https://doi.org/10.1016/j.lingua.2019.05.004
This is the Pre-Published Version.

Dimensions of sociolinguistic distinction in postcolonial ethnic diversity: Folk perceptions of language across Namibia's rural/urban divide

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Abstract

This study deals with the effects of urbanization on ethnolinguistic boundaries in Subsaharan African postcolonial environments using as a case study Namibia, an ethnically diverse country where indigenous languages co-exist with English and Afrikaans, the country's two lingua francas. The data consist in spatialized perceptions of sociolinguistic distinctions elicited via Perceptual Dialectology methodologies, implemented for the first time in a multilingual environment. The study shows that the respondents perceive a sociolinguistic urban/rural divide. Urban areas are depicted as ethnically diverse environments where indigenous languages fade out in favour of lingua francas through language-mixing and language loss. Additionally, there is a perception that cities are home to ethnically unspecified standard and non-standard varieties of Afrikaans and English, set against rural Afrikaans and English varieties marked by interferences from indigenous languages. Based on social and linguistic characterizations given by the respondents, the study concludes that urban environments provide scope for ethnically neutral identities to supersede traditional ethnolinguistic ones while there are indications that ethnic authenticity, linked to rural areas and indexed by 'unmixed varieties', remains strongly valued.

Introduction

Typically characterized by ethnic diversity, postcolonial societies, particularly in Subsaharan Africa, are usually described as diglossic societies with exogenous languages functioning as official languages and lingua francas co-existing with low-status indigenous languages. Fast urbanization, occurring against the backdrop of mass-education and homogenizing nation-building discourses, has been profoundly transforming their sociolinguistic landscapes by increasing scope for language contact. Various patterns of code-switching between indigenous languages and the official languages, as well as more or less indigenized varieties of the official languages marked by both transfers and innovations, co-exist to various degrees in individual linguistic repertoires. So far, few attempts have been made to capture the continuum-like properties of sociolinguistic diversity in such societal environments and of the socio-spatial factors that determine them. As a result, it largely remains open to question to what extent postcolonial urban environments have been reshaping, if not dissolving, traditional ethnolinguistic boundaries. This study proposes to address this question by examining perceptions of socio-spatial variation in the linguistic landscape of Namibia, an ethnically diverse African country where English, the official language, and Afrikaans co-exist as lingua francas alongside indigenous languages. These perceptions are elicited via map-drawing and labelling tasks as developed within the methodological paradigm of Perceptual Dialectology (Long and Preston, 2002), which produce spatialized representations of sociolinguistic

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stereotypes, and thus useful cues as to where actually observable sociolinguistic distinctions could be sought.

This paper is organized as follows. Section 2 discusses postcolonial sociolinguistic landscapes and how apt spatialized stereotypes are to reveal their underlying dynamics. Section 3 provides some historical sociolinguistic background on Namibian society and its internal sociolinguistic boundaries. Following a description of the methodology (section 3), the elicited perceptions are examined successively in terms of their spatial, social, and linguistic dimensions (sections 4 through 7). Sections 7-8 focus on linguistic perceptions. More specifically, they focuse on perceived sociolinguistic variation in indigenous languages (section 7) and in lingua francas (section 8). Finally, section 9 collates the findings while putting them into the perspective of Namibian and postcolonial sociolinguistic dynamics.

2. Locating sociolinguistic boundaries in urbanization contexts

The study of the linguistic effects of urbanization is associated with social dialectology. This paradigm has usually dealt with sociolinguistic ecologies where low- and high-status varieties are typologically related and thus likely to develop structural continua and focused new varieties (Hinskens et al., 2005). It links emergent sociolinguistic rural/urban divides to linguistic processes such as 'koineization', that is, the combining of rural dialectal features into distinctive urban dialects (Trudgill, 1986) and/or 'levelling' with the standard variety, to which exposure is typically higher in urban areas (Kerswill, 2003). Although their history of urbanization is quite recent, Subsaharan African postcolonial environments seem to be developing sociolinguistic urban/rural distinctions. Suggestions of such distinctions are mostly found in accounts of emergent linguistically hybrid varieties among urban youths (Hollington and Nassenstein, 2015). In addition, a range of postcolonial contact have been described, albeit without necessarily being linked to urbanization. These include stylistic continua of code-switching patterns between official and indigenous languages (see e.g. Meeuwis and Blommaert, 1998), as well as more or less indigenized varieties of the official languages marked by substratal transfers and innovations (Schneider, 2007). These various code-switching patterns and varieties co-exist to various degrees in individual linguistic repertoires and are usable for projecting distinctive social identities, which the sociolinguistic literature mostly describes as likely to vary in terms of how ethnically neutral they are (see e.g. Myers-Scotton, 1993; Meierkord, 2012). While one can expect that rural and urban linguistic repertoires vary in their respective ranges, it is still open to question to what extent their constitutive styles display distinctively rural or urban features.

The question of whether postcolonial Subsaharan African environments are developing urban/rural sociolinguistic distinctions seems intrinsically linked to the question -- discussed since the Manchester School's studies on urban ethnicities in Zambia's Copperbelt region in the 1960s (Banks, 1996) -- of whether their urban social ecologies are reshaping, if not dissolving, traditional ethnolinguistic boundaries that are otherwise likely to be maintained in rural areas. Ethnicity, or a belief in shared descent and culture (Jenkins, 2008), is often narrowly intertwined with native language, which constitutes one of the defining 'diacritic feature' of

ethnic boundaries (Barth, 1969). Ethnicity may fade out in contexts of assimilation, which often coincide with language shift. In other acculturation contexts described as integration, old and new identities may be jointly held and situationally deployed, a strategy likely to imply the nurturing of diverse linguistic repertoires adjustable to both outgroup and ingroup interactional contexts (Berry, 1997; LePage and Tabouret-Keller, 1984). To what extent ethnolinguistic boundaries exist is not just a matter of whether group-specific attributes can be observed: Ethnolinguistic boundaries can also exist in perception. Sociolinguistic stereotypes, that is, linguistic features that are overtly discussed, derive from a process of iconization whereby linguistic features are ascribed to specific in/outgroups without necessarily reflecting actual patterns of language use (Irvine and Gal, 2000; Labov, 1972). This study posits that stereotyped sociolinguistic perceptions offer a perspective on where salient ethnolinguistic distinctions are located in postcolonial societies while providing cues as to where actually measurable linguistic distinctions should be sought. Stereotyped sociolinguistic perceptions can be elicited via Perceptual Dialectology (hereafter 'PD', see Preston, 1999; Long and Preston, 2002), a methodological paradigm used for spatially locating perceived sociolinguistic boundaries.

The origin of PD lies in the use made by dialectologists of perceptual maps of dialect isoglosses elicited from dialect users (Preston, 1999; Rensink, 1999). Located in the PD paradigm, the map-drawing and labelling tasks devised by Preston (1989) aim to elicit spatialized perceptions of linguistic differences in the form of folk characterizations of language use and iconic linguistic features. Map-drawing and labelling tasks involve the methodological challenge of controlling for 'ingroup bias', whereby outgroups are perceived in terms of salient differences from ingroups while they tend to be seen as more homogeneous (Schneider, 2004). To reconcile ingroup bias with the aim of gaining insights into perceived sociolinguistic distinctions, care must be taken to involve respondents equally distributed across hypothetical sociolinguistic boundaries and to collate the information that they provide, as exemplified by Long (1999)'s study of subjective Japanese dialect divisions (see further Benson, 2003; Grootaers, 1999). Another challenge associated with PD concerns the nature of inferences that can be drawn from elicited data. While it is tempting to search stereotyped perceptions for suggestions of objectively verifiable sociolinguistic boundaries, it is important to keep in mind that stereotypes may or may not reflect linguistic reality (Hundt et al., 2010; see further Grootaers, 1999). Similarly, actually observable linguistic distinctions may not be perceived, as suggested by the hierarchy of indexicality proposed by Labov (1972) in which a distinction is made between sociolinguistic stereotypes, which form the topic of overt comment, and markers and indicators, of which there is less awareness (see further Silverstein, 2003). I propose to implement the map-drawing and labelling task in Namibia's fast-urbanizing context where an emergent rural/urban divide may lead new sociolinguistic distinctions to eclipse old ones against the backdrop of a triglossic system involving English, Afrikaans, and indigenous languages.

3. Namibia's sociolinguistic ecology and boundaries

Namibia is a sparsely populated Southern African country (ca. 2.6 million). Its demographically dominant language is Oshiwambo (48.9% of households), followed by

Khoekhoegowab (11.3%), Afrikaans (10.4%), Rukavango (9%), and Otjiherero (8.6%). In contrast, English, the country's official language, is the main home language of only 3.4% (Namibia Statistics Agency, 2012)[1]. The geographic distribution of languages reveals a north-south divide: Oshiwambo is overwhelmingly concentrated in the northern districts that constitute the historical Ovambo heartland while Afrikaans is overwhelmingly concentrated in the southern and central districts, historically more urbanized and ethnically more heterogeneous (see Fig. 5). While German was the official language during the German period, the South African authorities -- which administered the territory (then known as 'Southwest Africa' or 'SWA') from 1915 to 1990 -- pursued a de jure trilingual language policy involving Afrikaans, English, and German. Afrikaans -- the language of the White Afrikaner elite -- was the *de facto* dominant official language and most generalized medium of instruction (UNIN, 1986). Although its presence in the north was weak, Afrikaans had by independence generally consolidated its historical position as a lingua franca, which dated back to late 18th century non-European immigration from the Cape (Prinsloo, 1984; Stals and Ponelis, 2001). The post-independence period saw the introduction of an English-only policy at government-level. As a result, English had by 2001 overtaken Afrikaans as a language of literacy, although Afrikaans is still widespread as a lingua franca (cf. Namibia Statistics Agency, 2003; Prinsloo, 1984; Stell and Groenewald, 2016).

The South African authorities pursued a policy of apartheid whose purpose was to engineer ethnic fragmentation among Non-Whites while securing a dominant position for the White minority. To that effect, the Non-White population was subdivided into ethnic categories that originated for a large part in colonial ethnography (Wallace, 2011). Ethnolinguistic rationalization was pursued further with 'grand apartheid', instituted in SWA from 1968. To that effect, designated Non-White ethnicities were assigned to notionally self-governing ethnic 'homelands' (Fig. 1), and to ethnically demarcated areas in towns (Wallace, 2011; Dubow, 2014). Other than by spatial means, the reification of ethnic boundaries among Non-Whites was linguistically reinforced via compulsory primary-phase mother-tongue instruction (Cohen, 1994). To that end, authorities involved themselves in standardizing indigenous languages, building on legacies of missionary linguistics, and in some cases taking advantage of the social distinctions that it had already created or reinforced. In the case of SWA, this resulted in two standard varieties of Oshiwambo being used at Ovamboland schools, namely, Oshikwanyama and Oshindonga, which had been developed by Anglicans and Lutheran missionaries in their respective spheres of influence within Ovamboland (Maho, 1998; see further Gilmour, 2006). As post-independence censuses no longer provide information on ethnicity, it is no longer possible to demographically track specific ethnic categories -- acknowledged under the apartheid regime -- that historically share the same language, such as, chiefly, the Basters, Coloureds, and Afrikaners, who historically share Afrikaans, and the Namas and Damaras, who historically share Khoekhoegowab (hereafter 'KH')[2].

[1] Other languages are Silozi (4.8%), German (0.9%), and San languages (0.8%).

[2] Other ethnolinguistic categories that no longer appear from the 1991 census onwards are the historical Ovambo ethnicities with which distinctive Oshiwambo dialects are associated, namely, Oshindonga, Oshikwanyama, Oshikwambi, Oshimbalantu, Oshimbandja, Oshikwaluudhi, Oshingandjera, and Oshikolonkadhi (see further Maho, 1998)

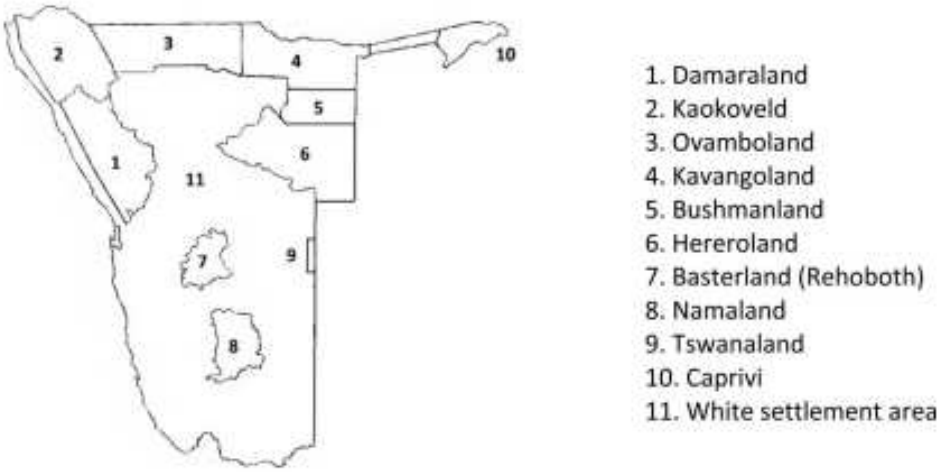


Fig. 1. Ethnic homelands in SWA (1968–1989).

There are indications that pre-independence sociolinguistic boundaries were 'hard'. The knowledge and use of indigenous languages was confined to intra-ethnic contexts, suggesting little scope for inter-ethnic amalgamation (Prinsloo et al., 1982). Additionally, official ethnonyms had become part of folk taxonomies while lying at the core of deeply ingrained ethnoracial stereotyping practices (Pendleton, 1996). One factor likely to have had a transformative effect on post-independence ethnolinguistic boundaries is the spread of English, associated with imageries of social advancement, allied with nation-building discourses that promote ethnic neutrality, and emergent Black urban middle classes (Harlech Jones, 1991; Fosse, 2004; Melber, 2015). One indication in this regard is that English in Namibia might be developing local varieties indexical of Black pan-ethnic identities (Stell, 2014). The other factor with a potential softening impact on post-independence ethnolinguistic boundaries is increased geographic mobility. In this regard, Haugh (2013) describes emergent regionally mobile pan-Ovambo identities in the Oshiwambo-speaking regions, linguistically manifested by the conversational mixing of Oshiwambo dialects. Additionally, mention has been made of a specifically urban category of Ovambos, derogatorily referred to as Ombwiti (an Oshiwambo word for 'rootless'), who were already noted in the pre-independence period for being more multilingual than their rural peers (cf. Pendleton et al., 2012; Prinsloo et al., 1982). Against this background of social transformation, it is open to question how salient traditional ethnolinguistic distinctions remain and to what extent they may perceptually combine with ethnically neutral sociolinguistic distinctions. I present in the next section the methodology and data that I use for answering these questions.

4. Methodology

An important point to consider before collecting perceptual data on Namibian sociolinguistic boundaries is that perceived distinctions within Namibia's indigenous languages (hereafter 'ILs') can be expected to produce sociolinguistic insights limited to specific ethnic ingroups, while perceived distinctions within English and Afrikaans, which function as lingua francas, are likely to produce society-wide sociolinguistic insights. To capture these different types of

perceptions, 225 students from the Windhoek campus of the University of Namibia were each administered a set of three blank maps, one for ILs, one for Afrikaans, and one for English. Each map featured instructions that follow the protocol used in Bucholtz et al. (2007): 'Please draw a boundary around each part of Namibia where you believe people speak your native language/ Afrikaans/English differently, and label/describe the area as you see fit'. One reason for administering these tasks to students is that this population group may be expected to possess basic geographic literacy, which might be less developed among other population groups. Each set of maps was accompanied by a short survey with questions on age, gender, home language, knowledge of Afrikaans, ethnicity, place of birth, and place of secondary schooling. The respondents are referred to via ethnic prefixes ('OVA', 'KH', 'AF', 'HE') combined with 'F' ('female') or 'M' ('male') and an identifying number (e.g. 'HE-M-2').

A stratified sampling approach was taken while recruiting members of Namibia's main language groups: 48% of respondents are Oshiwambo-speaking, 18% Otjiherero-speaking, 17% Afrikaans-speaking, and 16% KH-speaking. The overrepresentation of Ovambos is justified on the grounds of their preponderant demographic position in Windhoek, as well as of the linguistic diversity within the Ovambo group that was acknowledged until the 1981 census (section 2). Speakers of other languages were left out due to their small numbers on campus. There is variation in how the Ovambo respondents refer to their home language: While 64/100 indicated 'Oshiwambo/Ovambo' as their home language, 44/100 indicated one among the historical Oshiwambo dialect (Oshindonga: 24; Oshikwanyama: 14; Others: 6). The other language groups use the official census glottonyms, except for one KH respondent who uses the old label 'Nama-Damara'. Respondents who stated having no knowledge of Afrikaans are most often Oshiwambo-speakers (57/100) and Otjiherero-speakers (11/50). The question on ethnicity triggered non-linguistic ethnonyms among the Afrikaans and KH groups: 30/40 Afrikaans-speakers stated being 'Coloured', six 'Baster', one 'Nama', and one 'Damara'. 31/34 KH-speakers declared being 'Damara', and three 'Nama'. 39.5% of respondents were born in Windhoek and 43.5% attended secondary school in Windhoek. In this aspect, the sample does not accurately reflect the proportions of Windhoek residents born locally or outside: According to the 2011 census, 57% of Windhoek's population was born locally versus 43% elsewhere. Glottonyms and ethnonyms that Oshiwambo-speakers self-apply largely reflect one another, while 'Herero' is the only ethnonym that the Hereros self-apply. The language groups most represented among those born in Windhoek are the Afrikaans and KH groups (21/40 and 14/35, respectively), followed by the Otjiherero group (22/50). Only 32% of Oshiwambo-speakers were born in Windhoek. Finally, the sample is skewed in favour of females (65% vs. 35% of males).

Most respondents filled out all three maps, except for 21 Oshiwambo-speakers and four Otjiherero-speakers who did not fill out the Afrikaans maps due to a lack of knowledge of the language. Most maps exhibit geographic subdivisions that may or may not be linked to geographic labels. The example maps (Figs. 2--4) illustrate three -- often combined -- tendencies in how the respondents characterize the geographic areas that they identify. One tendency involves the contrasting of specifically named linguistic features across social groups/regions. This is exemplified by Fig. 1 where KH-F-23 describes variation within

English by providing examples of phonetic contrasts that she simultaneously attributes to three unnamed geographic areas and to three ethnic groups, namely, the Ovambos, Hereros, and Damaras. Fig. 2 illustrates a tendency to provide linguistic characterizations without specific linguistic examples. In that example, HE-F-28 identifies three distinctive regional varieties of Afrikaans. The northern variety is distinguished by an 'accent', the southern one is described by levels of standardness or nativeness (i.e. 'confident', 'comfortable'). Finally, the respondent describes the central variety as 'mixed' with English, labelling it as *Namlish*. Finally, Fig. 3 exemplifies a tendency to characterize identified geographic areas via social labels/characterizations without explicit linguistic information. In this case, OVA-F-48 describes variation within the Oshiwambo language area via ethnonyms (e.g. Mbandja, Kwambi, Mbalantu, etc.) graphically linked to mostly social characterizations (e.g. Mbalantu 'are noisy').

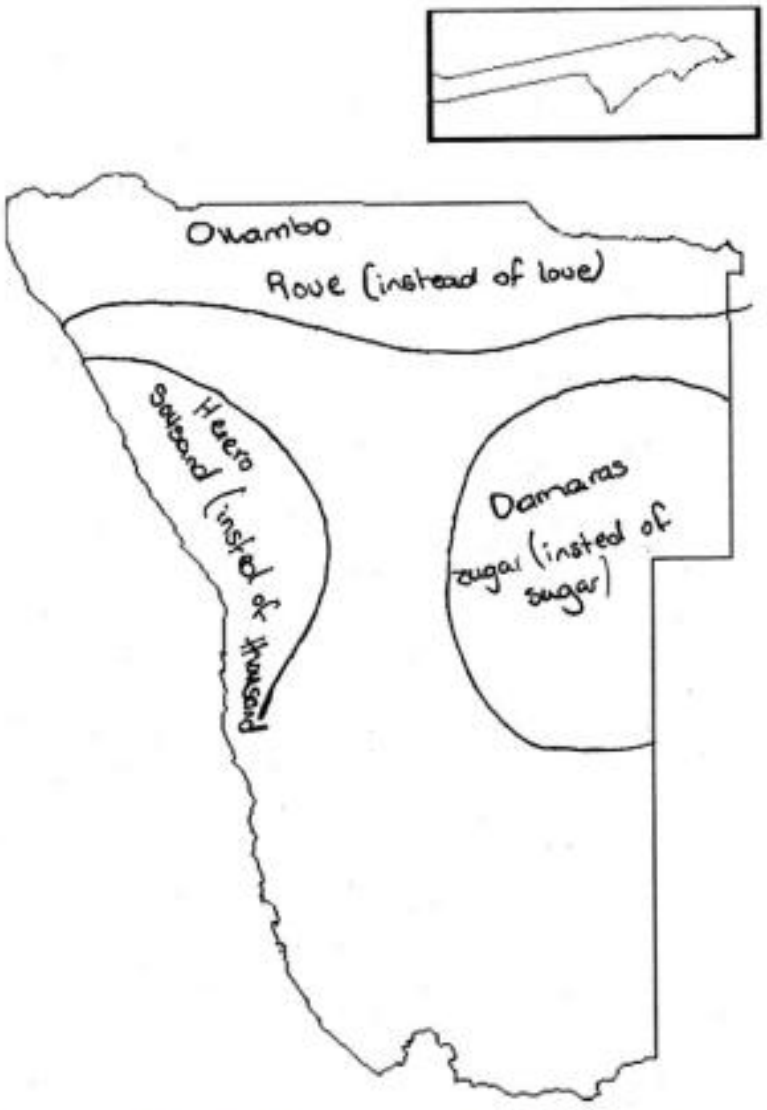


Fig. 2. A geographically contextualized view of Namibia's English varieties (KH-F-23).

One condition for interpreting the elicited perceptual information is to be able to contextualize it within a single socio-spatial frame of reference. To that end, the geographic subdivisions pointed out by the respondents and the labels and characterizations that they are visually connected with are matched with Namibia's current regional subdivisions (Fig. 5), which can all be linked to socio-demographic data. The most densely populated regions are the Oshiwambo-speaking regions comprised in cell 8 and Khomas. The main urban centre is Windhoek, the capital city, located in Khomas (cell 4). The next most populous urban centres are Rundu, located in Kavango (cell 9), the Walvis Bay-Swakopmund conurbation located on Erongo's coast (cell 5), and Oshakati, located in Oshana (cell 8). Each label/characterization is entered into the database as an attribute of one of the spatial units shown in Fig. 5. Where they are graphically connected to several spatial units, they are counted as attributes of each of those spatial units.

Fig. 3. A geographically contextualized view of Namibia's Afrikaans varieties (HE-F-28).

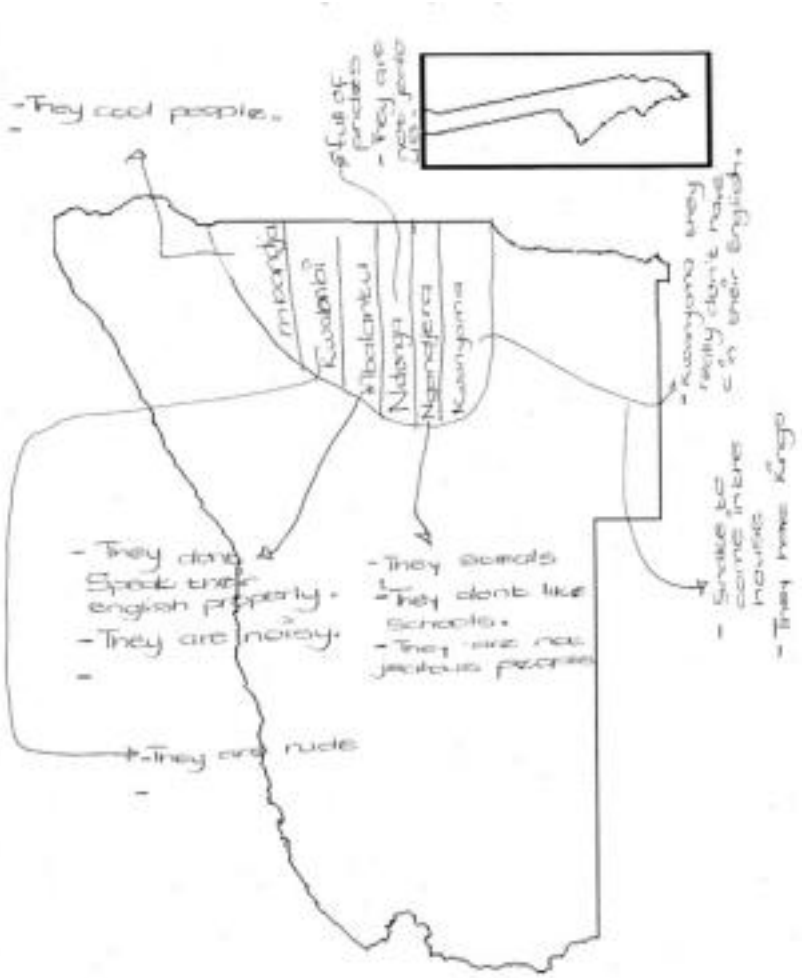


Fig. 4. A geographically contextualized view of Oshiwambo varieties (OVA-F-48).

The labels/characterizations produced by the respondents are ordered into some of the categories devised by Bucholtz et al. (2007). The most frequent categories of labels/characterizations are of a spatial, social, and linguistic nature, which frequently are combined into multisentence characterizations (Table 1). The 'spatial' category includes geographic labels (e.g. *Erongo*, *Windhoek*). The 'social' category mostly involves ethnonyms and reported cultural traits (e.g. *Hereros*, *They steal*, etc.). Finally, the 'linguistic' category is the most represented category: It involves specific examples of locally specific or group-specific linguistic features (e.g. *Oshikwanyama diladila -- think* vs. *Oshindonga dhiladhila -- think*) and linguistic characterizations (e.g. *They speak with an accent*).

Each category is treated separately in the analysis. Spatial information is treated in section 4, social information in section 5, linguistic information in sections 6 and 7. Section 6 more specifically deals with ILs and section 7 with lingua francas. Finally, section 8 collates the findings while putting them into the broader perspective of sociolinguistic dynamics in fast-urbanizing multilingual postcolonial contexts.

5. Spatial distinctions: North and South, ethnic heartlands and cities

Most maps are subdivided into areas, delimited by boundaries, or signalled by contrastively positioned labels/ characterizations. The number of areas varies across respondents, as well as according to which language is depicted. The highest average number of perceived areas in representations of ILs is found in connection with Oshiwambo (3.37), followed by Otjiherero (2.53), and KH (2.27). The average number of areas pointed out by the respondents on the Afrikaans maps most visibly varies with respondent native language. An average of 4.82 areas are perceived on the Afrikaans maps produced by native Afrikaans-speakers and of 2.4 on those produced by the respondents who do not have Afrikaans as a native language. Being born in or outside Windhoek also has a visible effect on the average number of areas indicated on the Afrikaans maps: 2.77 in the former case versus 2.08 in the latter. An explanation for this discrepancy is that Oshiwambo-speakers schooled in the north, form the group most likely to have no knowledge of Afrikaans and thus least likely to perceive variation in it. The number of areas perceived on the English maps averages 2.92 and seems to vary with ethnicity and native language. The Afrikaans-speaking groups perceive the highest number of areas on the English maps (6.64), followed by the Oshiwambo-speakers (2.78), Otjiherero-speakers (2.7), and KH-speakers (1.17). Being schooled (slightly more than being born) in or outside Windhoek (Fig. 2) also has an effect: An average of 4.2 areas are perceived in the former case versus 2.74 in the latter. Again, an explanation for this discrepancy could be that Oshiwambo-speakers schooled outside Windhoek generally attended schools in the Oshiwambo-speaking northern districts where exposure to Namibian English varieties other than local ones might be limited.

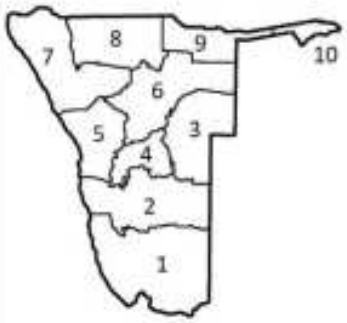
Administrative outline	Regions	Home languages, % (Namibia Statistics Agency 2013)
	1. Karas	Afrikaans: 36; Oshiwambo: 27; KH: 23
	2. Hardap	KH: 43; Afrikaans: 41
	3. Omaheke	Otjiherero: 42; KH: 28; Afrikaans: 10
	4. Khomas	Oshiwambo: 41; Afrikaans: 19; KH: 12; Otjiherero: 10
	5. Erongo	Oshiwambo: 39; Afrikaans: 20; KH: 19; Otjiherero: 10
	6. Otjozondjupa	Otjiherero: 27; Oshiwambo: 21; KH: 21
	7. Kunene	Otjiherero: 47; KH: 32
	8. Oshikoto, Omusati, Ohangwena, Oshana	Oshiwambo: 94
	9. Kavango	Rukavango: 79
	10. Caprivi	Caprivian languages: 90

Fig. 5. Adapted outline of Namibia's administrative subdivisions with language census data.

Table 1
Categories of labels and characterizations per type (n = 3049)[a]

Spatial	26.2%
Social	20.7%
Linguistic	52.1%
Other	1%

[a] One single characterization can be assigned to more than one category, e.g. when it simultaneously involves geographic, social, and linguistic labels/descriptions. Visual cues are used as the main criterion for demarcating characterizations: One paragraph-like description is counted as one characterization, as are tightly grouped linguistic examples.

The areas drawn on the IL maps tend to match the location of the apartheid-era ethnic homelands (Fig. 1). Most Oshiwambo-speakers (67/100) confine their description of Oshiwambo to a single northern zone encompassing the current Oshiwambo-dominant regions. Most Otjiherero-speakers geographically confine Otjiherero to graphically disjunct eastern and northwestern areas that match with the current regions of Omaheke (where Hereroland was located) and Kunene (where the Kaokoveld homeland was located). The KH-speakers all point towards a northwestern area that matches with Erongo (where Damaraland was located), as well as towards a graphically disjunct southern portion of Namibia (where Namaland was located). A substantial proportion of IL maps (Oshiwambo: 33/100; Otjiherero: 18/50; KH: 12/35) additionally feature a central region that coincides with Khomas/Windhoek. Descriptions of Afrikaans are concentrated in the territory's lower half on 46.7% of the Afrikaans maps, and additionally cover a northern region in the remaining cases. While the northern area is generally not subdivided on the Afrikaans maps, a recurrent distinction is made between an inland southern region straddling Hardap and Karas (84.7%), a central region coinciding with Khomas/ Windhoek (61.3%), and a central/southern coastal region straddling Erongo and Hardap (51.8%). The northwestern and eastern regions pointed out on the Otjiherero maps and the northwestern region pointed out on the KH maps are largely absent. The English maps most frequently exhibit a northern region that encompasses the Oshiwambo-speaking regions (74.5% of maps), a southern region that comprises Hardap and Karas (40.3%), a central region that coincides with Khomas/Windhoek (35.5%), and an eastern region -- mostly named by Otjiherero-speakers -- that coincides with Omaheke (13.7%). The northwestern regions pointed out on the KH/Otjiherero maps are largely absent.

The regional labels that tend to occur across maps comprise the terms ‘north’ (15.1% of all regional labels, n = 430), ‘south’ (8.8%), ‘coast’ (6%), and ‘central’ (3.95%). Most of the remaining regional labels occur in the form of official region names. Generic geographic labels comprising the term ‘north’ mostly occur on the English maps (36/225) and to a lesser extent on the Afrikaans maps (24/157). Where such labels occur on the Afrikaans maps, they are in all cases contrasted with a region labelled ‘south’. Additionally, the Afrikaans maps exhibit the most frequent references to a region labelled ‘coast’ (15/157), and to a region called ‘central’ (9/157). The official regions most frequently named across maps are Khomas (31 cases), Hardap (26 cases), and Caprivi (16 cases). In contrast, ‘Hardap’ mostly occurs on the Afrikaans maps, while ‘Caprivi’ and ‘Kavango’ occur mostly on the English maps. Other region names tend to occur on the IL maps. Regions within Namibia's northern part are named mostly on the Oshiwambo maps. In contrast, the Otjiherero maps most frequently name Kunene (31/50) and Omaheke (20/50), and the KH maps Erongo (7/50), which coincide with the former Hereroland, Kaokoveld, and Damaraland, respectively. The most frequently named towns -- shown on Fig. 6 and Table 2 -- are Windhoek (93/368), followed by Walvis Bay (58/368), Lüderitz (32/368), and Rehoboth (24/368). Most town names are found on the Afrikaans and English maps. While Windhoek equally features across Afrikaans and English maps, coastal and southern towns, such as Walvis Bay or Lüderitz, are mostly named on the Afrikaans maps, and northern towns, such as Oshakati, on the English maps (more specifically on those drawn by Oshiwambo-speakers). When it comes to the IL maps, most town names are found on the

KH maps, where Khorixas, former capital of Damaraland, is pointed out in 16/35 cases. The next most frequently named town on the IL maps is Windhoek, pointed out in 10/185 cases.

To summarize: The areas drawn on the IL maps are mostly located in rural areas. The Afrikaans and English maps tend to exhibit explicit or implicit north-south divides. Additionally, a central region matching with Khomas/Windhoek, as well as a region comprising the coastal towns tend to be distinguished. This suggests that ILs are mostly seen as confined to specific rural areas while Afrikaans and English have wider currency and a strong urban connection.

Fig. 6. Most frequently named cities.

Table 2
Most frequently named cities (n = 368).

Region	Name	% of all cities named
Khomas	Windhoek	25.25
Erongo	Walvis Bay	15.75
Karas	Lüderitz	8.7
Hardap	Rehoboth	6.25
Hardap	Keetmanshoop	5.7
Erongo	Swakopmund	5.4
Oshana	Oshakati	5.15
Omaheke	Gobabis	4.9
Kunene	Opuwo	4.6
Erongo	Khorixas	4.35

6. Social distinctions: Ethnicity versus geography in social labels/characterizations

The IL maps tend to name historical ethnic distinctions (in 37/185 cases as the main or only characterization for geographic areas) that are in most cases unmentioned on the Afrikaans and English maps. The Oshiwambo maps 23/100) tend to name historical Ovambo groups associated with the Oshiwambo dialects previously acknowledged in SWA censuses and with

precolonial Ovambo kingdoms (section 2; see further Nampala and Shigwedha, 2006). The number of named historical Ovambo groups ranges from one to seven (average: 4.25). The most frequently named are the Ndongas, Kwanyamas, and Kwambis, followed by the Mbalantus, Ngandjeras, Kwaluudhis, and Mbandjas. Additionally, the Oshiwambo maps display a tendency (on 8/100 maps) to use glottonyms as ethnonyms, as in *Oshikwambi people* (OVA-M-5), whereby the respondents use the class 4 *oshi*-prefix, usually associated with language names. In contrast, most Otjiherero maps name no historical subgroup within the Hereros. Still, the Himbas, a northern branch of the Hereros, are named on 17/50 Otjiherero maps, where they are placed in the Kunene region. Five Otjiherero maps make a distinction between Hereros and Mbanderus -- the latter forming a group distinct from the Hereros in precolonial times (Hinz, 2016) -- which they link to the Omaheke region. Finally, one Otjiherero map (HE-M-7) mentions the Zembas, another historical Herero subgroup, which it links to the Kunene region alongside the Himbas. Apart from making a distinction between Damara and Nama in 14/35 cases, the KH maps seldom make specific social distinctions that are not found on other maps. Three name historical Damara clans. These include the *Dâure Daman* (associated with Erongo), *HaiIIom*, associated with Otjozondjupa, *≠Audaman*, *Namidaman*, both associated with Kunene, and *Ihomanin*, associated with Khomas/Windhoek (see further McConnell-Krame, 2017). The fact that no historical Nama clans are named may have to do with the preponderance of Damaras in the KH sample.

Ethnonyms occur more frequently on the Afrikaans maps than on the English maps: Out of all ethnonyms encountered on both Afrikaans and English maps, 64% occur on the former and 36% on the latter ($n = 260$). Irrespective of the respondents' ethnicity, the most frequently used ethnonyms on the Afrikaans maps are *Baster*, *Ovambo*, and *Damara*. In contrast, *Ovambo*, *Herero*, and *Damara* are the most frequently occurring ethnonyms on the English maps. In most cases, the Afrikaans and English maps share the ethnonyms that they display. However, some ethnonyms appear only on the Afrikaans maps, namely, *Baster*, *Coloured*, and *Afrikaner/Boer*, as well as the ethnoracial label *white*. *Basters* are linked to Hardap, and more specifically to the town of Rehoboth, former capital of Basterland (Fig. 1). *Afrikaners* and *Whites* are associated with southern regions and with Khomas/Windhoek. The ethnoracial label *Coloured* (mostly on the Afrikaans maps), is associated with the coastal region/towns, as well as with Khomas/Windhoek. Ethnonyms that occur only on the English maps are *Caprivian* and *Kavango* in characterizations of the Caprivi and Kavango regions, respectively. Finally, *Damaras* and *Namas*, named on both Afrikaans and English maps, are mostly associated with Khomas/Windhoek and southern regions/towns, respectively. The main ethnonyms that the Afrikaans and English maps share with IL maps are *Nama* and *Damara*. Some geographic areas are associated with several ethnonyms simultaneously. This especially goes for the Afrikaans maps, where more than one ethnic label is used to refer to geographic areas in the territory's southern half in 36/157 cases. In contrast, multiple ethnic specification of single geographic areas only occurs on 8/225 English maps, in all cases also in conjunction with southern regions. Finally, the Afrikaans and English maps tend to share the ethnonyms *Ovambo* with the IL maps (the former appearing on 22% of Oshiwambo maps and the latter on 76% of KH maps).

59/225 maps exhibit social/cultural characterizations applied to ethnoracially labelled social groups. 51/91 of these characterizations are found on the Oshiwambo maps, where they are applied to the distinctive historical Ovambo groups, and 23 on the Afrikaans maps, where they are applied to Afrikaans-speaking populations and to Namas/Damaras. OVAF-2, a Kwanyama-speaker, refers to Kwambis as 'rude', while OVA-M-2, a Ndonga-speaker, describes Ngandjeras as 'thieves'. The Oshiwambo-, Otjiherero- and KH-speaking respondents tend to stereotype Afrikaans-speaking ethnoracial groups, or more generally the ethnoracial groups that they name on the Afrikaans maps. The most often stereotyped ethnic groups on the Afrikaans maps are the Basters (e.g. 'They like pimping their cars', OVA-M-2), followed by the Coloureds (e.g. 'They drink too much', HE-M-13), Namas/Damaras (e.g. 'They don't save for tomorrow', AF-M-5), and Boers/Afrikaners/Whites (e.g. 'They like to keep to themselves', OVA-F-34). Some isolated social/cultural characterizations relate to traditional ways. In this regard, eight Oshiwambo maps distinguish between historical Ovambo groups based on traditional diets (e.g. 'Kwanyamas eat mice and dogs' while 'Ndongas eat donkey meat', OVA-M-4). The four Otjiherero maps that apply social/cultural characterizations to the historical Herero groups all emphasize the distinctive traditional wear of the Himbas, while one additionally emphasizes the distinctive colours of the Himba, Herero, and Mbanderu traditional flags. The KH maps apply no social/cultural characterizations to the historical KH-speaking groups that they distinguish, emphasizing instead in 6/34 cases phenotypical attributes specific to the Damaras and Namas (the Damaras are generally described as more dark-skinned and the Namas as more light-skinned). Finally, the theme of schooling emerges on thirteen Afrikaans and English maps drawn by Oshiwambo-speakers in the social attributes ascribed to named ethnoracial groups, such as in e.g. 'They [Coloureds] are school dropouts' (OVA-M-2) or 'The Himbas they never go to school' (OVA-F-35).

There is a tendency among the respondents to avoid ethnic specification while discussing the urban populations of the central and coastal regions on the Afrikaans and English maps: In only 12.4% and 17.6% of characterizations applied to these areas are ethnic labels, while southern and northern regions are ethnically characterized in 26.75% and 30.25% of cases, respectively. This tendency appears strongest on the English maps, and to a lesser extent on the Afrikaans maps. The socio-cultural characterizations of central and coastal areas emphasize or imply ethnic diversity on eighteen maps. Windhoek is seen as home to 'mixed tribes' (OVA-F-17), or to 'different folks from different ethnic groups' (AF-M-4). This also goes for the coastal towns: The ethnically diverse character of Walvis Bay is perhaps implied in the fact that it is the only town whose population is referred to via a specific label, namely, the Afrikaans term *Baainaar* (used on seven maps by three Oshiwambo-speakers, three Afrikaans-speakers, and one KH-speaker). The theme of 'foreignness' emerges on four maps: Windhoek, Walvis Bay, and Swakopmund is where 'they receive foreigners and socialize with them, mainly from Germany and England' (HE-M-6). Apart from the *Baainaars*, what comes closest to an urbanized population group named in ethnically neutral terms is the *Mbwitis*, named on 27/100 Oshiwambo maps. Although perceived as Ovambo, this population group is never characterized in terms of its specific Ovambo ethnolinguistic background. Ombwiti social behaviour and outlooks are stereotyped on 11 maps by OV respondents born and schooled in the north: 'They are high-class' (OVA-M-7), 'They like things' (OVA-F-32), and 'they come

back [to the north] acting like they are superior' (OVA-F-37). Strikingly, no specific term is used to refer to urbanized populations within other ethnolinguistic groups. Finally, eight maps describe Windhoek residents in terms of their lifestyles: 'They live like the Kardashians' (OVA-F-2), since they are 'elites living their dreams' (HE-M-6).

Pre-colonial ethnolinguistic distinctions appear most visibly on the indigenous language maps and apartheid-era ethnoracial distinctions on the Afrikaans maps, while the English maps are less ethnically specified. Urban areas are less ethnically specified although Coloureds/Whites tend to be associated with towns on the Afrikaans maps. The most direct indication that urbanity is socio-culturally salient comes in the form of the label *Mbwiti* frequently applied to urban Ovambos.

7. Indigenous languages: historical linguistic distinctions and urban language loss

Most IL maps (168/185) display linguistic information in the form of labels and/or characterizations. Only a relatively small proportion displays labels that are of an unambiguous linguistic nature. All of these are found on the Oshiwambo maps, out of which 34/100 use some or all of the historical Ovambo ethnonyms prefixed with the class 4 singular prefix *oshi-*. The most frequent linguistic labels are *Oshindonga* (39/106 glottonyms on the Oshiwambo maps except for *Oshiwambo*) and *Oshikwanyama* (34/106), followed by *Oshikwambi* (18/106). A range of labels regularly used as ethnonyms in socio-cultural characterizations are of an implicit linguistic nature by being directly adjoined with linguistic examples/characterizations. This brings the total of linguistic labels on Oshiwambo maps to 128, again with the same order of frequency for each variety. The most frequently occurring labels of an implicit linguistic nature on the Otjiherero maps is *Himba* (7/43 maps), followed by *Mbanderu* (found on only one map), and on the KH maps *Damara* and *Nama*, which occur jointly on 6/35 maps. The mentions of historical Damara clans are not accompanied by any linguistic example/characterization (see section 5). 8/100 Oshiwambo maps exhibit Ovambo linguistic labels applied to areas located outside of the Oshiwambo-speaking regions. OVA-M-2 specifies that Ovambos in the coastal region mostly speak Oshikwambi, while OVA-F-11 explains that Oshindonga is dominant among Ovambos in Khomas/Windhoek. On the remaining maps, linguistic specification tends to decrease outside of the Oshiwambo-speaking regions, to which the respondents apply the generic label *Oshiwambo* instead of the historical dialect names. Although the term *Mbwiti* does occasionally co-occur with linguistic characterizations on the Oshiwambo maps, it does not seem to function as an autonomous linguistic label. Finally, the central regions that are pointed out on the Otjiherero/KH maps are in no case associated with a linguistic label.

The linguistic examples that the respondents use to illustrate differences between historical IL varieties involve only lexical comparisons on 134/161 IL maps with linguistic examples. The same terms tend to occur across maps, suggesting that they form conventionalized sociolinguistic stereotypes or linguistic 'icons' (section 2). Lexical comparisons on the Oshiwambo maps involve in most cases the contrasting of Oshikwanyama and Oshindonga lexical items. Most frequent among these are the Oshindonga nouns *oshikundu* and *omeya* and

their Oshikwanyama equivalent *ontaku* and *omeva* ('meal drink' and 'water', 13/100 and 9/100 maps, respectively). The most frequent contrastive word pair on the Otjiherero maps involves the Himba 2nd person singular pronoun *nahi* and its standard Otjiherero equivalent *ove* (on 13/50 maps). On the KH maps, the word pair *àmmè.b* -- *Ihùu.b* (both meaning 'scorpion') appears in various orthographies on eight maps. Two out of these maps specify the first variant as Damara and the second as Nama, which explains the graphic positioning of the latter variant in the southern regions, where Namas are historically dominant. A less frequent way of summarizing contrasts between historical varieties consists in providing overviews of their distinctive phonetic or morphogrammatical features. This strategy is exemplified by OVA-F-4, who aligns the Oshikwanyama class 1 plural prefix *ova-* with its Oshindonga counterpart *aa-*, and by HE-F-19 who contrasts the standard Otjiherero class 4 singular prefix *otji-* with its orthographically improvised Himba counterpart *ochi-*. Urban varieties are linguistically exemplified on only seven IL maps (six Oshiwambo and one Otjiherero). Among the Oshiwambo maps that provide word lists for Oshiwambo varieties spoken in the coastal/central regions, five include Afrikaans and KH words (most of them discourse markers such as Afrikaans *tog* and KH *etse*) alongside Oshiwambo words, which suggests that specific urban contact varieties of Oshiwambo are perceived.

Specific linguistic examples (on 62/185 maps) are accompanied by impressionistic characterizations of linguistic contrasts between historical varieties. For example, OVA-M-13 rationalizes the phonetic distinctions between Oshindonga and Oshikwanyama in the following terms: 'The Aandonga can say words with the letter Z for example ZAPO which means MOVE AWAY but the Aakwanyama will say LYAPO'. Similarly, KH-M-1 describes variation in KH based on the quality of click sounds (Standard KH contains two affricated and two 'sharp' categories of clicks): The Damaras are 'very loud when it comes to the clicks' while the Namas 'have a different sound'. Finally, linguistic distinctions are sometimes explicitly downplayed, especially on the Oshiwambo maps. For example, OVA-F-24 summarizes variation in Oshiwambo in the following terms: 'The Oshiwambo dialects are the same, there is not much difference only the tones that sound different and it's where you can tell the dialect one is speaking'. Value judgments are sometimes implied in linguistic characterizations, revealing the respondents' views of where the most 'correct' variety is located. In the view of OVA-F-25, one criterion for distinguishing between 'good' and 'bad' Oshindonga revolves around a well-balanced distribution of 'Ls' and 'Rs': The Oshikoto region is according to her where 'many people speak good Oshindonga without no misuse of L/R', as opposed to the Ohangwena region where 'Oshindonga speakers use the L since they are mixing it with Oshikwanyama'. The ability to produce clicks seems to be an essential criterion for measuring 'correctness' in KH in the view of KH-M-9, who observes that they [Namas] are better at clicks', implying that Damara usage is less 'correct'. Three Otjiherero maps suggest a perception of Himbas as unrepresentative of Otjiherero. It implicitly surfaces in the contrastive use of the labels 'Himba' and 'Otjiherero', as well as in the comment by HE-F-28 that the northwestern/Himba variety 'sounds like Otjiherero mixed with Oshiwambo'.

The IL maps that describe urban areas, or more generally areas located outside of the historical ethnic heartlands, provide linguistic characterizations in which the theme of language

loss features centrally. Describing Damaras living in the coastal region, KH-F-16 comments: 'They [Damaras in the coastal region] are not really good speakers. It's kind of like the culture died out so they don't pronounce well'. Mbwitis or unlabelled Ovambos living outside of the Oshiwambo-speaking regions similarly tend to be associated with low fluency: They 'speak little Oshiwambo' (OVA-F-37), or at least 'they pretend they can't speak Oshiwambo' (OVA-F-13). OVA-M-18 is even more specific, observing that '[urban] Ndongas tend to lose their home language and opt for Otjiherero'. Possibly related to language loss is the theme of language-mixing which emerges explicitly or implicitly on 19 Oshiwambo maps, 7 Otjiherero maps, and 4 KH maps. Among the most explicit references to language-mixing, OVA-M-14 observes that urban Ovambos 'speak with more than one language in one sentence', and HE-M-14 that coastal Hereros 'mix a lot with Afrikaans slangs'. Possibly indicative of contact-induced change is the observation by OVA-M-6 that Ovambos from central and southern regions 'try to speak Oshiwambo with an English accent', or 'not fluently and with lots of mistakes' according to OVA-F-7. There are suggestions that language-mixing is not positively rated and set against rural models. For example, OVA-F-12 comments that southern Ovambos 'don't speak perfect Oshiwambo, instead they mix with Afrikaans and Damara'. What counts as 'perfect Oshiwambo' -- or 'authentic' models thereof (Lacoste et al., 2014) -- is found in the north, where 'Oshiwambo is spoken more fluently' (OVA-F-7), that is, 'in its raw form' (OVA-F-11). The theme of language-mixing on Otjiherero and KH maps is generally not accompanied by value judgments. However, KH-F-8 hints at a perceived incompatibility between language-mixing and 'good KH' when commenting that Windhoek KH-speakers 'use lots of Afrikaans words but they speak well'.

The respondents distinguish between historical IL varieties, which they confine to historical ethnic heartlands, while setting them apart from contact varieties spoken in urban areas. While there are indications that what counts as 'good' IL usage is not equally distributed across historical ethnic heartlands, there is a tendency -- most explicit among the Ovambos -- to dissociate 'good' models from urban areas and areas of contact.

8. Lingua francas: *Kasietaal* and *Namlish* versus 'white' norms and good education

118/158 Afrikaans maps and 173/225 English maps display linguistic information. Linguistic labels occur more rarely than on the IL maps, with altogether 51 labels spread across 43 maps. The most frequent labels are local labels used to refer to Afrikaans and English varieties, namely, *Kasie Afrikaans/Kasietaal* in the former case, and *Namlish* in the latter case (although *Namlish* occurs on three Afrikaans maps as well). *Kasie* in *Kasie Afrikaans* is derived from *lokasie*, a term that historically refers to Non-White residential urban areas under the apartheid regime. *Kasie Afrikaans/Kasietaal* is used by all ethnicities on 17 Afrikaans maps in conjunction with the central region/Windhoek. In contrast, *Namlish* is less geographically focused: Used by all language groups, it occurs on 20 English maps (and three Afrikaans maps) in conjunction with the north (12 cases), the central region/Windhoek (5 cases), and the south (3 cases). A distinctive feature of the Afrikaans maps is that they occasionally refer to varieties via ethnically specified linguistic labels: *Baster Afrikaans* occurs on five maps in conjunction with the south/Rehoboth, *White/Boer Afrikaans* on two maps in conjunction with the central

region/Windhoek, and *German Afrikaans* on one map in conjunction with the coastal region. After *Namlish*, the most recurrent labels for English varieties involve standardness judgments in the form of the adjectives *broken*, *fluent*, and *good* adjoined to the noun *English* (33 maps). *Fluent* and *Good English* are used on 24 maps where they are mostly connected to the central/coastal regions (21 cases) and the Caprivi (8 cases). In contrast, *Broken English* is used on twelve maps in conjunction with the north (10 cases) and the south (3 cases). The adjectives *broken/fluent/good* are used to qualify the noun Afrikaans on 23 maps. *Fluent/Good Afrikaans* appears in conjunction with the coastal/central region and (17 maps) and the south (4 maps), and *broken* with the north (4 maps).

The respondents mostly use linguistic examples in the form of word or sentence lists (66/157 Afrikaans maps and 141/ 225 English maps). Mostly named by the AF/HE/KH respondents, linguistic examples on the Afrikaans maps more often involve distinctive lexical features than the English maps, while the English maps conversely involve more illustrations of phonetic interferences from Namibian ILs and Afrikaans. The most frequently named examples of distinctive lexical usage on the Afrikaans maps involve the non-standard 2nd person singular pronouns with palatalized onset *djy/dzy/dsy* (subject form, Std. Af. *jy*) and/or *djou/dzou* (object form, Std. Af. *jou*), named on 38 maps. The next most frequently named examples mostly have uncertain linguistic origins and are not acknowledged by Afrikaans lexicographic sources: *nxa* 'well/good' (21 maps), *chaesa/chisa/cheza* 'cool, street-wise' (13 maps), *zali(e)* 'mother' (6 maps). Altogether, most examples of distinctive Afrikaans lexical usage (69/117) are named in conjunction with the central and/or the coastal region, although the lexical examples produced by the native Afrikaans-speaking respondents are mostly related to southern usage. 104/225 linguistic examples on the English maps are named in conjunction with the north, implicitly or explicitly illustrating Oshiwambo interferences by emphasizing in most cases confusion between /r/ and /l/ (post-alveolar approximants are absent in the Oshiwambo phonemic inventory), such as in *lun -- run*, *solly -- sorry*, or *prease -- please*. All examples related to the east and/or Hereros (57/225, mostly named by HE respondents) feature instances of prothesis, such as in *ndoor* 'door', *ngo* 'go', *mbaby* 'baby', which reflect phonotactic constraints in Otjiherero. The examples most frequently named in conjunction with the south (42/225) are related to 'Nama' pronunciations and illustrate confusion between /ð/ or /θ/ -- which have no counterparts in KH -- and /f/ (e.g. *fings -- things*, *de -- the*), which on four maps is also attributed to Afrikaners and/or Coloureds/Basters.

The distribution of linguistic characterizations of Afrikaans (present on 77/157maps) reflects the distribution of ethnic labels and geographic areas on the Afrikaans maps. Distinctions between Afrikaans varieties are associated with degrees of nativeness and exposure. In this regard, OVA-M-2 observes that 'most people [in the north] speak it[Afrikaans] with an Oshiwambo accent because schools in the north don't give Afrikaans'. Ethnic distinctions are pointed out. Whites/Boers stand out for sounding 'South African' (OVA-F-12) while Coloureds have 'a more down-to-earth accent' (HE-F-2). In addition, there are fourteen direct mentions of a specifically Nama-Damara southern variety marked by KH interferences (e.g. 'They [Nama-Damara] speak it with clicks', HE-M-3). Ethnic distinctions may coincide with varying degrees of standardness, with the terms posh and proper associated

with White/Boer varieties on six maps. However, there is also a tendency to refrain from ethnic specification. For example, the 'coast', rather than any specific ethnic group in that region, is marked by a 'strong accent' in the view of AF-M-4. The terms *slang* and *Kasie(-taal)* occur on fifteen and three maps, respectively, to qualify Afrikaans varieties in the central/coastal regions. *Slang/Kasietaal* may be seen as a distinctive Afrikaans variety (e.g. 'Afrikaans spoken in the central part is mostly slang, 'OVA-F-11'), or as a language/variety of its own (e.g. 'Most people [in Walvis Bay] mix Afrikaans with slang', AF-M-3). Some respondents relate it specifically to L2 Afrikaans speakers and code-switching (e.g. 'People[in Windhoek] mix it[Afrikaans] with their native languages and it became a slang now', AF-M-4). It may be seen as an antilanguage, in which 'people sometimes make up their own words' (AF-F-2), and of which words of indeterminate origin, such as *nxa*, are named as examples (KH-F-16). It is thus distinct from *Namlish* -- which according to HE-F-28 -- is 'Afrikaans and English spoken together'. It is also Non-White by default, as 'Europeans [in Windhoek] speak proper Afrikaans without slang' (AF-M-2).

The most linguistically characterized regions on the English maps (110/225) are the north and the central region/ Windhoek. Unlike the Afrikaans maps, nativeness is not a criterion for distinguishing between English varieties. Language background is one frequent classification criterion. Oshiwambo 'accents' linked to the north stand out on seventeen maps, where their characterization relies on the stereotype of Oshiwambo-speakers confusing /l/ and /r/ (e.g. 'Not all but 80% of Oshiwambo people have a huge problem with R and L', OVA-F-3). Ethnolinguistic distinctions between English accents are hardly made within indigenous language groups, although OVA-M-2 remarks that the Kwanyamas 'don't have C when talking English'. The next English accent named by all language groups is marked by Afrikaans (19 maps): For example, people in the coastal region 'speak English with a white people's Afrikaans accent', according to AF-M-4. The theme of language-mixing emerges in eighteen characterizations found on the English maps, mostly in relation to ethnic heartlands/rural areas, where English is described as 'mixed with home languages' (OVA-F-11), and named Namlish on five maps. Some accents are described primarily in terms of exogenous features: Two maps refer to the English spoken in coastal/central regions as 'American English', while two maps ascribe Zimbabwean influence to the English spoken in the Caprivi. 44 characterizations involve standardness judgments by featuring the adjectives *good*, fluent, and *broken*. *Good/ fluent* is linked primarily to education (e.g. 'The English [in Windhoek] is better because they have proper schools', OVA-F5). It is also linked to the presence of foreigners, a feature mostly ascribed to Windhoek (e.g. '[Windhoek] speaks excellent English and contains many foreigners. The people pick up the foreign accents', AF-F-2). Finally, it is linked to the Caprivi (e.g. 'The Caprivian people are known as the most fluent English speakers because they use it all day', OVA-M-11).

Although they both have strong perceptual connections with urban areas, Namibia's lingua francas are described in different terms. 'Fluent' or 'good' Afrikaans varieties are perceived, often in ethnic terms, alongside an ethnically unspecified contact register linked to urban areas. In contrast, differentiation in English is mostly associated with language background and with levels of education, the highest of which are associated with the central region/Windhoek.

9. Discussion

This study elicited spatially and socially contextualized folk perceptions of sociolinguistic distinctions. The respondents organized their perceptions differently depending on which language they were describing. Sociolinguistic distinctions within ILs are perceived within historical ethnic heartlands, and to a much lesser extent along with an urban/rural distinction. Perceived sociolinguistic distinctions in Afrikaans and English generally reveal a perceptual divide between the north and the rest. More secondarily, they also highlight the urbanized central/coastal regions alongside the southern KH-speaking regions, and to a lesser extent, the eastern Otjiherero-speaking regions. Apart from being ascribed ethnic diversity and higher education levels, the urban regions are associated with Whites, Coloureds, and 'foreigners'. Additionally, they are perceived by Oshiwambo-speakers as being home to the Mbwitis, a specifically urban category of Ovambos. One salient linguistic distinction between urban and rural areas concerns language-mixing, characteristic of the former. Rather than giving rise to new varieties of indigenous languages, frequent language-mixing seems consonant with shift to Afrikaans and English, especially in the view of the Oshiwambo-speakers, who explicitly locate 'fluent' or 'authentic' models of Oshiwambo in rural areas. Set against rural varieties marked by interferences, urban Afrikaans varieties tend to be labelled as 'good' or 'fluent', in which case they are occasionally associated with Whites or Coloureds. Additionally, they tend to be labelled as slang or Kasie, whereby reference is seemingly made to a Non-White linguistically hybrid register reminiscent of South Africa's *Tsotsitaal* (Mesthrie and Hurst, 2013). Finally, English is seen as varying according to levels of education, highest in urban areas, and to language background, whose linguistic effects are most strongly perceived in rural areas. Strikingly, 'good' or 'fluent' English is not associated with any specific ethnolinguistic group, except in a few cases where it is associated with Caprivians. This reflects the historical fact that the Caprivi was the only region where English was functioning as a lingua franca by the time of independence (Kleinz, 1984).

Social and linguistic stereotypes suggest that (pre-)colonial ethnolinguistic boundaries are salient to most respondents. It may thus seem warranted to depict Namibian ethnolinguistic boundaries as still being 'hard' as they were by independence (section 2). However, the respondents' perceptions suggest that urban areas provide scope for ethnically neutral sociolinguistic identifications. This is illustrated chiefly by the fact that urban English varieties and Afrikaans 'slang' are rarely applied ethnic labels. Additionally, urban areas provide scope for 'reconfigured' ethnicities, in line with the observations made by the Manchester School (Banks, 1996). This is chiefly illustrated by the frequently applied label *Mbwiti*, which does not contain any reference to the traditional ethnolinguistic distinctions within the Ovambo population, and more generally, by perceptions that town residents lose their ethnic language. The lack of labels referring to urbanized categories of Nama-Damaras and Hereros reflects observations by Pendleton et al. (2012), who emphasize that these two populations have had a considerably longer history of urbanization than the Ovambos, whereby urban/rural distinctions must have lost their original salience (see further Pendleton, 1996). Another indication of ethnically neutral identifications in urban areas comes in the form of the ethnically

unspecified linguistic icons linked to them, notably *Kasietaal*, which may subsume sociolinguistic identities primarily grounded in place, as observed by Johnstone (2013) in relation to Pittsburgh. Beyond the rural/urban divide, judgments attached to perceived linguistic varieties generally reveal ideologies of 'correctness' and 'authenticity'. What counts as 'good' English in the view of the respondents is ethnically neutral, as opposed to 'good' Afrikaans, which tends to be associated with the former colonial elite. On the other side of the spectrum, what comes closest to 'good' varieties of indigenous languages is their unmixed rural varieties, set against the less 'fluent', and by implication less 'authentic', urban varieties.

The insights produced by this study suggest that a PD approach is well-equipped to simultaneously identify old and new sociolinguistic distinctions in ethnolinguistically diverse environments marked by rapid urbanization. More specifically, it seems apt to identify crystallizing urban-rural divides by pointing at emergent ethnically unspecified social categories linked to urbanity, thus providing clues related to nation-building processes and their effects on traditional ethnic constructs. However, it is important to not use PD accounts of societal environments such as Namibia as justifications for over-simplifying sociolinguistic rural-urban divides into dichotomies between 'ethnic' and 'de-ethnicized'. This study produces indications of urban language loss (echoed by a few African sociolinguistic studies, such as, among other things Bodomo et al., 2010) which could suggest loss of ethnicity. But studies of language contact in urban Africa such as Myers-Scotton (1993) highlight the social pressure to perform balancing acts between 'wordliness' and traditional ethnocentric values, which require the regular conversational combining of lingua francas and (elements from) ethnic languages. If there is increasing scope for ethnic neutrality in urban Africa, and if it does not necessarily coincide with complete language shift as Myers-Scotton's observations suggest, then it is likely to find linguistic expression via situationally deployed ethnically neutral varieties of lingua francas, whose contours this study's multidimensional PD approach was apt to reveal. By extension, this study shows the relevance of a multidimensional PD approach to identifying the components of possible linguistic repertoires, again with the caveat that it should not lead to categorical conclusions on objective urban-rural sociolinguistic distinctions. For example, the fact that the respondents in this study link ethnically neutral English and Afrikaans varieties to urban areas and interference-prone varieties to rural areas need not mean that these varieties do not co-exist in urban areas and in individual urban repertoires in a societal context where urban-rural boundaries remain porous.

10. Conclusion

This study was able to document a widespread perception of an urban/rural divide with different implications for the various languages described and perceived ethnolinguistic boundaries. Seen as ethnically diverse, cities are where lingua francas are spoken in their optimal and/or ethnically most neutral forms. Cities also form a societal context where indigenous languages fade out at the same time as ethnolinguistic distinctions that otherwise remain salient in historical ethnic heartlands. The insights produced by this study hopefully make a case for a multi-layered PD approach, as well as for the relevance of PD to producing baseline accounts of multilingual environments. It is important to stress the inherent limitations

of the PD approach when it comes to charting sociolinguistic distinctions. As linguistic stereotypes, the linguistic features depicted as 'urban' or 'rural' by the respondents may in fact be found across linguistic repertoires countrywide since Namibia is a society in which -- as in much of Subsaharan Africa -- rural-urban distinctions remain fluid.

Acknowledgements
I thank the following persons for assisting with data collection and interpretation: Marietjie Hoebes, Virginia Samuel, and Yuan Zeng.

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