drink or the taking of an alcoholic drink, is associated with the drinking of the Springbok rugby team's players (recall that the Springboks are strongly associated with Afrikaners and apartheid). (Sevens coach stays Treu to his discipline, 12 Apr. 2009), (These were toughest Boks, say old Lion, 1 Mar.l 2009), the drinking of the members of the allegedly racist Beaufort West Golf Club (Strife is par for the course at this club, 15 Feb. 2009) and alcoholism in South Africa (Hug a tree and save your liver, 1 Feb. 2009). However, politicians and intellectuals who "discuss matters of the cosmos" while enjoying a drink, do not *dop*; their drinking is described as "sipping liquids" (Follow that careful vote with genuine involvement in your democracy, 19 Apr. 2009). These examples illustrate once again that Afrikaans is associated with social phenomena which are regarded as negative (rugby, racism, alcoholism), while English is associated with valuable philosophical matters.

5.4.3 Address forms: *oom* (uncle), *tannie* (aunt) vs. mister, miss, miss, mrs and sir

Oom is an address form which literally means 'uncle'. In the Afrikaner culture, however, *oom* can be used as a term of respect to refer to an older male person but it is mainly used in more informal situations and generally indicates a relationship which is more personal in nature. The address form *tannie* (aunt) is used in a similar way, i.e. as a term of respect to an older female but in informal situations where the relationship is deemed personal in nature. The use of the address form *oom* (uncle) occurs six times in the data, one of these referring to the legendary Herman Charles Bosman character, *oom* Schalk Lourens, a white man from the Groot Marico district (A-mazing sips, 15 Mar. 2009). In four other instances *oom* is used to refer to sport figures, all of them white men (Rugby stars gather to share the Burger clan's fine wine, 21 Jun. 2009), (Lunga fouls up once agan, 15 Mar. 2009), (Sacre bleu! It's a Fifa Kortbroek clone, 14 Jun. 2009). Only in one instance is *oom* appropriated to address a non-white, this being Waleed Tabra, a "friendly oom" who is the Iraqi football team's technical manager (For Iraq, football is the only war in town, 14 Jun. 2009). *Tannie* occurs twice in the data. Since *tannie* is not used in relation to any women in particular, no certainty exists in terms of the ethnicity or race of the females in question. However, since one of the references to *tannie* indicates *tannies* (lit: aunts, but here referring to 'ladies') who are toasting rolls at a *boerewors* festival (boere sausage) where there are *boerperde* (*boer* horses) and where there was "probably more rugby than wors" (Wors to be reckoned with, 21 Jun. 2009), it could possibly be inferred that the *tannies* at the festival are most probably white Afrikaner women. The other reference to *tannies* occurs in an article in which Afrikaans rockers relate their Afrikaner upbringing in Bellville (The boys from Bellville, 29 Mar. 2009). Although these *tannies* might be white females, there is no real indication in the article of the race or ethnicity of these *tannies*. Despite this uncertainty in this one instance of the identity of *tannie*¸ the address forms *oom* and *tannie* in the data seem to indicate that the fractal recursivity of the black/white opposition onto the level of address forms is still evident in post-apartheid South Africa.

That Afrikaans address forms occur only in the informal register of Afrikaans, whereas such occurrences in English address forms are in a formal register is another indication that the sociolinguistic values associated with Afrikaans and English differ in terms of negative and positive values, particularly if one considers that in many societies the formal register from the standard variety often carries more prestige than the informal register. For Afrikaans, only

the informal address forms appear in the data, with the formal address forms *meneer* and *mevrou* noticeably absent, but for English many formal address forms are present such as mister, miss, mrs, and sir. An examination of these English address forms as they appear in the concordance function of Antconc 3.2.1 (w) 2007 shows that the majority of English address forms are associated with prestigious social activities/phenomena while the Afrikaans address forms are associated with sport and rural, Afrikaner activities. The English address forms are associated with elegance, beauty, English royalty and public political figures. The term 'mister' is associated mainly with admiration and respect, 'sir' with British royalty, 'missy' and 'miss' with beauty and elegance, and 'mrs' mainly with non-whites, such as Mrs Molefo, Mrs Zuma and Mrs Obama. The only English term that has negative associations is the address form 'madam', which refers in all instances in the data to the Afrikaans 'madam', the 'boss' of the apartheid era's 'house maid'.

The sets of examples presented above aim to illustrate fractal recursivity of the opposition Afrikaans/English onto the level of morality and how this semiotic process proposed by Irvine and Gal (2000) offers a possible explanation for the way in which Afrikaans becomes/is invested with negative values and English with positive values in a post-apartheid South Africa.

So far the focus has been on the negativity associated with Afrikaans, and, as I have pointed out already, most of the code-switching data seem to be associated with some social negativity. However, some positive associations between Afrikaans and social phenomena are also present in the *Sunday Times* (January to June 2009) data and the positive associations with traditional Afrikaner food, the locality of a *stoep* (veranda) and proper nouns are discussed in the following section.

5.5 AFRIKAANS INDEXICAL OF POSITIVENESS

5.5.1 Traditional Afrikaner food

Afrikaans words describing traditional Afrikaans food do not seem to be associated with negativity. Articles in which the Afrikaans words *pap* (porridge), *mielies* (mealies), *boerewors* (*boere* sausage), *wors* (sausage), *wors sosaties* (sausage kebabs) and *waatlemoen konfyt* (watermelon jam) occur either do not associate the food item with any social phenomena, or the foods mentioned are described as enjoyable. No '*boere*' negativity, for

instance, is associated with the *boerie* rolls on sale at the Champions League Football kicks off (Yoga classes will de-stress and relax you, 15 Feb. 2009) and no negativity is associated with the Afrikaans words *soetlappies* (a pancake style of batter zig-zagged over hot oil, cooked into a large web of crispy confectionery and doused liberally with icing sugar), *boerewors* (*boere* sausage), *sosaties* (kebabs*)* and *rooster brood* (toast) which occur alongside breyanis, pancakes, cakes, cookies, muffins and chips in a paragraph describing the eats available at the olive festival in Prince Albert (Where to put it all: that is the question, 24 May 2009). Even *biltong* (dried strips of seasoned meat), that traditional *boere* food which was brought to the Cape by the Dutch and which became part of the staple food of the Voortrekkers (Biltongmakers.com, 2010) is associated in some instances with positiveness. Sol Kerzner says, for instance, that "[b]iltong and boerewors are some of [his] favourite things" (Brash is King, 5 Apr. 2009). In another article, *biltong*, alongside game pâté and artisan breads, is listed as a ballast, a substance which helps to maintain balance (Naval gazing, 5 Apr. 2009). However, the positiveness of traditional Afrikaner food is associated with *South Africa* in the majority of cases rather than with Afrikaans/Afrikaners. None of the words *Afrikaner*, *Afrikaanse* or *Afrikaner* in the data is used as an adjective for food, whether such food is described in Afrikaans or not. In an article about Allen Pfister, the former personal chef to Present Jacob Zuma, Pfister calls beef biltong one of *South Africa's* favourites (Food fit for a president, 17 May 2009), and for Johan Botha, an internationally renowned tenor, *biltong* is part of the culture of *South Africa* (Platteland's soaring tenor touches world, 22 Feb. 2009). When *biltong* is associated with Afrikaners, the association is negative in nature, because it is becomes one of the defining features of the stereotypical Afrikaner male, the one with the *boep* who shouts "Vrystaat" while holding a piece of *biltong* in the one hand and a *brandewyn 'n coke* (brandy and coke) in the other (Readers leap into fray over Luke becoming a hero, 22 Mar. 2009) (See also "Yes, Jan is a poor choice as example for rugby fans", 22 Mar. 2009). This situation illustrates that the ethnic groups 'South Africans' and 'Afrikaners' are regarded differently and that such difference is created through different associations of the same word in different social circumstances. *Biltong*, an Afrikaans word referring to an Afrikaans food item, can be appropriated to indicate a good-tasting delicacy, in which case it becomes a *South African* delicacy, or it can be appropriated to refer to the stereotypical male rugby lover/supporter, in which case it becomes a feature of *Afrikaner* ethnicity.

5.5.2 Locality: *stoep* (veranda, patio)

The Afrikaans word *stoep* (veranda, patio) occurs 13 times in the data. In one article the incident of the death of a baby who died in the arms of the mother while sleeping on a *stoep* is related (Baby dies in the cold as parents disagree, 24 May 2009). Although this is a sad story, the word *stoep* is not the cause or contributing factor for the death of the child and for this reason the use of *stoep* is regarded as neutral. In the other 12 articles *stoep* is associated with positive, pleasant matters. *Stoep*, as a place which overlooks a Zen garden, is associated with offering bliss to a tightly wound city soul (The big kahuna, 8 Mar. 2009). For Bev Young, director of tourism for the Ndlambe region, it is one of the comforts in life (My Port Alfred, 5 Apr. 2009). In "Out of (their minds in) Africa" (15 May 2009) it is part of peaceful accommodation and in "De Hoop springs eternal" (10 May 2009) the *stoep* is part of a get-away in De Hoop, which is described as a "home to the restless spirits". In "Branching out" (19 Apr. 2009) the stoep overlooks a thriving vegetable garden which 'hugs' a small venue, and in another article, which discusses what women want, a *stoep* is something the author has desired for so long (... and women don't want, 8 Feb. 2009). *Stoep* is even associated with the *perfect* place for a wedding (A case of the right place at the right time, 10 May 2009) and in "A-mazing sips" (15 Mar. 2009) *stoep* is a metaphor for heaven. The majority of articles in which the Afrikaans *stoep* appears depict this locality as a desirable, perfect place where one sits down to return to oneself so that the human spirit can be replenished.

5.5.3 Proper Nouns: *Koos* and Corban

In section 5.2.4 above I suggested that proper nouns could gain iconic status and I also illustrated how the proper noun *Jan* is iconic of race (white), ethnicity (Afrikaner), sport (rugby), IQ (stupid) and social class (low). In an article entitled "My Joburg" (1 Feb. 2009), *Koos*, icon of white Afrikaner stupidity, is afforded a positive aspect when he is portrayed as possible instrument for bridging the ethnic (Afrikaans/English) and racial (black/white) divide still evident in South Africa as a character in Alex Harris's desired, intentional buddy movie. When Alex Harris (author, speaker and explorer) was asked what he would call a movie about Johannesburg should he ever be asked to make such a movie, Harris answered:

> Koos and Corban and the Search for Kruger's Minedump Millions. It's a buddy movie set in Joburg that I've wanted to make for some time.

The different meanings associated with *Koos* and other textual elements in the "My Joburg" article, are not simple and straightforward, but come about as a result of a complex network of semiotic links associated with *Koos*, *Corban*, *Kruger's millions*, *minedumps*, and *buddy movie* within the South African context. To unpack the meaning of Harris's answer, each semiotic links must be considered. *Koos*, for instance, is most probably iconic of the ethnic group white Afrikaners (see earlier discussion in section 5.2.4), while Corban is most probably iconic of white Englishmen. This inference is based on the fact that the name Corban (a variant form of Corbin) is "used predominantly in the English language" (Babynamespedia: Corban). *Koos* and Corban seem adventurous (or stupid), because they are searching for the mythical gold treasure of Paul Kruger, the former president of the South African Republic, historically called the Transvaal. The "minedump" is an icon of Johannesburg and this inference is based on the fact that the gold minedumps were historically a well-known landmark of Johannesburg, the City of Gold where Paul Kruger played a pivotal political role during the gold rush when gold was discovered in Johannesburg. The minedump is iconic of the economic wealth of South Africa which came about as a result from the discovery of gold in Johannesburg, but, more importantly, it is also an icon of the locality in which the 1976 Soweto protest again Afrikaans and the oppression of the apartheid regime took place. The words "buddy movie" refer here possibly to the buddy film genre in which two mildly antagonistic characters with initial rivalry between them must work together toward a socially sanctioned end (Cheung, 2002, pp. 3, 5). If all of the social phenomena to which the various elements in the text point are taken into consideration, we might infer that Harris would like to make a film which depicts the South African dream of reconciliation and a rainbow unity, where the historic and current 'mild' ethnic antagonism between English and Afrikaans is overcome through cooperation between the two groups when they set off on a common goal to find the lost riches of this country, and, in doing so, find a solution to South Africa's English and Afrikaans ethnic divide. If we consider the remote possibility that Corban might even be iconic of blacks in South Africa because Corban is "originally a French nickname for someone of *raven-colored* or *dark* hair (Babynamespedia: Corban) (emphasis added) such as all blacks naturally have, then Harris's intended movie will include overcoming the racial antagonism between whites and blacks as well. The reconciliation is set to take place in Johannesburg, the same locality where the antagonism between whites and blacks violently erupted in 1976. Harris's intended buddy film thus proposes to reappropriate an old, violent locality to construct a new meaning of reconciliation for this space. The significance for Afrikaans in this text is that it is *Koos*, the icon of the white, Afrikaner nationalism's

Afrikaner that will be instrumental in overcoming the ethnic (and racial) divide in South Africa. Seen in this way, *Koos* becomes one of South African's heroes, and, through its iconic relation with Afrikaans, Afrikaners are afforded a reconciliatory role in a still racially divided post-apartheid society.

5.5.4 Proper Nouns: *Boer, Baas* and *Kalid*

The word *Boer*, referring to the group Afrikaners is generally perceived as negative when used by non-Afrikaans speaking citizens. Consider the definition for *Boer* as it occurs in the electronic Pharos 5-in-1 dictionaries (2007): "The name Boer is often used *derogatively* by non-Afrikaners …" (my emphasis). However, used as a proper noun in the data, *Boer* seems to point towards more positive associations. Liezel van der Westhuizen, Idols presenter, voice-over artist and model, for instance, when asked what her favourite restaurant, *anywhere,* would be, answered "BOERgeoisie" (My kind of holiday, 25 Jan. 2009). This is the name of an Afrikaans restaurant situated in Pretoria. The name for the restaurant was chosen by the original owner, an Afrikaans-speaking man named Claude Graham (Boer'geoisie, 2011). BOER'geoisie serves traditional South African dishes which are in essence traditional *Afrikaner* dishes such as *skilpadjies* (spicy lambs liver rolled in caul[14]), chicken *vinkies* (chicken fillet rolled with feta cheese) and *kaaings* (lamb crackling)(http://www.dining-out.co.za/member_details-MemberID-2506.html). In the Western Cape the restaurant-theatre combination called "Die Boer", founded on 20 April 2005 by Afrikaans-speaking Jurgen Human en Margit Meyer-Rödenbeck, is rated by the *Sunday Times* as "one of the best live music venues in the Western Cape" (The Guide, 17 May 2009) and in Bloemfontein the "Mystic Boer" is regarded as a famous nightclub (Trumpeting our love for the beautiful game, 21 Jun. 2009). One would have expected the inclusion of the word *boer* when naming a business in post-apartheid South African to be met with negativity and rejection because of its negative associations with Afrikaans, Afrikaners, apartheid, oppression and racism. It is also somewhat surprising that the name "BOER'geoisie" did not meet with resistance, since this word is a blend of the Afrikaans word *boer* and the French word *bourgeoisie*, as the apostrophe in the orthography of the word indicates. The particular orthography and the morphological composition of "BOER'geoisie" could be an indication of Afrikaners (*Boere*)

[14] "the large fatty omentum ['net'] covering the intestines (as of a cow, sheep, or pig)" (Merriam-Webster dictionaries).

as the ruling class in a capitalist society, because the use of capitals for *Boer* foregrounds the Afrikaner aspect of the name, while simultaneously combining it with the meaning of the French word *bourgeoisie* i.e. the ruling class in a capitalist society (see for instance Hall, Stuart (2001, pp. 195-200)). The acceptance by South African society of names such as "BOER'goeisie", "Die Boer", "Mystic Boer" and names on T-shirts discussed in the *Sund*ay *Times* in "Shopping News" (1 Feb. 2009) such as "Amper Baas" (nearly Boss) and "Koffi Kalid" (Coffee coloured < Koffie (coffee) + coloured, referring to the ethnic group 'coloureds') could be an indication that some proper names are a channel through which subversion of established negative semiotic links can take place. It is, of course, possible that the ostensible positive association with "BOER'geoisie", "Die Boer" and "Mystic Boer" is a result of the good service and/or product enjoyed at these places. From the data it does seem that traditional Afrikaner food is regarded positively, as already discussed, but even if the acceptability of the names "BOER'geoisie", "Die Boer" and "Mystic Boer" is based on the good food, performances and/or music enjoyed at these places, the positive association between the Afrikaans word *boer* and the ethnic group Afrikaner in this instance remains.

5.6 THE ARTISTIC SOUNDS OF CHANGE

The presence of positive associations with Afrikaans in the data, albeit still far outweighed by the negative associations, could be an indication that Afrikaans can be (re)appropriated to contribute to the construction of a new, post-apartheid South African meaning and/or social identity. This seem to be the case in the arena of the arts, as many of the positive associations with Afikaans occur in articles which deals with some or other aspect of the arts. The arts is also the arena where both the ills of the past, the current lack of change, but also the hope for change is expressed. In "The Guide" (7 Jun. 2009) the SA National Gallery's definition for the word *jol* is givin as "'a party' or similar social occasion, or 'having a good time'" and it is offered as a sign that the "human beings will always play", despite the country's violent past. When a fine arts student, Mary Sibande, created the typical character of the domestic maid called 'Sophie', by appropriating the typical blue uniform of the apartheid era's cleaning lady, Sibande simultaneously displayed the denigration of the domestic servant and the elevation thereof to an artistic subject, transforming the low status of the maid to higher one of art. Sibande also wore the blue uniform herself and assumed the character of Sophie, posing for artistic photoshoots of Sophie, and she reports that this act made her feel she could do anything (Parting Shot, 26 Apr. 2009). The current difficulties as well as the hope for a better

future is expressed in an article about the Afrikaans South African singer, Chris Chameleon who says that "[h]appiness is when you *smaak* (like) yourself". Chameleon states that South Africa is currently in trouble, but that "goodness will win in the end" (Changing man, 17 May 2009). The film industry is another arena in which a more hopeful and positive view of South Africa is portrayed. In the article "In the right direction" (28 Jun. 2009), the view is expressed that the film industry is finally moving on from producing mainly Afrikaans films and films which are all about racial issues. According to the review offered in the article, the South African films *Jerusalema* and *White Wedding* seem to have transcended the "obligatory township tale or political struggle saga" and are portraying the realities of the current South African life. "The black/white division [says the article] is no longer the primary issue". This statement illustrates that some change is possible *and* evident in terms of the black/white racial divide in South Africa. Mads Vestergaard (Vestergaard M. , Winter 2001, p. 34) writes that a "very different expression of current Afrikaner identity is to be found among young artists" and says further that while many politicize Afrikaner identity, many others challenge the established values of Afrikaner nationalism by reappropriating traditional Afrikaner iconography and infusing it with new and innovative meaning. For instance, Vestergaard (2001, p. 35) discusses the challenging of Afrikaner values in graphics when two art students from Stellenbosch consciously play with the taboos of Christian nationalism, ridicule Afrikaner stereotypes and deconstruct historical myths in their cartoon magazine, *Bitterkomix*. Vestergaard (2001, p. 35) also says that many young writers, playwrights and performers are challenging and provoking the associations with Afrikaans and Afrikaners. Vestergaard (2001, p. 35) succinctly explains the simultaneous owning and rejecting of the apartheid Afrikaner identity when he writes:

> These Afrikaner artists articulate a somewhat ambivalent position, summed up by a young painter who told me: "I am an Afrikaner, though I hate the Afrikaners!" These artists recognize that they belong to a group with a certain history, skin color, and language. They express themselves *in that language* [Afrikaans], for other Afrikaners. They nevertheless resent most of what is associated with being an Afrikaner – and so they make fun of traditional values, morals and so on. (my emphasis)

Music is another artistic area in current South Africa in which traditional values and identity markers of Afrikaans are challenged. Vestergaard (2001, p. 35) explains how the mixing of techno beats, popular Afrikaners songs from the seventies and songs sung by Miriam Makeba and other black artists establishes an "alternative Afrikaner" which is more a "collection of individualists than a subculture" on its own (Vestergaard, 2001, p.35). I conclude this study

with a discussion of Afrikaans rockers such as *Fokofpolisiekar*, *Van Coke Kartel*, *Ashtray Electric* and *Die Antwoord*. These rock bands are regarded as the vehicle through which socio-political criticism of Afrikaner nationalism is expressed *in Afrikaans*, which is re-formulating the notion of 'being Afrikaans' through the medium of music, according to Klopper (2008, p. 211).

The article entitled "The boys from Bellville" (29 Mar. 2009) in the data reports on interviews with members of *Van Coke Kartel*, *Ashtray Electric* and *Nude Girls*, all of whom come from Bellville's northern suburbs, the 'trashy' suburbs, the 'wrong side of the tracks'. Their background and upbringing described in the article describes the ideologies of the Afrikaner nationalist, i.e. a conservative Christian upbringing in the Dutch Reformed church by parents of whom many were *dominees* (ministers) and who taught them to always aspire and work towards something better. But the rockers are *gatvol* (fed-up) of this mind set and in rebellion they reject God when they ask in a song *"[k]an iemand dalk 'n god bel / en vir hom sê ons het hom nie meer nodig nie"* (can someone maybe phone a god and tell him that we don't need him any longer) (Klopper, 2008, p. 208). They reject Afrikaner values by using language which is considered crude when they sing in Afrikaans *"[k]an jy jou idee van normaal by jou gat opdruk?"* (can you shove your idea of normal up your arse?) (Klopper, 2008, p. 208), or when Phillip Erasmus of *Thieve* relates how he "revealed his *piel* (dick) for the masses" (The boys from Bellville, 29 Mar. 2009) to express his love for the rock band *Ashtray Electric*. Klopper (2008, p. 211) is of the opinion that the Afrikaans rockers' rebellion and their shock tactics give a new identity to Afrikaans, because Afrikaans becomes 'cool' all of a sudden and because the rockers are expressing the frustrations of many young white Afrikaners who are struggling to find their feet in the transitional phase of a country with a problematic past (Klopper, 2008, p. 214). In line with poststructuralists' views of language and identity, Afrikaner rockers and other Afrikaner artists are exploring an identity which has fluid boundaries and which is open to global and local African influences (Vestergaard, 2001, p. 35).

6 CONCLUSION

With their 'rebellious' use of Afrikaans by the Afrikaans rockers, the rockers seem to appropriate Afrikaans to break away from the Afrikaner identity which was opposed through this language. Not much evidence of such innovative use of Afrikaans has been found in the *Sunday Times* (January to June 2012) data. The aim of this study was to tease out the social meaning associated with Afrikaans and both the qualitative and quantitative analysis of this study has shown that Afrikaans has mainly negative social associations. This finding is in line with Bock's (2011) findings on English-Afrikaans code-switching, which state that Afrikaans was used during the Truth and Reconciliation Commission testimonies as a strategy to express negativity about the apartheid regime and to position the audience to take a negative view of the South African police. The negative associations with Afrikaans as they appear in the *Sunday Times* seem to perpetuate racial, ethnic and linguistic divides, particularly in terms of whites and blacks, as well as between English and Afrikaans. Afrikaans does not seem to be appropriated in a reconciliatory capacity for the divide on these levels. In terms of Irvine and Gal's (2000) notions of iconicity, fractal recursivity and erasure, which formed the overarching framework for the analysis and this study, it appears that the iconic relationship between Afrikaans and social phenomena such as race, ethnicity, religion, and intelligence as they manifested during the apartheid era is still evident in post-apartheid South Africa. As in the apartheid era, Afrikaans is still iconic of the ethnic group Afrikaners, who are white, Afrikaans-speaking, low-class, rugby-loving, racist, *NG Kerk* (Dutch Reformed) Christians. Afrikaans in the data is not associated, in the majority of cases, with social change, and it seems that the general idea is that Afrikaans (and Afrikaners) should be removed from South African society. This finding is supported by the opinion expressed by a businessman and ANC member, Tshilidzi Ratshitanga, when he writes that in South Africa a special type of democracy has emerged, one in which the colonizers remained after liberation (This is democracy of a special type, 26 Apr. 2009). This is in contrast with other African countries, says Ratshitange, in which the colonizers left after liberation, and "living side by side with one's former colonisers", as is the situation in South Africa, makes it very difficult for the blacks of South Africa to forget the ills of the apartheid era. Ratshitanga feels that a South African society free of racial hatred is not something that will happen in the foreseeable future, and he also feels that there is a "disgusting conspiracy to drift our country back to

racial oppression". That all of this is associated with the Afrikaans language becomes evident when Ratshidanga says:

> It [the situation where colonisers remain part of the country society] is worse when the country's only serious opposition, the DA, speaks a *language* that confirms it acts for the interests of the *internal colonisers*.
> (This is democracy of a special type, 26 Apr. 2009) (my emphasis)

Associations between Afrikaans and various social phenomena such as address forms and locality indicate that the fractal recursivity of the opposition black/white and Afrikaans/English is still evident in South African society. The author of the "In the right direction" (28 Jun. 2009) says that 15 years into democracy "we still live in clearly demarcated white areas, black townships, Indian communities and the coloured suburbs". The nature of the social meaning and social identity associated with Afrikaans as it appears in the *Sunday Times* (January to June 2009) data erases many social realities such as the reality of the last all-white referendum of 1989 in which the majority of white South Africans voted "yes" for change and inclusion of blacks and other races into the social reality of South African life. It also erases the "heterodox Afrikaners" which are, according to Verstergaard (2001, p. 19), those Afrikaners who "welcome the new challenges and champion the opening of the social field". It perpetuates the erasure of non-white Afrikaans speaking citizens by continuing to associate Afrikaans exclusively with the white race, and it contributes to the maintenance of race as one of the main organizing principles in South Africa's social life (Vertergaard, 2001, p. 30).

The view discussed in this study as it is expressed in articles of the *Sunday Times* (January to June 2009) in which English-Afrikaans code-switching occurs is, however, but a view of one South African newspaper only. It does not mean to say that the negative associations between Afrikaans and social phenomena as they appear in the *Sunday Times* (January to June 2009) is the all-encompassing social view of South Africa. Further research on a large scale will have to be conducted to determine such a view. It is also possible that the associations between social phenomena and Afrikaans in the *Sunday Times* have changed from the time the data was collected, and to determine this a similar study would have to be done with data from July 2009 onwards. It is also possible that the prominence of Afrikaans in the arena of particularly politics and sport in the data occurred as a result of the fact that 2009 was an election year and the year prior to the 2010 Fifa Soccer World Cup, which was to be hosted

by South Africa. Politics and sport might therefore been given prominence because of the social situation in 2009, in turn possibly resulting in more articles appearing which dealt with politics and sport than would normally be the case. Another point to consider is the way in which readers of the *Sunday Times* experience the meaning of Afrikaans in the newspaper. This could add a valuable perspective to an investigation into the social meaning of Afrikaans, as such an investigation would provide insight into the perlocutionary force of Afrikaans. According to Stroud (2004, p. 150), subjectivities and meaning are produced perlucutionarily, which means that (social) meaning is produced by the *effect* of an utterence, i.e. the way in which receivers interpret and reinterpret speakers' utterances. Perlocution, according to (Stroud, 2004), is an essential feature of performativity, where performativity is understood as "… bringing into existence identities, social relationships and structures – and, one might add, even constructions and perceptions of the linguistic code itself …" (Stroud, 2004, p. 149). Stroud (2004, p. 150) is also of the opinion that the essence of all language is the construction of identities and social structures which are produced *perlocutionarily*. From a performitivity perspective and based on the already discussed associations between Afrikaans and negative social phenomena, the present study indicates that the *Sunday Times* reproduced an Apartheid, Afrikaner Nationalism social identity for the ethnic group Afrikaners during the period January to June 2009, while simultaneously emphasizing the undesirablity of the language Afrikaans by infusing it with negativity through associations with negative social aspects. However, it is possible that the presence of Afrikaans, despite its negative associations, could be regarded in a positive light in the sense that it is one of the linguistic resources available for communication in South Africa and as such contributes to the overall/broader South African identity. The occurrence of Afrikaans therefore contributes towards rendering a unique South African identity for articles in the South African *Sunday Times* and sets it apart from articles appearing in London's *Sunday Times*, for instance. The Afrikaans discussed in this study might even be regarded as part of South African *English*, as much of the Afrikaans data, such as the word *piepiejoller*, discussed in 5.2.1 above, occurs as entries in Jean Brandford's *A Dictionary of South African English* (Branford, Jean with Branford, William, 1991). Within such an understanding of Afrikaans, the word *piepiejoller*, for instance, might be seen in a more positive light and not as an insult only of Julius Malema, as the analysis offered in 5.2.1 suggests. The reference to the male sexual organ (*piepie*) against the backdrop of the importance of Xhosa men's circumcision during tribal initiation could be understood as indexing Xhosa maleness, insiderness and South African-ness, for example. The present study focused mainly on examining the associations between Afrikaans and other social

phenomena, but a study that employs the theory of performitivity and that seeks to investigate the perlocutionarily produced meaning of Afrikaans by examining the way in which readers experience the meaning of Afrikaans in the *Sunday Times* could provide a valuable contribution to the understanding of the meaning of Afrikaans in the South African context.

In conclusion, we return to the title of this study, "Once a Boertjie, always a Boertjie?" which asks whether an apartheid, Afrikaner nationalist identity is a static or a fluid one, and whether Afrikaans has been instrumental in changing historical, obsolete apartheid identity perceptions in a democratic South Africa. From the analysis of the English-Afrikaans code-switching data in the *Sunday Times* (January to June 2009) it seems that little fluidity exists for the Afrikaner's social identity and that a Boertjie is doomed to be a Boertjie always. However, the presence of some positive associations with Afrikaans together with the innovative, rebellious way in which Afrikaans rockers are constructing a new identity for South Africa's youth indicates that the iconicity of Afrikaans is slowly changing and that, for the moment, a more accurate answer to the question "Once a Boertjie, always a Boertjie?" would instead be "*Still* a Boertjie, but not necessarily always a Boertjie".

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