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Shifting prestige norms in post-colonial contexts: interpreting phonetic trends in Namibia's lingua francas

Gerald Stell
The Hong Kong Polytechnic University

Abstract
This study sheds light on the socio-economic factors determining the (re)location of sociolinguistic prestige in postcolonial environments. It uses the case of Namibia, an ethnolinguistically diverse African country that replaced Afrikaans – an established lingua franca – with English as its official language to weaken the hold of the formerly ruling White Afrikaans-speaking minority on its linguistic marketplace while symbolically empowering the Black majority. Using phonetic features elicited from an ethnolinguistically representative sample, the study finds that Whites align with South African
norms while Non-Whites are developing distinctly local varieties. While 'Coloured' Afrikaans varieties exert some gravitational pull on Black Afrikaans varieties, a more autonomous Black English variety spearheaded by women is emerging. Informant perceptions confirm the observed polarisation between Whites and Non-Whites, with the former not perceived as a linguistic target, while the valorisation of an ethnically neutral Black urban identity appears as a major driving force behind variation.

Introduction: Prestige and language variation in (post)colonial settings

Central to variationist sociolinguistics, sociolinguistic prestige is specified as 'overt' or 'covert'. Overt prestige is the highest form of prestige. It lies with authority-marking 'standard' varieties propagated in education, while covert prestige – largely synonymous with social stigma – lies with solidarity marking 'vernacular' varieties, which are natively transmitted (Labov 2001). The dichotomy between overt and covert prestige is reflected in social and stylistic stratification. Whereas – in the case of stable sociolinguistic variables – standard variants occur more among higher classes and women and in 'careful styles', vernacular variants occur more among lower classes and men and in 'casual styles'. Gradually changing distributions of variants, i.e. 'change-in-progress', are spearheaded by women. Specific variants can spread consciously across styles, i.e. from standard models, or (at first) unconsciously from vernaculars. Inter-gender contrasts in variation patterns derive from pressure among women to distance themselves from men by more actively pursuing 'legitimate' linguistic capital (particularly in the form of standard variants) or innovation, which is captured in Labov's (2001) 'gender paradox'. Change-in-progress takes place against the backdrop of 'shared norms of evaluation', which may undergo abrupt disruption following 'dislocating events'. National independences from colonial powers form 'dislocating events' that have drawn increasing sociolinguistic attention.

Sociolinguistic accounts of new colonial varieties were initially focused on vernaculars arising from levelling or koineization in settlement colonies, as well as from creolisation, which occurs against a backdrop of language shift and racial segregation (Kerswill 2010). In both cases, there is scope for distinctly local varieties of the coloniser's language to emerge. These may eventually acquire the

prestige typically held by standard varieties where national awareness arises. Schneider (2006) subsumes the twofold process of new-dialect formation and increase in status into the concept of 'nativization', applied to not only new vernaculars, but also emergent L2-varieties of the coloniser's language. Nativization involves shifting power relations, reflected by convergence between 'settler' varieties (understood as native) and 'indigenous' varieties. In the base 'nativization' scenario, settler varieties retain high sociolinguistic prestige and target status especially in contexts where historical settler populations remain visible elites. The applicability of the 'nativization' scenario seems doubtful in colonial contexts where European presence was limited despite scattered evidence of 'historical retentions' from the dialects of early settlers (Mesthrie and Bhatt 2008). It seems equally doubtful where post-independence nation-building discourses delegitimize the high status of settler populations.

One possible alternative to Schneider's nativization scenario for predicting change-in-progress in post-colonial L2s is Ethnolinguistic Vitality Theory ('EVT'; Giles, Bourhis, and Taylor 1977), which deals with the linguistic manifestations of inter-ethnic power relations. Its predictions rely on measurements of ethnolinguistic vitality ('EV', or 'dominance'), a concept reminiscent of high sociolinguistic prestige. EV levels are established using indicators of 'status', 'demographics', and 'institutional support', although which of these variables hold most predictive power remains undetermined (see further Yagmur and Ehala 2011). Minorities with an historical settler background are likely to score high on status alone. In contrast, post-independence indigenous majorities are likely to score high mostly on demographics and institutional support. This study generally seeks to determine how much historically exogenous L2s converge away from colonial models towards indigenous models associated with demographically and politically dominant ethnolinguistic groups. The case study involves Namibia, where Afrikaans – the long-established lingua franca historically associated with the formerly ruling Afrikaners – has been institutionally downgraded in favour of English, historically associated with the indigenous anti-colonial movement.

Namibia's lingua francas in socio-historical perspective

A sparsely populated Southern African country (ca. 2.6 million), Namibia attained its independence in 1990 after a period of South African rule (1915–1990), which itself had followed on a period of German rule (1885–1915). Its pre-colonial population consisted of speakers of Bantu and KhoeSan languages, later joined by Non-Europeans from the Cape Colony. White Afrikaans-speakers (hereafter 'Afrikaners') came to form the majority European group after WWI. South Africa introduced apartheid, which enforced the racial categories 'Black', 'Coloured', and 'White' upon the local population. Residentially separated and subject to distinct education systems, each racial group was assigned a specific socio-economic position: Whites were dominant, while Blacks and Coloureds were kept in a subordinate position, with the latter ranking in between. The Blacks and Coloureds were further subdivided into linguistically and genealogically defined ethnicities. The Black group mainly comprised the Ovambos, Hereros, Kavangos, Damaras and Namas. The Coloureds comprised the Basters and those Coloureds who had been immigrating since the early twentieth century from Cape Province. Apart from abolishing apartheid, independence brought accelerated Ovambo migration to cities, including Windhoek, the capital, where their presence had been limited (Peyroux 2004).

According to the latest national census data (NSA 2016), Oshiwambo is the main household language (49.7%). Next come Khoekhoegowab (11%), Afrikaans (9.4%), Rukavango (10.4%), and Otjiherero (9.2%). Khoekhoegowab is Khoisan, Afrikaans Germanic, and all other languages Bantu. Originally spread by late nineteenth century Non-European migrants, Afrikaans as an L1 has mostly been linked to White and Coloureds (Stell 2016). Afrikaans, English, and to a lesser extent German, held official status under the South African regime. English was initially preponderant: It was dominant at schools for Europeans and a widespread medium at mission schools for 'natives'. Following the pro-Afrikaner National Party's coming to power in 1948, Afrikaans was eventually given preferential status (Harlech-Jones 1990). Historically rooted in the Oshiwambo-speaking regions and led by cadres who often had received English-medium instruction at missionary institutions and refugee camps (Williams 2015), the South West African People Organization imposed English as the only official language of Namibia as it assumed power in 1990 while delegitimizing Afrikaans as a 'colonial language'. Although previously known to varying degrees, it is only after independence that English developed into an urban lingua franca. Qualitative data in Stell (2016) suggests that indigenous languages only function as intra-ethnic mediums in the current Namibian context, as they already did before independence, while English and Afrikaans co-exist in individual repertoires as a High-status and Low-status language, respectively.

Although it was Coloured populations that first established it in the country (Stals and Ponelis 2001), and also in Windhoek at a time when but few Afrikaners lived in the towns (Botha 2007; Bruwer 1964), Afrikaans in its high prestige varieties is historically associated with the latter group (Ponelis 1993). The most visible English varieties in pre-independence Namibia were those of the Afrikaners, who – along with the other Whites – were the most frequent users of English (Prinsloo et al. 1982). However, English as a default urban medium of communication was mostly spread by Ovambo migrants from the north, where English had from the late 1970s phased out Afrikaans in education (Harlech-Jones 1990). While how much Afrikaans is actually adopted in the process of urbanisation has not been quantified, its knowledge forms part of stereotypical characterisations of urban Ovambos (Stell 2016). In sum, the Afrikaners and the Ovambos appear socio-historically prominent enough to have an impact on the features of Namibian Afrikaans and English. Their socio-historical prominence can be translated into EV terms: Long associated with political and economic power, the Afrikaners score highest on (socio-historical) status, while the Ovambos score highest on demographics (country-wide and in Windhoek) and on institutional support, being historically associated with post-independence political power. To what extent these populations contribute to shaping Namibia's Afrikaans and English varieties could be revealed by the degree to which their varieties form targets for other Namibian ethnolinguistic groups. Three scenarios can be formulated:

(1) Since the Afrikaners hold high socio-historical status, their Afrikaans and English varieties rank highest in prestige and thus form targets. This scenario implies that sociolinguistic prestige has not been redistributed during the post-independence period.
(2) Due to their demographic majority status and high institutional support, the Ovambos' Afrikaans and English varieties rank highest in prestige and thus form targets. This scenario implies post-independence redistribution of sociolinguistic prestige away from the groups with high socio-historical status.
(3) Variation patterns in Namibian Afrikaans and English are governed by language ideologies that do not necessarily reflect EV differentials. Irrespective of their EV, the symbolic association that

the Afrikaners have with the apartheid regime disqualifies their varieties as potential targets. Being an established L1, Coloured Afrikaans is the only acceptable Afrikaans target among the Blacks. By want of an established L1 English variety, indigenous English models are emerging.

Corpus and methods[1]

This study is based on speech data from 60 seventeen to nineteen year old informants who were attending a range of Windhoek schools at the time of data collection. The informants are differentiated in terms of their main home language, main ethnic background, and gender. They fall into five groups: Afrikaners (12), Coloureds (12), Damaras (12), Hereros (12), Ovambos (12), each with equal proportions of men and women. Three government schools located in Windhoek's lower middle class areas were selected as sources of informants. Absent at these schools, the Afrikaner informants had to be sought at private schools in Windhoek's upper-middle class areas. All informants had been schooled in Windhoek from Grade 1. Each informant was administered reading tasks designed to elicit Afrikaans and English vowels for acoustic analysis. Additionally, the informants were individually asked about their perceptions of variation in Namibian Afrikaans and English and about the social functions that each language performs in their views. The fact that secondary education was accessible to only few Non-Whites during the pre-independence period ruled out recruiting a control sample of older informants.

The sampled Afrikaans vowels cover most of Wissing's (2014a) inventory for Standard Afrikaans. The monophthongs include AF-A (Std Af. pronunciation conventionally rendered as /a/), AF-AA (/ɑ/), AF-E (/e/), AF-I (/ə/), AF-IE (/i/), AF-O (/ɔ/), AF-OE (/u/), AF-U (/œ/), AF-UU (/y/). The diphthongs include AF-OU (/œu/), AF-UI (/œi/), AF-Y (/əi/), referred to as 'true diphthongs', and AF-EE (/eə/), AF-EU (/øə/), AF-OO (/oə/), referred to as 'diphthongized long vowels'. The sampled English vowels are drawn from Wells (1982) inventory. It comprises the 'full monophthongs' BATH, CLOTH, DRESS, FOOT, KIT, LOT, PALM, STRUT, THOUGHT, TRAP, the 'full diphthongs' CHOICE, PRICE, MOUTH, and the 'potential diphthongs' FACE, FLEECE, GOAT, GOOSE. To control for co-articulatory effects, environments featuring nasals and approximants in preceding/following position were excluded. This disqualified CURE, NEAR, NURSE, SQUARE, likely to display rhoticity. In the case of AF-E, environments with preceding [k, x, l, r] were excluded as these tend to produce [æ-ɛ]-like allophones (Wissing 2014b). As they may be suspected to occur among Afrikaners, care was taken to avoid instances of the KIT-split, a feature historically characteristic of White South African English (hereafter 'WSAfE') that manifests itself through the form [i] before/after velar consonants, after palato-alveolar consonants, before [h], and in word-initial position (Bekker 2014). Each informant was led to produce at least five tokens of each vowel. 5,800 Afrikaans and 9,930 English tokens were singled out for analysis.

Data transcription and annotation was performed via PRAAT (Boersma and Weenink 2019). Following procedures used in socio-phonetic studies, formant settings were set at maximum 5 kHz for men and 5.5 kHz for women. Measures were taken of F1 and F2 at 20, 50, and 80 percent of vowel duration and subsequently normalised via Lobanov's procedure (Adank, Smits, and Van Hout 2004). Inter-group comparisons are supported by IPA values assigned to each vowel by four non-linguist

[1] Ethical clearance for this study was obtained from the Hong Kong Polytechnic University (reference: HSEARS20180802001).

raters. The acoustic analysis is at first focused on the Afrikaners and Ovambos (sections 4–5). Section 6 reports on a Principal Component Analysis ('PCA') performed on average F1 and F2 values grouped along ethnolinguistic lines. General cues to whether inter-group convergence is occurring are sought in degrees of overlap with susbtratal features in English and L2 Afrikaans varieties. Indigenous substratal features from Khoekhoegowab, Otjiherero, and Oshiwambo are inferred from phonetic descriptions in Fredericks (2013), Möllig and Kavari (2008), and Fivaz (1986), respectively. Additional cues to inter-group convergence are sought in female behaviours, expected to more often display +prestigious or innovative variants (section 1). Finally, Section 7 situates observed variation patterns in the perspective of the informants' sociolinguistic perceptions.

The 'dominant' Afrikaans varieties

Figure 1 summarises the acoustic features of the selected Afrikaans monophthongs as realised by the Afrikaners and Ovambos. Contrasts between the two groups can be partly summarised in terms of distinction levels within vowel pairs: The Afrikaners distinguish more between AF-A and AF-AA, AF-E and AF-I/AF-U, and between AF-I and AF-U. Afrikaner AF-IE/AF-E are conversely less distinct than the Ovambo variants: While Afrikaner and Ovambo AF-IE both approximate [ɪ], Ovambo AF-E is more [ɛ]-like and Afrikaner AF-E more [e]-like. More distinctions are found in the +/−tense dimension, with Afrikaner AF-I/AF-OE/AF-U occupying −tense positions approximating [ə], [œ], and [ʉ̞], respectively, while Ovambo AF-I/AF-U and AF-OE tend more towards [ɛ] and [u], respectively. The Afrikaner variants of the 'true diphthongs' (Figure 2) are more diphthongised. In contrast, the 'long diphthongized vowels' display little inter-group contrast in diphthongisation levels except AF-EU, less diphthongised among the Afrikaners. AFOU/AF-EU onsets display inter-group contrasts in the +/−tense dimension with the Afrikaner variants +centralized/−tense. AF-OU/AF-EE/AF-OO offglides display inter-group contrasts in the +/−tense dimension with the Afrikaner variants +centralized/−tense. Less generalisable inter-group contrasts in diphthong realisation are found in +/−open-close AF-UI/ AF-Y onsets, with the Afrikaner variants +open/−close, and in +/−open-close AF-OO onsets, with the Afrikaner variant conversely − open/+close.

IPA values (table 1) specific to the Afrikaner monophthongs are found for AF-A ([ɑ]), AF-AA ([ɑ-ɒ-ɔ]), AF-OE ([ʉ̞]). Values specific to the Ovambo monophthongs are found for AF-A/AFAA ([a]), AF-I/AF-U ([ɛ]), AF-OE ([u]). The Afrikaners display specific onsets for 'true diphthongs' in the form of [œ] for AF-OU/AF-UI/AF-Y, while values specific to the Ovambos are [ɔ] for AF-OU and [ɛ-œ] for AF-UI/AF-Y. Onset values specific to the Afrikaner 'long diphthongized vowels' are [i] for AF-EE and [ɯ-u] for AF-OO, while the Ovambos specifically exhibit [ɪ] for AF-EE and [ʊ-o] for AF-OO. Additionally, the Ovambos exhibit +monophthongized values for AF-OU/AF-EU. Intergender contrasts are not parallel across the two groups, except for AF-IE: [ɪ] for AF-IE generally occurs more among females while [i] occurs more with males. Some inter-gender contrasts are specific to the Afrikaners. Notably, AF-AA mostly tends towards [ɔ] among females while [ɑ-ɒ] dominate among males. Additionally, [æ] for AF-UI/AF-Y onsets occurs more among females, while males more often display [œ]. Finally, females more often display [œ] for AF-OU onsets while males more often – albeit marginally – display [ʌ-ɔ]. The inter-gender contrasts most specific to the Ovambos include distinction levels between AF-IE and AF-UU, higher among males. Additionally, AF-U more often tends towards [œ] among males than females, among whom [ɛ] occurs more. Finally, [œ] for AF-UI//AF-Y onsets occur more with females while [ɛ] occurs more with males.

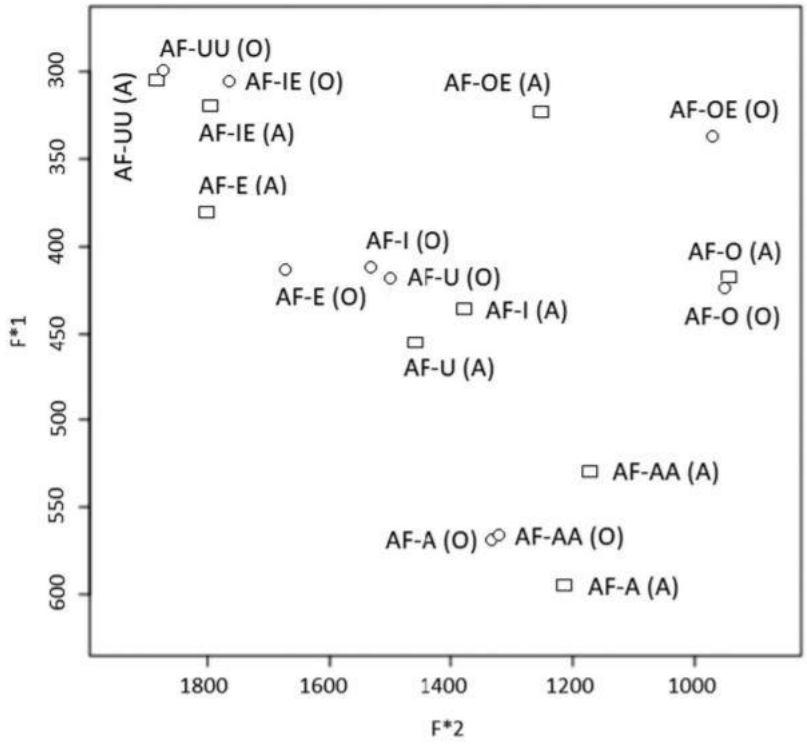

Figure 1. Afrikaans monophthongs, Lobanov-normalised speaker averages for F1/F2.
'A' = Afrikaners, 'O' = Ovambos, n = 1,360.

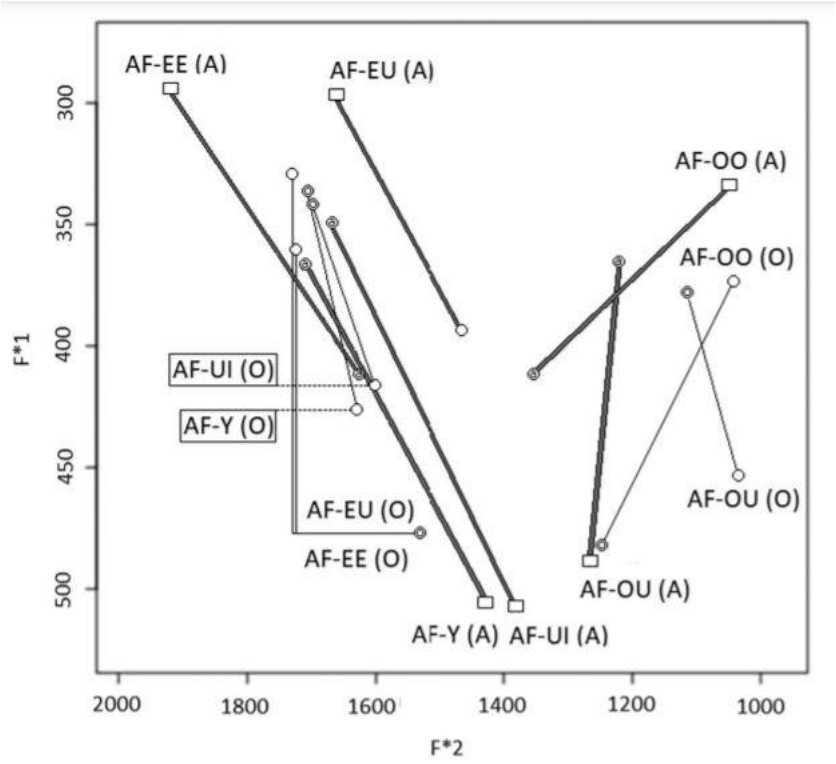

Figure 2. Afrikaans diphthongs, Lobanov-normalised speaker averages for F1/F2.
'A' = Afrikaner, 'O' = Ovambo, n = 906.
Note: The filled figures in figures 2 and 4 stand for onsets while the circles containing lower-case characters ('a': Afrikaner, 'o': Ovambo) stand for offglides.

The Afrikaner variety reflects traditional accounts of Standard Afrikaans and current accounts of White South African Afrikaans. Wissing (2014b, 2005) found backed raised [ɔ]-like AF-AA and [æ]- like AF-Y/AF-UI onsets to be characteristic of (especially female) White South Africans. Some features of the Ovambo variety might form L1-transfers. Merged Ovambo AF-A/AF-AA, fronted Ovambo AF-U, and cardinal [u]-like Ovambo AF-OE fit with the Oshiwambo five-vowel inventory, which only comprises [a], [e], [i], [o], [u]. Additionally, the lack of diphthongs in Bantu languages can explain the monophthongizing tendencies among the Ovambos. However, gender on its own also accounts for some variation, as visible in the tendency among Ovambo females to centralise AF-UI/AF-Y onsets more than their male peers, by which they approximate the Afrikaner varieties more.

Table 1. Ethnic distribution of IPA values for Afrikaans mono-/diphthongs[a].

Vowel	Afrikaners	Coloureds	Damaras	Hereros	Ovambos
AF-UU	i (y- ɪ: 15%)	i (y- ɪ: 6%)	i (y-ɪ: 4%)	i (ɪ-y: 40%)	i (ɪ-y: 46%)
AF-IE	i (ɪ: 43%)	ɪ (i: 34%)	ɪ (i: 9%)	ɪ(i: 14%)	ɪ (i: 10%)
AF-I	ə (œ: 9%)	ə (œ: 23%)	ə (œ: 34%)	ɛ (œ: 41%)	ɛ (œ: 48%)
AF-E	e (ɛ: 38%)	e (ɛ: 28%)	ɛ	ɛ	ɛ
AF-A	ɑ	a	a	a	a
AF-AA	ɑ-ɒ (ɔ: 27%)	a (ɑ: 5%)	a	a	a
AF-O	ɔ (o: 36%)	ɔ (o: 24%)	ɔ	ɔ	ɔ
AF-OE	ʉ	u (ɯ: 47%)	u (ɯ: 8%)	u	u
AF-U	œ	œ	œ (ɛ: 7%)	œ (ɛ: 15%)	œ (ɛ: 42%)
AF-Y	æɪ (œɪ: 29%)	œɪ-œi (æɪ: 24%)	œi-œɪ (ɛi-ɛɪ: 13%)	ɛi-ɛɪ (œi-œɪ: 44%)	ɛi–ɛɪ (œi-œɪ: 38%)
AF-UI	æɪ (œɪ: 40%)	œi-œɪ (œɪ-œi: 46%)	œi-œɪ (ɛi-ɛɪ: 17%)	œɪ-œi (ɛi-ɛɪ: 44%)	ɛi-ɛɪ (œɪ-œi: 47%)
AF-OU	œu (ʌu: 7%)	ʌu (ɔu: 35%)	ɔ: 47%; ɔu: 31%; ʌu: 22%	ɔu (ɔ: 35%)	ɔu (ɔ: 42%)
AF-EE	iɛ (ɪɛ-ɪœ: 45%)	ɪɛ–ɪœ	ɪɛ-ɪœ	ɪɛ-ɪœ	ɪɛ-ɪœ
AF-EU	ɪœ	ɪœ (ɪɛ: 18%)	ɪɛ (ɪœ: 24%)	ɪɛ (ɛ: 10%)	ɪɛ (ɛ: 6%)
AF-OO	ɯə-uə (ɯʌ-uʌ: 23%)	ʊə-oə (ʊʌ/ʊɔ-oʌ/oɔ: 48%)	ʊʌ/ʊɔ-oʌ/oɔ (ʊə-oə: 47%)	ʊʌ/ʊɔ-oʌ/oɔ (ʊə-oə: 29%)	ʊʌ/ʊɔ-oʌ/oɔ (ʊə-oə: 31%)

[a]The raters were restricted to [ɪ], [ʌ], [ə] as values for transcribing +centralized/−tense offglides.

The 'dominant' English varieties[2]

Figure 3 summarises the acoustic features of the selected English monophthongs as realised by the Afrikaners and Ovambos. To a large extent, inter-group contrasts in the realisation of Afrikaans and English monophthongs follow parallel patterns. Afrikaner English vowels tend to be more distinguished than their Ovambo counterparts. Afrikaner KIT and FLEECE (Figure 4) approximate [ɪ] and [i], respectively, while Ovambo FLEECE and KIT both gravitate around [ɪ]. Afrikaner DRESS and TRAP are highly distinct with the former approximating [e] and the latter [æ-a], while their Ovambo counterparts coalesce into [ɛ]. Finally, LOT approximates [ɔ] and THOUGHT [o] among the Afrikaners, while the two coalesce into [ɔ] among the Ovambos. Observed in Afrikaans monophthongs, variation in the +/−centralized-tense dimension is found with FOOT/GOOSE/KIT, whose Afrikaner variants are +centralized/−tense while their Ovambo counterparts are more peripheral. Much in line with AF-AA, Afrikaner BATH/PALM are backed into [ɒ-ɔ] while their Ovambo counterparts approximate the +fronted value [a]. Without a clear parallel inter-group distinction in Afrikaans, STRUT approximates [ä] in the Afrikaner varieties while the Ovambo variant approximates [ʌ].

[2] An expanded account of the same English dataset can be found in Stell (2020), which focuses on which ethnolinguistic group qualifies most as 'founders' of Namibian English.

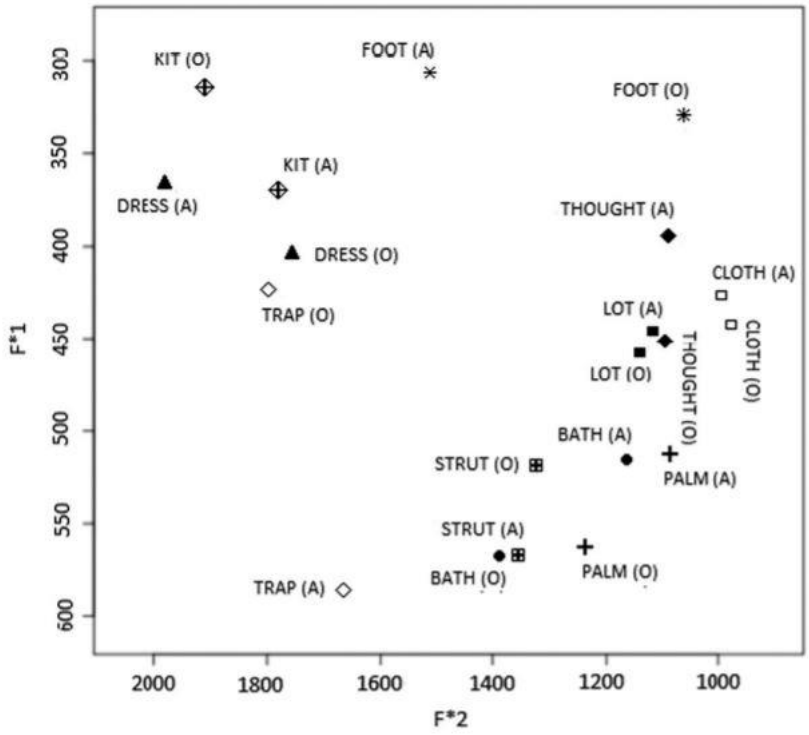

Figure 3. English monophthongs, Lobanov-normalised speaker averages for F1/F2.
'A' = Afrikaner, 'O' = Ovambo, n = 2,240.

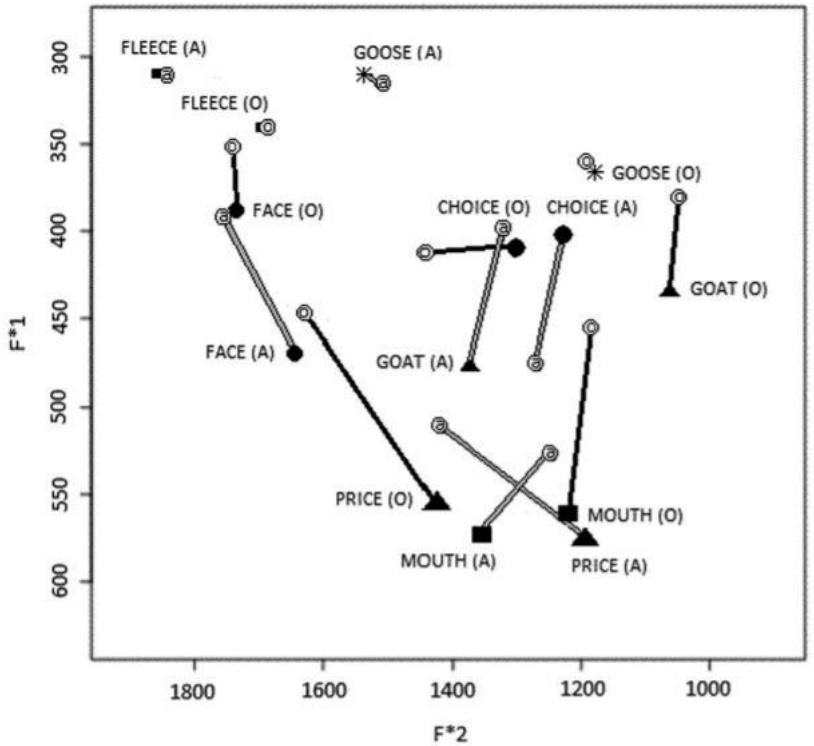

Figure 4. English diphthongs, Lobanov-normalised speaker averages for F1/F2.
'A' = Afrikaner, 'O' = Ovambo, n = 1,272.

Close equivalents of AF-UI/AF-Y and AF-OU, FACE and GOAT (Figure 4) display common intergroup contrasts in diphthongisation levels, with the Afrikaner variants again +diphthongised. Without a distinctive Afrikaans equivalent other than AF-OU, MOUTH is conversely more diphthongised among

Ovambos than among Afrikaners. −Tense offglides, which characterise Afrikaner Afrikaans 'true diphthongs', also characterise Afrikaner CHOICE/MOUTH/PRICE. Without a clear parallel inter-group distinction in Afrikaans, FACE/PRICE offglides are +open/−close among the Afrikaners and their Ovambo counterpart −open/+close. Other inter-group contrasts are not generalisable across individual diphthongs. These are found in the following features:

- GOAT onsets, with the Afrikaner variant −tense
- CHOICE onsets, with the Afrikaner variant +tense
- FACE onsets, with the Afrikaner variant +open/−close
- PRICE onsets, with the Afrikaner variant +backed
- MOUTH onsets, with the Afrikaner variant −back

Among +open-close Afrikaner FACE onsets and +centralized-tense Afrikaner GOAT onsets reflect Afrikaner patterns in the realisation of AF-UI/AF-Y and AF-OU onsets, respectively.

Table 2reveals that the Afrikaner display characteristic IPA values for the monophthongs BATHPALM ([ɑ-ɒ]), GOOSE ([ʉ-ɨ]), FOOT ([ʉ-ɯ-ʊ]), THOUGHT ([o]), TRAP ([æ]), and for the diphthong onsets of Afrikaner GOAT ([œ-ə]), MOUTH ([æ]), PRICE ([ɑ]). The Ovambos exhibit characteristic values for BATH-PALM ([a-ä]), FOOT-GOOSE ([u]), KIT ([i]), TRAP ([ɛ]). Monophthongal values for CHOICE/FACE/GOAT are only encountered among the Ovambos. They also exhibit characteristic values for the diphthong onsets of GOAT ([ɔ]), MOUTH ([ɒ]), PRICE ([a-æ]). Some variants are shared by the Afrikaners and Ovambos. Characteristic Afrikaner values are marginally found for Ovambo DRESS/FLEECE/KIT/STRUT and CHOICE onsets. Conversely, characteristic Ovambo values are marginally found for Afrikaner DRESS/STRUT/THOUGHT. Ovambo FACE/GOAT display the specific variants [e, ei] for FACE and [ɔ, ɔu] for GOAT. Finally, Ovambo PRICE marginally exhibits the values [æɪ-æe]. FLEECE is more frequently encountered as [ɪ] among both Afrikaner and Ovambo females. Values more characteristic of Afrikaner females are found for BATH ([ɒ]), FOOT ([ʉ]), GOOSE ([ʉ–ɨ]), CHOICE ([oɪ]), and MOUTH onsets ([æ]), while Afrikaner males tend more to display [ɑ], [ʊ], [ɯ], [ʊɪ], and [ɑ], respectively. Values more characteristic of Ovambo females are found for GOOSE ([ɯ]), STRUT ([ʌ]), CHOICE ([oɪ]), while their male peers tend more to display [u], [ä], and [ʊɪ], respectively.

L1-transfers may underlie some of the contrasts between the Afrikaner and Ovambo English varieties. The Ovambos make little distinction within the DRESS-TRAP and FLEECE-KIT pairs as the closest Oshiwambo equivalents for each are [e] and [i], respectively. Ovambo FOOT/GOOSE matches Oshiwambo cardinal [u]. Lacking diphthongs in Bantu languages can again explain the monophthongizing tendencies among the Ovambos. The distinctions that the Afrikaners make within the DRESS-TRAP and FLEECE-KIT pairs reflect the distinctions between Afrikaner AF-E and its [æ-ɛ]-like allophone and within the Afrikaner AF-IE/AF-I pair, respectively (section 3). A substratal origin cannot be attributed without doubt to certain variants, such as particularly [ʉ– ɨ]–like Afrikaner GOOSE and [ä]–like Afrikaner STRUT, more fronted than their respective close Afrikaans equivalents AF–OE and AF–A and reminiscent of WSAfE features (cf. Bowerman 2004). Lanham and Macdonald's (1979, 40–41) describe [æʌ] for MOUTH – whose closest Afrikaans equivalent is AF-OU – as a 'broad' WSAfE variant. With its +centralized/−tense offglide, Afrikaner PRICE resembles its glide-weakened WSAfE counterpart (cf. Bowerman 2004). Neither clearly attributable to L1-transfers nor to South African influence, [ɪ] for FLEECE among the Afrikaner/ Ovambo females and [ʌ] for STRUT among the Ovambo

females may proceed from hypercorrect avoidance of Afrikaans/Oshiwambo [i] and Oshiwambo [a], respectively.

Table 2. Ethnic distribution of IPA values for English mono-/diphthongs

Vowel	Afrikaners	Coloureds	Damaras	Hereros	Ovambos
KIT	ɪ-ə	ɪ-ə (i: 7%)	ɪ-ə (i: 41%)	i (ɪ-ə:26%)	ɪ-ə (i: 53%)
DRESS	e (ɛ: 45%)	ɛ (e: 32%)	ɛ (e: 12%)	ɛ (e: 14%)	ɛ (e: 10%)
TRAP	æ (ɛ: 4%)	ɛ (æ: 16%)	ɛ	ɛ	ɛ
BATH	ɒ (ɑ: 25%)	ɑ (a-ä: 84%)	a-ä (ɑ: 7%)	a-ä (ɑ: 3%)	a-ä
PALM	ɒ (ɑ: 14%)	a-ä (ɑ: 34%; ɒ: 11%)	a-ä (ɑ: 9%)	a-ä (ɑ: 3%)	a-ä
LOT	ɔ (ɑ-ɒ: 19%)	ɔ (ɑ-ɒ: 30%)	ɔ (ɑ-ɒ: 33%)	ɔ (ɑ-ɒ: 21%)	ɔ (ɑ-ɒ: 24%)
THOUGHT	o (ɔ: 48%)	ɔ (o: 45%)	ɔ (o: 19%)	ɔ (o: 21%)	ɔ (o: 13%)
CLOTH	ɔ (ɑ-ɒ: 9%)	ɔ (ɑ-ɒ: 23%)	ɔ (ɑ-ɒ: 14%)	ɔ (ɑ-ɒ: 44%)	ɔ (ɑ-ɒ: 47%)
FOOT	ʉ (ʊ: 21%)	u (ʊ-ɯ: 10%)	u	u	u
STRUT	ä (ʌ: 8%)	ä (ʌ: 12%)	ä (ʌ: 37%)	ä (ʌ: 48%)	ä (ʌ: 46%)
FACE	eɪ (ɛɪ: 43%)	ei	ei (e: 48%)	ei (e: 44%)	ei (e: 42%)
FLEECE	i (ɪ: 11%)	i (ɪ: 25%)	i (ɪ: 38%)	ɪ (i: 25%)	ɪ (i: 31%)
GOOSE	ʉ–i (ɯ: 18%)	u (ɯ: 23%)	u (ɯ: 13%)	u (ɯ: 4%)	u (ɯ: 9%)
PRICE	ɑɪ-ɑə	äe	aɪ-ae (æɪ-æe: 4%)	aɪ-ae (æɪ-æe: 9%)	aɪ-ae (æɪ-æe: 5%)
MOUTH	æʌ (äʌ-ɑʌ: 14%)	äʌ-ɑʌ (ɑ-ʌ-ɔ: 40%)	ɑʌ (ɑ-ʌ-ɔ: 44%)	ɑʌ (ɑ-ʌ-ɔ: 45%)	ɑʌ (ɑ-ʌ-ɔ: 21%)
GOAT	əu-œu	ɔu (ɔ: 23%)	ɔ (ɔu: 15%)	ɔ (ɔu: 11%)	ɔ (ɔu: 17%)
CHOICE	oə (ʊə: 42%)	oe-oə (ʊe-ʊə: 48%)	ʊe-ʊə (oe-oə: 45%)	ʊe-ʊə: 41%(oe-oə: 19%; ʊ: 35%)	ʊe-ʊə (oe-oə: 15%; ʊ: 31%)

A continuum view of Namibia's Afrikaans and English varieties

Figure 5 superimposes representations of Afrikaans and English phonetic behaviours across ethnicity and gender based on PCAs of average normalised F1/F2 values measured at 20% and 80% of vowel duration. Dimensions 1 and 2 account for 44.74% and 15.78% of all variance in Afrikaans vowel realisation and for 54.85% and 14.68% of all variance in English vowel realisation, respectively. Dimension 1 reveals consistent ethnoracially stratified patterns: The datapoints for the Black groups are densely concentrated on the far right while the Afrikaners are located on the opposite side. The datapoints for the Coloureds are found in between the Afrikaners and Blacks. The clearest association that Dimension 2 displays is with gender. However, the relative positioning of males and females appears subordinated to the distinction between Whites and Non-Whites. Assuming that change-in-progress can be inferred from inter-gender contrasts, the position of the datapoints for Afrikaans could be read as follows. Although the Coloureds tend towards the Whites, they are not merging with them. Meanwhile, the Black varieties are drawn towards the Coloured varieties as the Damara and Herero females are positioned closer to the Coloureds than their male peers. Unlike their Damara and Herero peers, the Ovambo females stay aloof from the Coloureds, to whom the Ovambo males are much closer. The polarisation between Whites and Non-Whites observed in Afrikaans also applies to English. Overall, the Blacks seem to converge less with the Coloureds in their English varieties than they do in their Afrikaans varieties: While the Damara females generally orient towards the Coloured English varieties, which reflects their behaviour in Afrikaans, the Ovambo/Herero females generally orient towards distinctive English models.

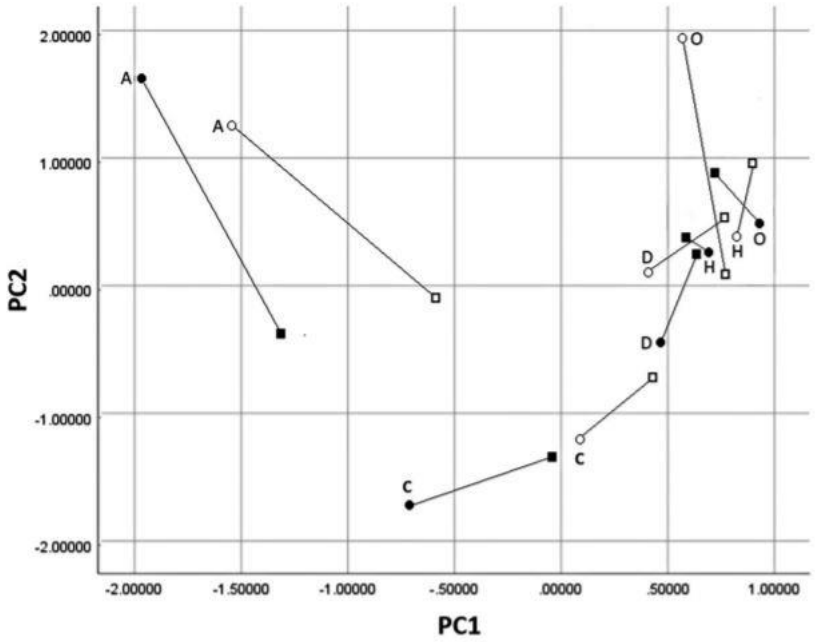

Figure 5. PC1 and PC2 for variation in Afrikaans and English vowel realisation per ethnicity and gender. Blank figures stand for Afrikaans values, filled figures for English values. Circles stand for females, squares for males. A = Afrikaner, C = Coloured, D = Damara, H = Herero, O = Ovambo.

Compared with the other groups, the IPA values named in section 4 as exclusive to Afrikaner Afrikaans that remain so are [ɔ] for AF-AA, [ʉ] for AF-OE, [œ] onsets for AF-OU, [i] onsets for AF-EE, and [ɯ-u] onsets for AF-OO. Meanwhile, the values named in section 4 as exclusive to Ovambo Afrikaans are also found with the Hereros, and to a lesser extent with the Damaras and Coloureds. Continuum-like variation is found in the distribution of +/−centralized-tense Afrikaans variants. Damara AF-I is mostly assigned +L1-like +centralized/−tense [ə] alongside less frequent, −L1-like, and −centralized/+tense [œ]. [œ] is the only value for Damara AF-U as it is for Afrikaner/Coloured AF-U. Meanwhile, +centralized/−tense values for AF-I and AF-U are overshadowed by [ɛ] among both Hereros and Ovambos. As the Coloured variants, Damara AF-UI/AF-Y onsets are more often assigned +centralized/−tense values than their Hereros/Ovambo counterparts, which tend to display [ɛ]. Finally, continuum-like variation in 'long diphthongized vowels' is mostly found in the AF-OO offglides, dominantly +centralized/−tense among the Afrikaners/Coloureds while overshadowed by −centralized/+tense values among the Blacks, albeit to a lesser extent among the Damaras. Monophthongizing 'true diphthongs' characterise the Black varieties. Sharp polarisation between the Bantu-speakers and the others is found in AF-OE and in AF-OU onsets, which only the Hereros and Ovambos exclusively realise as −centralized/+tense. +Centralized/ −tense variants – such as schwa-like AF-OO offglides – are more associated with females. +Centralized/−tense AF-OU onsets are more associated with Coloured/Damara females than males. Characteristic of the Black males is +monophthongal AF-EU. Notably, the association between Ovambo females and −centralized/+tense values for AF-U is not present among the Hereros.

Compared with the other groups (table 2), the English variants that section 5 names as characteristic of the Afrikaners remain so. Meanwhile, the variants that section 5 names as characteristic of the Ovambos are strongly present among the other Non-Whites. The Coloureds again are the group closest to the Afrikaners. Among the Non-Whites, they exhibit the highest distinction

within the DRESS-TRAP and LOT-THOUGHT pairs, the most backed BATH-PALM, the most centralized/least tense GOOSE/FOOT, the most [ä]-like STRUT, and the highest diphthongisation levels. The only specifically Coloured variant is [äe] for PRICE. The Damaras are the Black group most similar to the Coloureds. Meanwhile, they tend – as do the Ovambos/Hereros – to display [ʌ] as a dominant value for STRUT. As the Hereros/Ovambos, they display [ʊe-ʊə], [ei], [ɔ], [ɑʌ], [aɪae] as the dominant values for CHOICE, FACE, GOAT, MOUTH, and PRICE, respectively. Additionally, the Damaras share the marginal [æɪ-æe]-like PRICE variant with the Hereros/Ovambos. Unlike the Hereros/Ovambos, however, their CHOICE is always diphthongised. Overall, the Hereros and Ovambos are strongly related. The most extensive inter-gender contrasts are found among the Afrikaners, Coloureds, and Damaras. The Coloured females are distinguished by their realisation of BATH as [ɑ], DRESS as [e], FOOT as [ʊ], GOOSE as [ɯ], PALM as [ɑ-ɒ], [o] for CHOICE onsets, and by diphthongised GOAT/MOUTH. The Damara females seem to follow their Coloured peers in their realisation of BATH/GOOSE/PALM. Unlike their Coloured peers, their FLEECE/STRUT are more often realised as [ɪ] and [ʌ], respectively. Inter-gender contrasts among the Hereros are similar but +back BATH-PALM and +centralized/−tense GOOSE occur less among the Herero females than among the Damara females. A gender effect is found in diphthongisation among the Blacks as diphthongised CHOICE/GOAT occur more among Black females.

The contrast between the Afrikaner and Coloured Afrikaans varieties largely mirror those that Wissing (2013) observed between South Africa's White and Coloured Afrikaans varieties. Some features of L2 Afrikaans varieties and English varieties could tentatively be ascribed a substratal origin. Coloured BATH-PALM and PRICE onsets reflect Coloured AF-AA, while Coloured GOAT/ MOUTH onsets reflect Coloured AF-OU onsets. The mergers that the Damara/Herero Afrikaans and English varieties share with the Ovambo varieties can be ascribed to similarities in L1 phonetic inventories. Otjiherero has the same five-vowel system as Oshiwambo. The oral Khoekhoegowab monophthongs match the Otjiherero/Oshiwambo five-vowel systems. The existence in Khoekhoegowab of a schwa-like allophone of [a], which occurs in the onsets of the Khoekhoegowab diphthongs 'ai' ([əi]) and 'au' ([əu]), might explain why +centralized/−tense values occur more among the Damaras for AF-I/AF-U and AF-UI/AF-Y onsets than among the Bantu-speakers. Damara CHOICE with +tense onsets reflects the Khoekhoegowab 'oe' ([oe]) diphthong. The occurrence of [ɛ] for AF-I/AF-U in Herero/Ovambo Afrikaans likely has to do with the lack of central vowels in Bantu languages. L1 backgrounds cannot explain a range of features. The Damara varieties provide the clearest illustration in this regard. Damara KIT is frequently realised as [i] where the Khoekhoegowab schwa could plausibly be transferred. Additionally, monophthongized Damara AF-OU and GOAT deviate from Khoekhoegowab 'au' [əu] while approximating the Herero/Ovambo variants with +back/+tense onsets. The −front/+back values for BATH-PALM and of −tense values for AF-IE and FOOT-GOOSE encountered among the Damara females are not related to the closest Khoekhoegowab equivalents [a], [i], and [u], respectively. Finally, the centralising tendencies in AF-IE/FLEECE/STRUT among the Herero/Ovambo females can only be interpreted as hypercorrect deviation from Bantu vowel systems.

Perceived variation and functions

The variation patterns established in the previous sections are to some extent mirrored in perceptions. The Afrikaners agree that their Afrikaans is hardly distinguishable from White South African varieties. There is general agreement among the Non-White informants that the Afrikaners use an Afrikaans

variety distinct from theirs. The Black informants distinguish within their own Afrikaans and English varieties by naming ethnic linguistic stereotypes, such as particularly [l]x[r] metathesis in Ovambo varieties, [m-/n-] prothesis in Herero varieties, and [j]x[ʒ] alternation in Nama/Damara varieties. Ethnic linguistic stereotypes also assume the form of judgments on fluency in Afrikaans: Most informants see the Damaras as 'better' at Afrikaans than the other Blacks. Meanwhile, the dense concentration of datapoints for the Black Afrikaans varieties on the PCA scatterplot can be reconciled with recurrent allusions to a distinctive Black Afrikaans variety, to which the Black informants refer as 'Kasietaal'. In line with the distribution of datapoints for English varieties, the Black informants identify an 'Afrikaans accent' in English characteristic of Whites and 'Coloureds/Basters. Additionally, distinctive gender behaviours are reported in both Afrikaans and English. Also reported in South Africa, 'overrounding girl speech' (A-M-2) is a stereotype specifically applied to the Afrikaans varieties of White females. Whereas B-F-3 observes that '(some) Ovambo [guys] pick up the Baster [Afrikaans] accent', Black males are generally attributed 'ethnic' accents (e.g. '[Herero] guys sound more Herero than we [Herero girls] do', H-F-5). The derogatory label 'coconut', applied by Black informants to Black females who 'forget their roots', implies a tendency among the latter to suppress their ethnicity together with ethnic accents.

Only in the Afrikaner informants' comments does Afrikaans appear as a high-status language: it ensures a connection with South Africa, where one has active family ties and occasionally also academic prospects at Afrikaans-medium educational institutions. Meanwhile, the Non-White informants mostly describe Afrikaans as a linguistic marker of solidarity. The Black informants more specifically view it as a medium of solidarity among Black male age peers, although it lacks clear gender indexicalities among the Damaras. The Non-White informants describe 'correct Afrikaans' only in ethnoracial terms: It is in the view of the Coloureds largely synonymous with 'White', while the Blacks locate it among the Coloureds/Basters, and to a lesser extent among the Damaras. The Black informants' views reflect which Afrikaans varieties are most visible in their surroundings: Exposure to the Coloured/Baster variety occurs during Afrikaans classes, always given by Baster or Coloured teachers, and to the Damara variety via Damara age peers in school settings or in Katutura, the historically designated Black neighbourhood where all Black informants reside. Perceived as 'streetwise' (e.g. 'every [Katutura] gang has a Damara', O-M-2), the Damaras are described as frequent and particularly adept users of Kasietaal. While this might suggest incentive for unilateral convergence with Damara Afrikaans, more rewards seem associated with adopting ethnically neutral varieties within Katutura's context: One essential function of 'good' Kasietaal is to provide a safeguard against being seen as an 'easy to rob from' fresh rural migrant (O-M-2) whose ethnic background is typically obvious at a linguistic level.

The informants portray English as Namibia's highest-ranking language and as a medium of deference. It is generally described as the default lingua franca with Whites (in itself an indication of the perceived social distance between Whites and Non-Whites), either because '[White Afrikaans] sounds like a different language' (HE-M-5) or because 'they [Whites] like to correct you[r Afrikaans]' (HE-F2). Meanwhile, Ovambo women seem to play a central role in spearheading the use of English in not only formal but also informal contexts as they generally describe English as their first language choice outside intra-ethnic interactions with elders, where Oshiwambo remains the default medium. They regard Afrikaans as 'a boys' thing' (O-F-1), which explains why 'most Ovambo girls don't talk Afrikaans even if they can' (O-F-4). Young Black men accordingly feel pressure to use English for

interacting with their female peers. In contrast with 'correct Afrikaans', 'correct English' is mostly located in 'the Windhoek private schools' and accordingly appears both urban and ethnoracially neutral. It is also implicitly conceived of in local terms as it is never related to exogenous models. Alongside Kasietaal, the Non-White informants name 'Namlish', an English variety with Afrikaans lexical elements, as one possible compromise between ethnic neutrality, urbanity, and local authenticity.

Conclusion

Support for Scenario 1 is weak. There is some convergence with Afrikaner varieties, but mostly effected by the Coloureds. The Blacks do not visibly converge with the Afrikaners: They tend more towards the Coloureds, yet without forming a continuum with them. The Afrikaners use South African features not replicated by the others: −front/+back raised AF-AA, MOUTH with +front/−back onset, glide-weakened PRICE with −front/+back onset. The Afrikaans data offer no direct support for Scenario 2. However, the Ovambos might impact other Black Afrikaans varieties by constraining their convergence with the Coloured varieties. This can be seen in the fact the Damaras – unlike the Afrikaners/Coloureds – tend to display Bantu-like monophthongal AF-OU, widespread among the Ovambos, where they could transfer Khoekhoegowab [əu]. Meanwhile, direct support for Scenario 2 is found in English, whose Ovambo varieties spearhead divergence away from the Afrikaners/Coloureds. Evidence in this regard is found in the tendency of Ovambo females to display variants only marginally used by the Afrikaners/Coloureds, such as +centralized/−tense FLEECE and [ʌ]-like STRUT, also significantly present among the Hereros/Damaras. Other features – absent among the Afrikaners/Coloureds – that the Ovambos might be spreading among the other Blacks include Bantu-like monophthongizing FACE/GOAT. The fact that the Damaras do not use Khoekhoegowab [əu] for GOAT again possibly signals convergence with the Ovambos. Altogether, the Afrikaans and English varieties of the Ovambos are characterised by not only substratal Bantu-like variants, but also hypercorrect variants, whose use can be understood in the light of negative views of ethnic indexicalities recorded among the Black informants in general.

To some extent, Scenario 3 seems to form a viable alternative to Scenarios 1/2. Ideologies could generally explain why Black Afrikaans and English varieties do not orient towards Afrikaner models. However, the fact that Coloured Afrikaans appears as a target for Blacks while English variants distinctively widespread among the Ovambos are also strongly present among the other Blacks might call for an explanation based on Mufwene's (2001) Founder Principle. Coloured Afrikaans forms part of a continuum of Afrikaans varieties that are longer-established in Windhoek than the Afrikaner varieties, which makes it more apt to exert gravitational pull. The role of the Ovambos as 'founders' of English as an urban lingua franca can explain convergence around the features that define their English varieties. This perspective remains largely compatible with the EVT-based perspective described in Scenario 2 in which the Ovambos hold the highest EV: As observed above, the convergence of Black Afrikaans varieties with Coloured Afrikaans is only partial while, at the same time, they mutually align around variants characteristically widespread among the Ovambos. Meanwhile, only an EVT-based perspective can explain why Ovambo women tend to dispense with Afrikaans, being members of an ethnolinguistic group that is in a demographic and political position to choose for English only in Windhoek even if Afrikaans was the city's first-established lingua franca.

Taken as a cue to change-in-progress, the behaviour of Black women hints at 'endonormative stabilization' (which follows upon 'nativization' in Schneider 2006) since it involves divergence from exogenous models. Whether 'stabilization' in the sense of uniformization via 'focusing' – is indeed occurring depends on how much scope there is for repeated face-to-face accommodation between linguistically distinct groups (Trudgill 1986). In Namibia's case, inter-ethnic face-to-face accommodation does not necessarily combine Afrikaans and English to equal measures (one might in fact exclude the other), which altogether might limit their scope for developing uniform varieties across the population. For example, Ovambo women's reportedly minimal use of Afrikaans could cause their Afrikaans varieties to remain unfocused, which in turn could explain their idiosyncratic phonetic features. Similarly, the contrast between the Coloured and Black English varieties and the contrasts between the English varieties of the Damaras and those of the other Blacks might reflect group-specific levels of orientation to Afrikaans, distinctly higher among the Coloureds and the Damaras than among the others. Meanwhile, the Afrikaners still pursue South African models as they still identify with supra-local social networks not entirely disrupted by the new political border with South Africa. To what extent homogenous Namibian Afrikaans and English varieties are developing against this backdrop can, ultimately, only be verified with apparent-time observations that cannot yet be made in Namibia's current sociolinguistic context.

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