

Into Collabs: Public Applied Linguistics and Hip Hop Language Technicians

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1. INTRODUCTION

One of the major challenges facing applied linguistics in South Africa today is to find ways to engage with language justice activists to reconstruct meaningful intervention on language and multilingual problems to empower historically racialized multilingual speakers. In this article, I provide one such form of engagement by reporting on how my work as a ‘public applied linguist’ in collaboration with Hip Hop language activists (whom I call ‘language technicians’¹) provide insight into the nature of what I consider to be an egalitarian form of collaborative activism between academics and practitioners in post-apartheid South Africa. The specific focus of the article is an analysis of a panel discussion hosted at a public, popular book festival, hosted by this author, and Afrikaaps language technicians that focused on how Afrikaaps is used to talk about social issues such as self-worth and commonality, solutions to gangsterism and healing. Afrikaaps can be defined as a new speech variety that shares the linguistic structure of Kaaps but is distinct from Standard Afrikaans.

To lead us up to that analysis, I first provide a broad historical discussion of multilingual activism and linguistic justice from South African applied linguistic scholarship, followed by a further discussion of the notions public applied linguistics and ‘language technicians’ as related to issues of linguistic justice (in an attempt to contribute to publicly engaged applied linguistics work, see e.g. Piller 2016; Kubota 2019; Wright *et al.* 2019). In the third section, I analyse the panel discussion and demonstrate how Afrikaaps becomes a

resource for metalinguistic commentary on social issues facing Afrikaaps speakers. I explore the panel discussion as a performance of social, institutional, and Afrikaaps knowledge in that the panellists demonstrate how Afrikaaps is useful in providing solutions to social issues of self-worth and commonality, solutions to gangsterism and healing. This is followed by a final concluding section where I offer a roadmap for how public applied linguists could productively continue to co-cultivate and co-sustain an egalitarian, collaborative relationship with (Hip Hop) language technicians in advancing linguistic justice.

2. TOWARDS A PUBLIC APPLIED LINGUISTICS

Multilingual speakers in South Africa continue to experience colonial and apartheid-type linguistic discrimination in social context, institutional contexts (such as schools, see [Hiss and Peck 2020](#)), in spite of the liberal language policy provisions in the Constitution of 1994, and a surge in multilingual activism by cultural groups and individuals agitating for greater recognition, representation, and access to linguistic resources and structures ([Brown and Deumert 2017](#); [Williams 2018](#)). Since the inception of democracy in 1994, true linguistic justice has eluded historically racialized and marginalized languages and speakers ([Alexander 2010](#)). Alexander, one of the many proponents of linguistic equality, had long advocated for an egalitarian, materially inclusive form of multilingual education (see [Alexander 2002](#)), and like others a form of language education that decouples the social ills of race, class, nationalism from nation-state building and the politics of identity ([Webb 2010](#)). The decolonial activism of #Fallist movement accelerated this decoupling (see [Bock and Stroud 2021](#)), exposing further the complex matrix of power, resources, and the social and institutional politics of agency and voice of the country (see [Nyamnjoh, 2016](#); [Jansen 2017](#); [Ndlovu 2018](#)). The #Fallist movement reminded us that applied linguists have always engaged in social movements and public advocacy, though few in South Africa have embodied their language activism to campaign for decades for a fairer and more just approach to the equal distribution and access to language and multilingual resources in education (Neville [Alexander 2010](#) was an outlier in this regard).

For his part, Alexander argued vociferously that in order for South Africa's African language speakers and other historically marginalized speakers to experience true equality, we have to reckon with the fact that colonial and apartheid South Africa, two official languages—English (mostly) and Afrikaans—have regimented for a long time our society's class, the economic and political structures ([McCormick 2002](#); [Harries 2007](#)). Towards the turn of post-apartheid South Africa, Alexander and other applied linguists invested greatly in recrafting what a multilingual nation would look and sound like, in an attempt to right all the linguistic wrongs. Reflecting then at the *Taal and Stryd* (Language and Struggle) conference in 1989, [Esterhyse \(1989\)](#), [Heugh \(1989\)](#), and [Alexander \(1989\)](#) provided early thoughts on the

reconceptualization of language, multilingualism, and inequality with respect to the hegemony of Afrikaans. Although the conference sought practical solutions to language planning for a democratic South Africa, these authors provided important reflections on Afrikaans and English, and against the continued social and linguistic inequalities that benefit white Afrikaner and English speakers. Perhaps importantly, it gave shape to language planning and policy and multilingual education in post-apartheid South Africa.

It is this history of struggle that provides for many multilingual activists, with a training in applied linguistics, the impetus to continue the fight on behalf of marginalized multilingual speakers (see Kriel 2010). Multilingual activists have actively sought to present an alternative vision of multilingualism that brings marginalized forms of languages from the periphery to the centre. And this is often accomplished with an egalitarian approach to linguistic justice that highlights equality, fairness, and justice (Rawls 1971). This approach, while progressive in its vision, picks up on the debates around linguistic justice in Alexander (2010, 2012) but at the same time, it enters into a critical conversation with the liberal egalitarianism of Van Parijs (2011; though see a critique from May 2015).

An egalitarian approach recognizes that it is not enough to affirm differences in diversity; we need to open up dialogue around what constitutes common ground and equality in language and focuses on non-standard varieties as linked to empowerment with the goal to emphasize fairness in linguistic diversity. In other words, we need to (i) explicitly point to the mainstreaming of historically racialized citizen voices and their languages; (ii) empower historically racialized citizens who speak a variety of language other than the hegemonic variety; (iii) advance the idea that it is multilingual speakers who are redefining the terms and conditions under which we think a language is created; and (iv) problematize the link to forms and functions necessary to create new types of voices.

In post-apartheid South Africa today, applied linguists increasingly work with other language technicians in public domains, advancing what I have come to call public applied linguistics. The notion of public applied linguistics is inspired by Michael Burawoy's (2005) call for a sociology that concerns the collaborative engagement of 'multiple publics in multiple ways' (Burawoy 2005: 4), by bringing 'sociology into a conversation with publics' (2005: 7). In like manner to public sociology, a public applied linguistics can be defined as the activism of applied linguists where applied linguistic scholarship is brought into publics with the goal of bringing solutions to language and multilingual problems (to name but two). The public applied linguist role is outside the ethnographic field researcher or participatory action researcher roles, it is a role that is performed outside the academy. It assumes no hierarchy but rather an egalitarian, collaborative ethos in practice that co-articulates with those of activists. To demonstrate how this unfolds, I analyse next a single public event where we, the Afrikaans language technicians and myself, delivered

metalinguistic commentary on how Afrikaaps is used to talk about social issues such as self-worth and commonality, and solutions to gangsterism.

3. INTO A COLLAB: AFRIKAAPS LANGUAGE TECHNICIANS AND A PUBLIC APPLIED LINGUIST

A decade or so ago, fresh into the new democratic South Africa, Catherine Henegan approached a few Hip Hop artists and poets active in the Cape Flats communities of Cape Town to put on a theatre play (also known as a HipHopera) at the Baxter Theatre (in Cape Town).² The play, entitled *Afrikaaps* and directed by Henegan comprised a multi-racial cast and revisited the formation of Afrikaans through rap songs, dance, and indigenous sounds. At the time, Dylan Valley, a young Honours student in Film and Media Studies at the University of Cape Town, recorded the production and staging of the play in various venues and subsequently produced a documentary by the same name. The final cut of the documentary mediatized the creation and performance of the play mixed with scenes of his own language socialization into Afrikaans, Afrikaans history, supplemented by interviews with Neville Alexander (noted language activist) and notable Arabic-Afrikaans expert Tariq Mellet. The documentary presents an honest, comprehensive history and inclusive idea of Afrikaans as a language, and over the years have generated several studies and analysis (see e.g. Schuster 2016; Alim and Haupt 2017; Becker 2017; Haupt *et al.*, 2019; Roman 2019; Alim *et al.*, 2021/2022;). It was subsequently taken up by Hip Hop language technicians, including members of the original cast, and became the inspiration for what transformed into Afrikaaps language activism and a movement (Williams 2018).

I joined the movement in 2014 and have since sought to build on applied linguistic activism scholarship by assuming the role of a public applied linguist. As a working class so-called coloured speaker of Afrikaaps born on the Cape Flats and an academic, I have dedicated my time to collaborate with seeking ways to incorporate Afrikaaps into South African education contexts. I have developed research and development and scholarship on Afrikaaps in university's contexts in South Africa to allow Afrikaaps activists to speak with and against the prevailing epistemologies that sustain the linguistic inequality Afrikaaps speakers' experience. In this role, I have cultivated and maintained collaborations with Hip Hop language technicians to advance debates around Afrikaans and Afrikaaps, following the publication of the Afrikaaps documentary. Working together with Afrikaaps language technicians, we argue that Afrikaans is a language formed out of a fraught history (see Den Besten 2012; Deumert 2004), a language with European Dutch roots (Carstens and Raidt 2019), very likely influenced by an early form of Dutch we now know as Kaaps (Hendricks 2012), Muslim Afrikaans (Davids 2011), Khoi and San languages, and other languages from Asia, yet erased of this multilingualism in the process of standardization. It is in the process of the standardization of

Afrikaans, we further argue, that we see the rich, creole origins of Afrikaans erased but in spite of this history, Afrikaans language technicians and public applied linguists are providing an opportunity to re-stitch an inclusive narrative of Afrikaans language development, while at the same time campaigning for the reclamation of ownership not necessarily over Afrikaans but power in Afrikaans that is rightly owed to historically racialized speakers of the language (see Williams 2016, 2019a, 2019b). Our position is that although Afrikaans is a language sculpted out of processes of racial subjugation too, talking about and through Afrikaans about social issues helps us to capture an alternative view for all Afrikaans speakers.

3.1 Afrikaans in public

In 2019, I convened a panel with Hip Hop artists Quintin Jitsvinger and Emile YX?, and poet Blaq Pearl at the Open Book Festival in Cape Town's Central Library. At this event, we talked about how Afrikaans and Afrikaans speakers could disseminate knowledge about Afrikaans, and what solutions public applied linguists and language technicians could offer to address the social and economic inequalities experienced by working-class speakers of Afrikaans on the Cape Flats. In this context, we used the opportunity to code-switch between English and Afrikaans, acknowledged the multilinguality of the audience members, and also engaged in a spirited meta-linguistic discussion on the use of Afrikaans in addressing social issues such as self-worth, commonality (common ground), and gangsterism.

The overall goal of the panel was to provide an understanding of the activist frameworks each language technician puts in practice and how we can heal and limit the subjectivities experienced by Afrikaans speakers. In the endeavour to highlight this aspect through the use of Afrikaans, all the language technicians on the panel have organized non-governmental organizations and structures that help them promote the use of Afrikaans and provide solutions with regard to institutional, political, and social inequality. Quintin Jitsvinger, for example, works with schools to raise critical awareness about the potential for equality through Afrikaans by co-teaching Life orientation. He uses, often, 'Creative Writing [*sic*] as a methodology to teach life orientation mostly to laa-ities [kids} from [*sic*] a high school age, grade 10 and up' (Jitsvinger, panel discussion, 2019). Blaq Pearl is co-founder of the Blaq Pearl Foundation. Based in Mitchells Plain at the Alliance Francaise building, her foundation empowers vulnerable women with 'life skills' and 'with arts and sports' across the Cape Flats. Emil YX? is the founder of the Heal the Hood project. He leads a team of Hip Hop artists and language technicians that spreads Hip Hop culture across the country. His project raises critical awareness of Afrikaans and the continued inequalities that stem from the South African school system and social, economic, and institutional ills in our society at large.

3.1.1 Talking in Afrikaaps about self-worth and commonality. The first theme of the panel concerned how Afrikaaps speakers should address concerns regarding self-worth and commonality. In this instance, this author was an *active questioner*, putting into practice the egalitarian public applied linguistic principle of *active listening* as a way to provide space to the language technicians to voice their perspectives on the topics covered on the panel and in conversation with audience members. This author facilitated an *open discussion and active critique*. To be sure, self-worth and establishing commonality are as much an individual endeavour as it is an important feature in inter-/cross-cultural communication.

For all three language technicians, the use of Afrikaaps is key to learning not only about how individuals manage self-worth and commonality, not as a feature of face-work or as part of engaging the politics of identity, but also as a way to cultivate new relations in conversation with others in their respective communities. As Blaq Pearl puts it in Afrikaaps, the goal of her programme is about cultivating knowledge of self:

Extract 1: “Wie is ek?” (Original)	Extract: “Who am I?” (Translation)
“Die call van onse programme is about knowledge of self. Who am i? you know? Uhm..Wie is ek? And basically as jy nie jou self ken nie, in and out, jou strengths, jou weaknesses, jou dreams, jou goals, jou, hoe om te communicate met iemand, watever jy wil communicate van jouself, hoe om conflict te manage, en soe an en soe an. As jy nie dai kan doeni, dans dit moelik vir jou om uit te gan in die wereld en jouself te represent (Blaq Pearl, Panel Discussion, 2019).	The call of our programme is about knowledge of self. Who am I? you know? Uhm. . .Who am I? And basically if you don’t know yourself, in and out, your strengths, your weaknesses, your dreams, your goals, your, how to communicative with someone, what you want to communicate of yourself, how to manage conflict, and so and so on. If you can’t do that then it will be difficult for you to go out into the world and represent yourself.

As a language technician with an organization based on the Cape Flats, Blaq Pearl has drawn on Hip Hop culture’s Knowledge of Self to structure and map out strategically how to study, challenge and address problems of self-worth and commonality. For her, it begins with the individual, where they are located and how that individual communicates and manages conflict resolution from space to space. Failure to do so, she argued, prevents mobility into the world because most individuals that grow up in the Cape Flats change their language when they move from the Cape Flats to the city. And as they

move out and upward, and presumably use more English, they do so because they are not comfortable with themselves (with their own sense of self). The Afrikaaps language technician lessons and practices Blaq Pearl has developed over the least years have taught her to embrace Afrikaaps and as a result she grew in confidence.

Reflecting on her own mobility, Blaq Pearl described how she travelled the world and experienced the world, but at the same time turned around to ‘transfer’ (not teach) the same self-confident skills she acquired to the women in her foundation. This she achieved in the management of ‘organization programmes’ and ‘motivational sessions’ by transferring ‘valuable skills’ that women in her foundation ‘can apply in their daily lives’. To date, her organization has reached over four hundred youths across the Cape Flats. And through the use of Afrikaaps, she has managed to transfer knowledge of how she sees herself and in turn establish common ground with women in her foundation ‘to rise above the challenges and whatever binne in hulle is in terms of identity...’ [*is inside them in terms of their identity*] (Blaq Pearl, Panel discussion, 2019).

Relatedly, Jitsvinger argued that if we address individual social concerns, we work on realizing inclusivity and equality through language and the full social integration of students within educational contexts. Jitsvinger reflects, switching between English and Afrikaaps, on his own experience of teaching at schools and how the way he raises critical awareness of Afrikaaps to multi-lingual speakers have taught him that the hegemony of English is as injurious as Afrikaans. Confronting this fact has taught him to introduce a liberatory pedagogy to address linguistic and learning inequality, tensions, and limitations he discovered amongst students and in the schools he taught.

Extract 2: “Schools are supposed to be neh?”

“...here’s one thing I just wanna reflect on which is happening at schools today still, uhm, so schools are supposed to be inclusive neh? But they not properly integrated on a social level. There’s laaities [*kids*] that can’t even speak Afrikaans, why’s that? Some of them do speak their mother tongue but they forced to speak English in schools, this is primary schools right but then I asked one of the teachers who I know and she says yeah it’s because they don’t have friends they don’t make friends with, with kids who speak a different language so simple sentences like “ek is bly” [*I am happy*], “hoe gan dit met jou” [*how are things with you*], something that’s foreign to them although it’s common to us all of us on a street level so my thing was to encourage them to socialize more to play games more if you sing something you remember it if you use poetry you remember that it could be a math problem formulas algebra could be hard on the tongue sien jy [*you see*].” (Jitsvinger, Panel Discussion, 2019).

In the above commentaries, Blaq Pearl and Jitsvinger, switching between Afrikaaps and English, reflect on the pre-conditions for advancing new forms of relationality through language or emergent speech practices that help us understand self-worth and commonality. In this case, Afrikaaps and Hip Hop culture are used here as a linguistic anchor to bridge social divides between individuals, and to advance commonality, new relationships across spaces and place, and conflict situations defined by inter-/cross-cultural communication misunderstanding in multilingual South Africa. For Blaq Pearl, it is about how an individual recognizes her limitations in her society and what could be done about those limitations through upskilling and empowerment. For Jitsvinger, the nub of the problem concerns the lack of access and success in Afrikaans and English that could be addressed through an alternative approach to teaching literacy that could combine, intertextually, games, poetry, and the creation of songs.

3.1.2 Talking in Afrikaaps about solutions to gangsterism³ and healing. In the final portion of the panel discussion, Emile YX? and Blaq Pearl argued that solutions on the impact of gangsterism and ways to heal individual subjectivity are connected to the redress discourse of Afrikaaps activism about Afrikaans, that is, the material and social defects that came with the institutionalizing of Afrikaans for whites over black and coloured speakers in apartheid. Today, it is young Afrikaaps speakers, the new generation of marginalized speakers, who are most vulnerable and recruitable into the life of gangsterism, an unassailable social ill that grips the Cape Flats (Salo 2004). In their own way, Afrikaaps language technicians have held youth workshops to delink the hegemony of Afrikaans from the lack of social mobility (and criminal behaviour) young Afrikaaps speakers on the Cape Flats experience and instead engender pride in language as a way to challenge stereotypes that box them in.

The allure of gangsterism has for decades redirected the emancipatory energies of some young Afrikaaps speakers away from upward social mobility. What Afrikaaps language technicians have come to learn is that although there is no correlation between the practice of Afrikaaps and gangsterism, there *is* in the lack of social and economic services for the residents of the Cape Flats. Emile YX? and Blaq Pearl argued that there is emancipatory potential in the empowerment of Afrikaaps speakers and if we begin to value Afrikaaps as a speech with power we take one step forward in our endeavour to combat gangsterism. In their own way, yet programmatically, Emile YX? and Blaq Pearl leveraged also their positions as stalwart language technicians and Hip Hop culture to challenge the internal struggle of self-worthlessness and exogenous impoverished material circumstances that compromise good schooling and sustain the mis-education of Afrikaaps speakers.

Emile YX?, for example, argued that we should seek to liberate the minds of the students by showing and telling them they are the majority in their community and are able to defeat gangsters, internally and externally. In this instance, he suggested that we need to introduce a discourse of positivity to

inform Afrikaaps students at schools that in spite of their circumstances and even when ‘the capitalize media makes us think that only the negative people exist on the Cape Flats’, that we need to remind ourselves that it is only a handful of individuals spreading fear, violence, and gangsterism. Switching between English and Afrikaaps, Emile YX? puts it thusly:

...I go to school, there is a thousand kids at the school and I ask the kids all those who are not involved in like, like the gangster, gangsterism happening in the community all these kids who were positively want to see positive change all the good people put ya, I’ll try it here, yeah all the good people put both hands up in the air quickly as high as you can, everyone, the people I want to see good things happen, moenie soe hie nie man, heeltemal op [*don’t ask how high man, way up high*]. Now I want you to look around and see how many we are, yeah, daars ander mensa wat gat hang maar dis [*there’s some people not putting up hands but that’s*] all right. When I do that at a school with is a thousand kids for the first time we see that we are the majority because if the capitalist media makes us think that only the negative people exist on the Cape flats so when you change that around you now realize it is what he’s asking is about that handtjie vol mensa [*hand full of people*] that are causing kak [*shit*] everywhere everywhere (Emile YX?, panelist, 2019)

Blaq Pearl, speaking only in Afrikaaps, argued similarly that the social sin of gangsterism nevertheless comes back to schooling in the South African education system:

Extract: “Die way ek nou Afrikaans praat” (Original)	Extract: “Spoke Afrikaans the way I do” (Translation)
<p>“So ons praat van ‘n education system, right? Wat in onse land exist, wat nie eens cater vir ons nie, you know? uhm..my ouma, my ouma grootjie, almal voor hulle, baie voor hulle het gepraat die way ek nou Afrikaans praat, maar daar het niks ge change in onse education system van dai tyd tot nou nie. So, ek se altyd, niemand gan kom om ons te save nie, ons moet onse self save. En dai is hoekom ons dit vat upon ourselves to, to implement alternative education towards healing towards conversation dialogues in onse communities, want niemand gan kom en hai bring hier vir ons nie, even die education system in onse communication doen dit nie vir ons nie.” (Blaq Pearl, Panel Discussion, 2019)</p>	<p>So we talk about the education system, right? That exists in our land, that does not cater for us, you know? Uhm...my grandmother, my great grandmother, everybody before them, many before them spoke Afrikaans the way I do, but nothing has changed in our education system since that time and till now. So, I always say, nobody is coming to save us, we have to do it ourselves. And that is why I took it up ourselves to, to implement alternative education towards healing towards conversation dialogues in our communities, because nobody will bring that to us, even the education in our own communication will not do it for us.</p>

These visceral commentaries in Afrikaaps, palpable in Blaq Pearl's reply cut through the quiet air as the audience consumed her critique of the education system in helping communities combat gangsterism. She argues that the education system has for generations prepared inadequately people of colour, mainly black and coloured multilingual speakers, in townships. Indeed, she argues that generations of women in her family spoke like she spoke, in her Afrikaaps—her grandmother and her great-grandmother, and people before them—and yet, in spite of that, little has changed in the education that would materially and socially transform their lives. Though not resigned to these facts, in her role as language technician articulating her concerns in a public space, she critically lambasts the education system and offers up an alternative solution by arguing that nobody will save them but themselves and that implementing 'alternative education towards healing towards conversation dialogues' in Cape Flats communities is perhaps the best solution. And these critiques of the miseducation of Afrikaaps speakers these language technicians argued can be traced back to colonialism and apartheid, systems of social engineering and organization that had an enormous impact on the potential empowerment and liberation of those speakers.

Blaq Pearl and Emile YX? argued further that the social problems connected to gangsterism have a history in values, a cultural battle between African versus Western (Eurocentric) values, and schemas of colonialism, slavery, and apartheid socialization that sustain not only social inequality along race, but gender and sexuality as well. This unimaginable exercise for many young coloured speakers of Afrikaaps on the Cape Flats is knowing where they come from, historically, or tracing their heritage, lineage back to an original ancestor. Emile YX? argued that knowing who you are is as important as knowing good from bad, which is an important step in making an ancestor, or in his example, respecting your mother as an elder, as you would an ancestor who imparts good advice to protect you from harm, violence, and other forms of vulnerabilities linked to gangsterism. To this, Blaq Pearl argued further that in order to heal from the injury of gangsterism, we have to take stock of the early exclusions and violent and symbolic erasures manufactured by colonialism and apartheid.

4. CONCLUSION

The analysis above provides crucial insight into how Afrikaaps language technicians talk about social issues in public. In my own collaboration, as a public applied linguistic, I have learnt that Afrikaaps language technicians are acutely aware of how language is important in understanding social, economic, and historical inequalities that affect Afrikaaps speakers. In the panel discussion, I became an *active questioner and active listener* in an effort to sustain an egalitarian interactional relationship during the panel discussion. This allowed me to facilitate an *open discussion* and *active critique* with the panellists, as we unpacked the issues and themes raised at the event.

But how do we continue to pay attention as public applied linguists not only to our own role, but as experts that aim to co-cultivate and co-sustain with language technicians collaborations in the pursuit of linguistic justice, in public? First, we need to provide better descriptive accounts of public applied linguistic practices, as a form of language activism in public, by pointing out both those convergence and divergence factors that determine how we engage language technicians and the general public outside the academy. We have to be mindful that after such descriptions have been achieved, we would be in a better position to develop such scholarship and point out best practices that could benefit language technicians and the larger public. However, this must not be a purely academic exercise. This should be advanced in collaboration with language technicians.

Secondly, we need to determine what theoretical frameworks and methodologies are well suited to develop the rhetoric of public applied linguistics *with* language technicians so that such a linguistics could best represent debates about languages and multilingualism with progressive and transformative perspectives and goals. For example, we could derive inspiration from decolonizing and indigenous methodologies (Smith 2012) that help us not only to determine when a collaboration starts (see Bucholtz *et al.* 2019) but also inform us on how to go beyond the description of collaborative experiences and futures of historically marginalized multilingual speakers (Paris and Winn 2013; see also Avineri *et al.* 2019).

NOTES

- 1 Language technicians are activists working towards forms of multilingual activism on behalf of historically racialized and marginalized language community experiences of linguistic discrimination for linguistic justice in South Africa.
- 2 The cast of the theatre play *Afrikaaps* included notable Hip Hop pioneer Emile YX?, poet Blaq Pearl, rapper Jitsvinger, musician Monix, b-boy Bliksemstraal, Jethro, and Kyle.
- 3 By gangsterism, we refer here to the Number gangs – 26s, 27s and 28s – terrorizing the Cape Flats with violence and drugs.

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