Abstract: Dutch being spoken outside of its two European places of origin Belgium and Holland is almost completely due to the fact that, in the 17th century, the commercial fleet of the (then) Dutch Republic conquered places in America and Asia and turned them into colonies. Even so, we cannot but conclude that the language policy of the Dutch has been considerably less successful than that of its main colonial rivals, the English, the Spaniards, the French and the Portuguese. Most scholars agree that the main reason for this is not that a Dutchification policy failed but that attempts at Dutchification were discouraged or aborted by the Dutch themselves.

We'll start with an overview of the spread of Dutch throughout the world in the course of the centuries and look at what has been left of the position it once occupied. That means that we'll examine the situation of “Colonial Dutch” in Suriname, the Dutch Antilles, Indonesia and the USA as well as of the only extant daughter language of Dutch, Afrikaans, in South Africa and Namibia. In one case Dutch/Afrikaans and German were in some way competing, viz. in Namibia. That will have our attention as well.

Keywords: Colonial Dutch, Afrikaans, Pidgins, Suriname, Indonesia, Antilles, South Africa, Namibia, Dutch in America

1 Prolegomena

In 1939 the French professor G.H. Bousquet expresses his astonishment as to what he calls “the bewildering apathy of the Dutch as far as their own language and culture are concerned. Dutch colonial policy” he says “has never for a moment considered that the Dutch language could play a part in the culture and civilization to be given to the native. On the contrary, by opposing him with a language intended to mark the distance which sets him apart from the European, the Dutch have striven and still strive, though vainly, to deprive their ward of contact with the outside world” (Bousquet 1940, 89).

One cannot but share Bousquet’s bewilderment, as does Kees Groeneboer, the foremost specialist as far as language policy in Asia is concerned: “Of all the col-

1 Many thanks to Bruce Donaldson (Melbourne) and Paul Roberge (Chapel Hill) for their comments on an earlier version of this text.
colonial European languages in Asia (Portuguese, Spanish, Dutch, English and French) four now belong to the group of twelve great supranational languages of the world. Dutch colonial language policy helped to boost not Dutch but Malay into that group” (Groeneboer 1998, 2).

In order to try to explain these astonishing facts, two aspects must be considered, viz. a) why did Dutch fare differently from the other languages and b) did the Dutch ever want their language to play a role on the world scene?

As to its contemporary rank, Dutch is the official language of the majority of the Belgians (over 6 millions) and of more than 16 million Dutch. These almost 21 million Dutch speakers occupy the 10th position in the 76-strong league of European languages. Among the approximately 6,000 languages of the world, Dutch is ranked 42nd. That means that approximately 5,950 languages lag behind Dutch, which makes it in the top 1 percent of languages in the world. 2

According to Ammon (1991, 49) Dutch occupies rank 7 or 11 in two rankings of the “economical strength” of the world languages. In the two listings Ammon mentions, twice German is number three, whereas English is, by far, in the lead.

Dutch borrowed many words from other languages, while, at the same time providing other languages with a lot of words as well. In Van der Sij/Willieyns (2009, 86–95) we find a “top ten list” of languages Dutch borrowed from. Not surprisingly, the top four (in absolute numbers) are the neighbor languages French, Latin, German, and English. The influence, though, has changed considerably in the course of the centuries. From five to eight we find Italian, Spanish, Indonesian, and Yiddish. The list ends with Japanese and Russian. As to the languages that borrowed from Dutch (Van der Sij/Willieyns 2009, 105–121), the vernaculars of former colonies – Bahasa Indonesia, Sranan Tongo (Suriname) and Papamento (Antilles) – are at the top. Numbers four to six are Scandinavian (Danish, Norwegian and Swedish). Seventh and eights are English and French, whereas Russian and German close the list.

We’ll start with an overview of the spread of Dutch throughout the world in the course of the centuries and examine what has been left of its former position. Consequently, we’ll have a look at “Colonial Dutch”, and pay special attention to Afrikaans, the only extant daughter language of Dutch. The competition between Dutch/Afrikaans and German in Namibia, will have our attention as well.

Long before the official end of the “Eighty Years War” in 1648, the commercial fleet of the young Northern Republic cruised the world oceans where it ran into the same enemy they were also facing at home: the Spaniards. In their battle for colonies, the Dutch succeeded in getting their share, not only at the detriment of Spain but also of the other main seafaring rivals of that time: the British, the French, and the Portuguese. In many colonies, therefore, one occupant chased the other until more or less stable conditions were established.

2 “Mi be fraj”: Pidgins and Creoles

Most native speakers of Dutch will have no problems understanding the following utterance: “as die tan sal pin mi weeren, dan mi sal loop fo trek die” (D. “als die tand weer pijn gaat doen, dan laat ik hem trekken.; E. should my tooth hurt again, I shall go and have it pulled). However, the language is not Dutch, but a Dutch based pidgin, called Negerhollands (Negro Dutch). In another sentence: Dank, mi be fraj, Dutch speakers will probably recognize all the words, but not necessarily capture the meaning: “Dank je, met mij gaat het goed [thank you, I’m fine].

In 1627 the Dutch merchant Abraham van Peere founded the colony Berbice in what is now Guyana. As so very often in similar cases, a pidgin developed as a mixture with three components: Dutch, the local language of the Indians and the language slaves from Nigeria had brought with them. That language is called Berbice-Dutch (Kouwenberg 1991) and according to the international language databank “Ethnologue” its last native speaker died in 2005. Consequently, the language is officially extinct now.

Skepi, another Dutch based pidgin/Creole which used to exist in Guyana has been extinct for a longer time already. Apparently Berbice-Dutch and Skepi, although Dutch based both of them, were mutually unintelligible (Van der Sij, 2010).

The same fate (dying out of the last speakers) has been that of Negerhollands (“Negro-Dutch”), mentioned above, spoken until the early 20th century on the “Danish Antilles”, nowadays part of the American Virgin-Islands (Den Besten 1986; Van der Voort 2006).

3 Suriname for New York: quite a deal

3.1 A Dutch speaking Creole community

Admiral Abraham Crijnsen took possession of Suriname in the name of the Dutch Republic, and in 1667, as part of the Treaty of Breda, it was agreed that the Dutch were to maintain their possession of Suriname, in exchange for New Amsterdam (New York, U.S.A.), which was ceded to the English.
Thus Suriname officially became a Dutch colony and ever since, Dutch has been its official language. However, throughout its history, several other languages have been used in Suriname alongside Dutch, most of all Sranan (Tongo), the English-based creole language developed among the earliest slaves on the plantations, which still is today’s lingua franca.

As far as the past use of Dutch in Suriname is concerned, it is generally assumed that the core of the Dutch-speaking community consisted of a group of locally-born speakers of mixed European and African ancestry who emerged in the course of the eighteenth century. This group soon began to form a middle class in the capital city of Paramaribo and, in an eager attempt to assimilate into the Dutch community, they also took over the language.

The group of colonists in the early years was by no means exclusively Dutch but had a distinctly international character, which it continued to have until well into the twentieth century. There was a significant population of both Portuguese and German descent and during this period, the Dutch were outnumbered by non-Dutch colonists. Communication with and among the slave population of African descent was in Sranan. This habit continued in the 18th century.

Given the multilingual character of the European community, it is quite plausible that most of the white population resorted to Sranan as well. Dutch merely functioned as the official language of government, and, for the Dutch-born population, also as the language of education and religion.

Surinamese society experienced a number of significant changes during the nineteenth century. By 1830 free non-whites had begun to outnumber the white population in Paramaribo, a trend which persisted throughout the remainder of the century. Also, the Dutch remained a minority among the Europeans, representing less than a quarter in 1830.

By the end of that century though, a Dutch-speaking community had started to emerge from within the non-white population of Paramaribo. As early as 1760, the first school for non-whites had opened its doors, presumably using Dutch as the medium of instruction. In the early nineteenth century a class of non-white Surinamese intellectuals emerged, most of whom received at least part of their education in Holland. This elite group managed to function bilingually and its members held high social status. Unlike the transient white community, they resided permanently in Suriname, and were thus able to develop a stable Dutch-speaking community.

Up to the first decades of the 19th century, the quality of the schools and their teachers had left much to be desired. This situation changed after 1817 when the government began regulating elementary and secondary education, both in the motherland and in its colonies, thereby improving quality significantly. Also, the schools were instructed to use Dutch as the medium of instruction. The slave population, on the other hand, was officially forbidden to receive education until 1844, after which the slave children were taught in Sranan, though the number of slaves receiving an education remained very small.

This situation changed dramatically when following the abolition of slavery and the emancipation of more than 30,000 slaves, the Dutch government introduced compulsory education for every child aged 7 to 12 in 1876. Simultaneously, they now started to pursue an active policy of assimilation, with the intention of transforming Suriname into a Dutch province. Dutch was made the only medium of instruction, both in public as well as in religious schools, actively suppressing the use of Sranan in education.

Still, the large majority of pupils entering the school system had a language background that did not include Dutch, resulting in its massive second-language learning. This policy may well have found strong support among parents, who were very much aware that Dutch was now more than ever the paramount vehicle for upward social mobility. It took another twenty-five years, though, for Dutch to take hold in social life as well.

On the other hand, the introduction of Dutch on a large scale through education was delayed by the arrival of many new Asian immigrants (recruited from China and the then Dutch East Indies), in a deliberate attempt to create a labor surplus in order to keep (future) wages low after the abolition of slavery. Starting in 1873 more than 30,000 people were recruited in India, while an equal amount of Javanese arrived in Suriname between 1891 and 1938. The East Indians (in Dutch “Hindustani”) were largely unaffected by the Dutch assimilation policy, and the Dutch language did not penetrate into these Asian immigrant communities until much later.

It was therefore mostly the population of African descent, the Creoles, who, by the end of the nineteenth century were receiving instruction in Dutch. Also, as early as 1877, a teacher training academy was founded, and thus, from then onward, some of the teachers were recruited locally instead of in Holland.

As a consequence, in the early twentieth century, there existed an elite group within the Creole population in Paramaribo. It was bilingual in Dutch and Sranan and their children acquired Dutch as a first language. Creoles of a middle class background favored Dutch language socialization as well, since they (rightly) viewed Dutch as the vehicle for social advancement. Numerically this group, like the European-born population in general, shrank to insignificance during
the first half of the twentieth century when compared to the number of descendants of the slaves, who after abolition relocated in the city, and remained predominantly Sranan-speaking. They mostly acquired Dutch as a second language in the classroom. This created a linguistic gap between the higher and the lower social classes. An even sharper distinction developed with respect to the city vs. the countryside variable, and along with this, a distinction between ethnic groups. From the late 19th century onward and until the middle of the 20th century, a disproportionate number of Creoles lived in the city, while the majority of the Asians were still to be found in the countryside, experiencing little exposure to Dutch.

When Suriname gained independence in 1975, Dutch presence virtually came to an end.

3.2 The current sociolinguistic situation in Suriname

In multilingual Suriname, language usage is partly organized along ethnic lines (Charry, Koeboed/Muysken 1983). Many ethnic groups are using their own ethnic language at home and at some specific informal occasions. Both Sranan and Dutch are the languages spoken across ethnic boundaries, by the majority of the population. Sranan functions as the lingua franca in informal settings, while Dutch, the country’s official language, is typically employed in more formal settings, including in the media, in government and in education. On top of that it is, obviously, the language of government, legislation and jurisdiction. Consequently, there is some kind of “double” diglossia, meaning that in most of the formal settings Dutch is used, whereas in informal settings the kind of L-variety used is variable. In inter-ethnic communication the normal choice is the linguistic habits and attitudes of the population of Asian extract, who make up more than half of the population of the country. The Suriname-born Chinese, for example, typically prefer Dutch over Sranan for intergroup communication. Unfortunately, the information on the linguistic attitudes and intentions, as well as actual linguistic behavior is rather thin. Still, according to Deprez and De Bies (1985), 35% of the "high status Creoles" boast a “perfect to very good” command of Dutch, 65% a “fair” command. With low status Creoles the figures are 6% and 94% respectively. The East Indian group to the full 100% estimates their command of Dutch to be “fair”. The overall result of the inquiry is that a vast majority of Creoles employ Dutch when addressing their children, the main difference between Creoles and East Indians being an ethnic, rather than a social issue.

In multilingual settings variety choice can often be tricky. In Suriname, as De Kleine (2007) has established, most people appear to have an unerring instinct for making the right choice in every situation. It is practicality which decides who is speaking which language to whom and when! At the same time it is felt by all that language is also a symbol of group adherence and functions as a medium for handing down cultural and ethnic values to the next generations. It also determines linguistic accommodation. Since Dutch is Suriname’s prestige language, proving one’s competence in that language is very important and, therefore, the general rule is to use Dutch as a means of upward accommodation. As to the linguistic behavior of the various layers of the population, no fundamental change has to be expected in the near future.

Suriname’s having become an associate member of the Nederlandse Taalunie (Dutch Language Union; Willemsyns 1984) alongside Holland and Flanders speaks for its determination to remain part of the Dutch language community. Their determination to have their “Dutchness” recognized and accepted by all was made utterly clear when Suriname forced Unasur, the Union of South American States, to accept Dutch as one of its official languages, alongside English, Spanish and Portuguese.

4 Above and under the wind: Dutch in the Caribbean

Six Caribbean islands with a Dutch “past” are divided geographically into the (northern) Bovenwindse eilanden (Windward Islands) Saba, Sint Eustatius, and Sint Maarten and the (southern) Benedenwindse eilanden (Leeward Islands) Aruba, Bonaire, and Curacao. Curacao has 141,766 inhabitants, Aruba 101,500, Sint Maarten 40,917, and Bonaire 12,877. Sint Eustatius and Saba are the least populated, with 2,768 and 1,601 inhabitants respectively.
4.1 Short History

The first settlement in Sint Eustatius was established in 1636 and the island changed hands 22 times in its history, between the Dutch, French, and Spanish. Columbus was the first to sight Saba, but it was the Dutch who colonized the island in 1640. Because of its difficult terrain, the island’s growth progressed only slowly, and it is still the least populated island of them all. The Dutch were the first to colonize Sint Maarten in 1631. After a scattered history, in 1817, the current partition line between the Dutch and the French was established. Europeans first learned of Aruba when Amerigo Vespucci and Alonso de Ojeda happened upon it in August 1499. Aruba was colonized by Spain for over a century. It has been under Dutch administration since 1636. In the same year they also “discovered” Curacao and the neighboring island of Bonaire. Curacao’s capital Willemstad used to be the capital of all the Dutch Antilles. Curacao is the largest and most populous of the three ABC islands; it has a land area of 444 square kilometers (171 square miles), and as of January 2009, it had a population of some 142,000. Citizens of all the islands hold Dutch passports.

4.2 Language

In all the islands Dutch used to be the only official language. Recently Papiamento and English acquired the status of official languages as well. Papiamento is a Creole language that has been evolving influenced by indigenous and other languages, most importantly, Portuguese and Spanish. English is but seldom used for official purposes but it is widely spoken on the islands; the same holds true for Spanish. Most inhabitants of the polyglot ABC islands are fluent in Papiamento and many of them even master all four languages. Throughout colonial history, Dutch was never as widely spoken as English or Spanish and remained exclusively a language for administration and legal matters; popular use of Dutch increased toward the end of the 19th century and the early 20th century, but is has never been the language of the people (Willemyns 2013).

4.3 Education

Historically, education on Curacao, Aruba and Bonaire had been predominantly in Spanish up until the late 19th century, which also saw efforts to introduce bilingual popular education in Dutch and Papiamento. Dutch was made the sole language of instruction in the early 20th century. In recent years, the authorities have shown an increased interest in acknowledging the cultural and historical importance of Papiamento. It is only since 2002 that it has been introduced as a language of instruction in the primary schools of the ABC islands. Until far in the 20th century, most teachers considered it not to be a “real” language, since it “lacked a grammar”. This prejudice seems to be superseded now.

Inclining to the other extreme, recent political debate has centered on the issue of Papiamento becoming the sole language of instruction. Higher education in the ABC – islands is reputedly good relative to regional standards. The main institute of higher learning is the University of the Netherlands Antilles (UNA). Dutch derives its status as prestige language partly from the fact that it is the language of higher education.

In order to strengthen the competence in Dutch, which has decreased as a result of the influence of Papiamento, the education ministers of the three ABC islands have agreed that new measures are in order. One of them is that in 2006 a request has been filed to let the Antilles become part of the Dutch Language Union (Nederlandse Taalunie). The situation on the remaining three islands is more transparent. Although the Windward Islands Sint Maarten, Saba and Sint Eustatius are polyglot societies as well, the every day practice is that English is their habitual language. Still, here too in 2007 Dutch, Papiamento and English have been recognized as the official languages in spite of the fact that Papiamento is hardly used and Dutch only performs the most formal and official functions while being completely absent on all other levels, except in secondary schools where it is the language of instruction.

4.4 Forthcoming change

As of 10.10.2010 the political, and probably the linguistic, situation of the Caribbean islands, which together used to build the Netherlands Antilles, has changed dramatically. Curacao and Sint-Maarten both gained independency of some sort, with a status comparable to the “status aparte” Aruba already has since 1986. The smaller islands Bonaire, Sint-Eustatius and Saba are now “special municipalities” within the Netherlands, i.e. they are part of the European Dutch territory which, in so doing, suddenly stretches to the Caribbean. Still all of them remain part of what is officially called “The Kingdom of the Netherlands”. A strange and paradoxical consequence of this rather obscure change may be that the contact between the islands with Holland may well intensify. They will from now on conduct their business with The Hague directly, without the intermediary of the administration of “The Netherlands Antilles” (Mijts/Van Bogaert 2011, 297).
It is highly probable that this political change will have consequences as far as the position of Dutch is concerned and it is a fair bet that the use and influence of Dutch will decrease further, which is paradoxical, since never before has there been so large a proportion of the Antillean population having received higher education in Dutch. Mijts/Rutgers (2010, 38) predict: “even if the use of Papiamenta in the educational system does not increase, because it is too costly, it cannot be excluded that preference will be given to English or Spanish rather than to Dutch”. But even so, they add: “As long as the Antillean youth continues to go to Holland for their university education, this intellectual elite will remain under Dutch influence”.

### 5 Too little and too late: Dutch in Indonesia

During Holland’s Golden (17th) Age, its commercial fleet conquered territories in all continents. Both the “East-India” (VOC) as well as the “West-India” (VWC) companies set sail to Asia, Africa and the Americas where they planted the flag of the young Republic.

Although their goals were purely commercial, they still brought things Dutch over the oceans and with it also came – to a certain extent – the language. Still, the Company leaders never considered themselves to be responsible for the expansion of the Dutch language and culture. In the few cases where a permanent place for Dutch was nevertheless secured, it was mostly in spite of the Company (and, subsequently, the Dutch government), whose language policy was, as Groeneboer (1998) quite rightly observes, “marked above all by pragmatism”, a policy which hindered rather than promoted the spread of Dutch.

From the beginning to the end we see how the Dutch were torn between two ideas. On the one hand they felt that (part of) the indigenous population could be bound to the motherland by means of the Dutch language. On the other hand, knowledge of Dutch by the bulk of the population and/or by the “heathens” was considered a threat to the state (Groeneboer 1998, 295). Even in times when the former consideration was preponderant, it has never even been an aim to encourage competence in Dutch for the masses. By the end of the 18th century Dutch had all but died out in the East Indies, whereas both Portuguese and Malay turned out to be the winners (Groeneboer 1998, 296).

In the course of the 19th century mainstream ideas on education and instruction changed drastically, even in Holland and even with the colonial authorities in the East Indies. “Education for all” was the new common ideal, and that was what the authorities announce in 1818 that schools for the “natives” would now be created. However, this was easier said than done, since neither money nor qualified personnel were available. We can judge how scarce personnel was by the fact that the 12 million inhabitants of Java were governed by only 175 Dutch civil servants! Since the first aim of language policy endeavors remained to strengthen the position of Dutch within the group of Europeans, the only schools effectively created were for them, which led to a slightly broader diffusion of Dutch amid the European community in Indonesia. It took more than fifty years to see the tide turning, since it took that long for the “new” European educational system to reach its full effect. Still, in 1870 no more than 20–30% of Europeans spoke Dutch; by the turn of the century that number had increased to a mere 40%. Apart from the improved quality of education, the main factor securing this “success” was the faster means of communication and transportation, bringing a larger number of “fresh” Dutchmen to the East.

A negative factor undoubtedly was that the Dutch still were not agreed among themselves on which aims to pursue and – most importantly – how (or whether) to finance the “Dutchification” process. Shortly after the middle of the 19th century there was a fierce debate in the motherland not so much on how, but more on whether the Dutch language was also to be propagated among the indigenous population. As opposed to the language policy of the British in British India, the Dutch authorities were not in favor of a “pronounced Western orientation” in education. It was felt that “an uncontrolled spread of Western knowledge by means of a European language would only endanger the existence of the colony” (Groeneboer 1998, 297) In 1865 five different indigenous languages were used as a medium of instruction, in 1900 it was thirteen and by 1940 not less than thirty indigenous languages were used for that purpose. A more convincing example of linguistic dividet et impera carried to the extreme is probably to be found nowhere. The bonus for linguists was that the indigenous languages were investigated thoroughly in order to be able to put dictionaries, grammars and other school books at the disposal of the students.

Groeneboer (1998) summarizes some of the arguments put forward by those opposing the introduction of Dutch in schools for the indigenous population:

- Dutch might “degenerate” to the point that some kind of “Indisch-Nederlandisch” (Indo-Dutch) could function as a lingua franca, something which had to be prevented by all means;
- it would turn the natives “hoogmoedig” (arrogant), causing a lot of problems for the administration;

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4 Our main source in this account of the history of Dutch in Indonesia has been Groeneboer (1998).
it was a known fact that proficiency in Dutch was very hard to acquire "speciaal voor den oosterling" (especially for the Oriental).

Consequently, in 1864 the idea of supporting Dutch as the general medium of communication and of replacing Malay with Dutch as the lingua franca was abandoned for good. Still, it was simultaneously felt that promoting the proficiency of Dutch in a small indigenous elite could be advantageous for the administration of the colony and might strengthen the ties with the motherland. Also, and not in the least, it was hoped that in the long term it would be cheaper to employ indigenous speakers of Dutch in a multitude of functions. This opening of "de Poort tot het Westen" (the gateway to the West), as it was called, resulted in a change of the educational system (Groeneboer 1998, 297).

Rather abruptly Holland had become aware of the fact that they had a "debet of honor" to redeem vis-à-vis of their Asian subjects. The "native" was suddenly turned into a "younger brother" whom nothing should be denied of what had made Holland ("the older brother") prosperous. But even so, the estimated number of indigenous speakers of Dutch in 1900 was no more than 5,000 plus some 600 Chinese. Therefore, in 1907 the "Hollandsch-Indische School" (HIS; Dutch-Indonesian school) was introduced, followed in 1908 by the "Hollandsch-Chinese School" (HCS; Dutch-Chinese-School). In both systems Dutch was the language of instruction. They were meant exclusively for a small native elite. Since a much larger number of them were eager to learn Dutch and to embrace the civilization of their colonial masters, it is only fair to admit that the poor results of the language policy just mentioned are to be attributed in the first place to the unwillingness of many Dutch officials, both in the East and in the motherland.

After World War I the demand for Dutch language education from indigenous side grew more pressing and debates among educational specialists, Dutch and East-Indians alike, gave way to a consensus that Dutch should be the language of instruction, while at the same time the indigenous languages should be developed in order to better be able to function as language of instruction as well. Still, the government not only considered it practically and financially impossible to meet the demands for more Dutch language education, but also continued to believe it "unwise" to do so. Consequently, the so-called "wild schools" (a form of private instruction) which had started in the 1920s became more numerous and popular still and the "explosive increase", as Groeneboer (1998, 299) calls it, of Dutch learners in the 1930s is mainly to be attributed to "wild education". Although in 1942 the number of indigenous Dutch speakers had increased to 860,000, a number considerably larger than the amount of Indonesia’s European Dutch speakers, it still represented a mere 1.2% of the Indonesian population.

The Japanese occupation in 1942 brought a ban on the Dutch language and after the war there was hardly any time left. Still, for decades to come the new leaders of the independent Republic of Indonesia were fluent in Dutch. In 1965 President Sukarno notes in his memoirs "Dutch is the language in which I do my thinking and even nowadays, when I am cursing, I am cursing in Dutch. When I pray to God, I pray in Dutch" (Sukarno 1965, 81-82).

The fact that this proficiency in Dutch of the Indonesian leading politicians was not matched by their subjects has only to be attributed to the reluctance of the Dutch, both in VOC times and afterward, to make it possible for them to learn a language that many of them craved to acquire, since it was the only possibility to improve their social-economic position. The fact that by 1940 not even 2% of the indigenous population had acquired fluency in Dutch has to be attributed to the failing language policy of the Dutch, often characterized as a "kruidenierspolitiek" (narrow-minded policy) which, as Salverda (1989) observes, has always been "too little and too late".

In 1928, the Indonesian nationalist movement proclaimed Malay to be the only official language of the East-Indies and subsequently (by the name of Bahasa Indonesia) of the independent Republic of Indonesia. The simple explanation for that is that Malay was indeed the only working lingua franca for the whole Indonesian Archipelago, a role Dutch could never claim or acquire because the Dutch themselves made sure that it could never function as such. Yet, an important way in which Bahasa Indonesia differs from Malay as spoken in Singapore, Malaysia and Brunei is the huge amount of Dutch loanwords it contains (Van der Sijis/Willeynyns 2009, 111-113).

On 27 December 1949 sovereignty was transferred to the Indonesians and almost immediately Dutch was banned from both the administration and the educational system. Nevertheless, even as of today, being able to read Dutch is indispensable in scientific research in the fields of history, anthropology, sociology, linguistics, agriculture and many others, since most of the necessary sources are in Dutch. Also most of the jurists and lawyers need a thorough competence in Dutch. Even when, after some time, all the legal codes will have been translated in Indonesian (which will not be achieved before a very long time), they will need Dutch to consult the jurisprudence. Consequently, Dutch is still taught in present day Indonesia and specific courses in Dutch are offered for the ten thousands of students who need to know the language (Sunjayadi, Suprihatin/Groeneboer 2011).
can colleague Uriel Weinreich in 1953 criticized "the attempts of the Dutch to prevent Malaysians, by law, from learning the Dutch language." A quarter of a century later the linguist Maarten van den Toorn also expresses a low opinion of the Dutch colonial language policy, stating "that the government made every possible effort to prevent Dutch from becoming a world language". Coming back to the question raised by Bousquet, it is obvious that there are various reasons why Dutch is not part of the world languages. They all have to do with Indonesia, because the only possibility to ever have achieved this would have been there:
a) the fact that the (language) policy of the VOC and, subsequently, the Dutch government was marked above all by pragmatism, hindered rather than promoted the spread of Dutch.
b) when the Dutch set foot on Indonesian soil, other languages of culture were already there, as well as a Portuguese-Malay colored Creole, which functioned as an established lingua franca in all of the region.
c) as opposed to other colonial superpowers, the Dutch thought that "educating the natives", let alone letting them benefit from a mastery of their language, would make them arrogant and threaten the power of their masters.
d) in the best of cases, the language policy devised by the authorities both in the Dutch East Indies and in the motherland from 1596 onward until the transfer of sovereignty in 1949 has been half-hearted, but most of the time it was counterproductive to the dissemination of Dutch language and culture in Asia.
e) the gigantic dimension of the country has to be considered, as well as the too small amount of civil servants ever sent to the East Indies.
f) the avarice and the greediness of the Dutch who didn't really want to invest in a policy of language and culture.

But even taking all this into consideration, the question remains how other colonial powers in Asia, mainly the British and the French, succeeded in generating a completely different outcome. Both the French and the English, as well as the Spaniards, were convinced that it was in their proper interest to impose their own language and culture on their new subjects.

In British India, after an extensive debate during the 1830's about how much western style education to establish with English as the language of instruction, it was decided to introduce extensive English language education. This policy underwent no substantial changes up to independency in 1947. It was directed mainly at the urbanized upper classes.

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5 All three quotes to be found in Groeneboer (1998, 2).

The French, for their part, were convinced that the teaching of French was "une mission civilisatrice", which would simultaneously strengthen the political role of France in the world. By spreading French over the whole of Indochina, they also had the intention of eventually realizing their ideal of a "France asiatique". The Spanish policy, Groeneboer (1998, 3) says, always considered that "in order to subject the Indigenous people to God and the Crown, the Castilian religion and ideology had to be taught in Spanish". This had been the case from the very beginning of colonization already since: "In 1550 Charles V expressly declared that in Spanish territories all over the world Catholicism had to be propagated in Spanish, as no Indigenous language could possibly express all the intricacies of the Catholic faith, and only the use of Spanish could ensure the assimilation of Spanish culture".6

As compared to the Dutch, proportionally two or three times as much was spent on education in British India and French Indochina. The Dutch, moreover, spent the most attention (and money) to codifying and modernizing the indigenous languages.

6 A Cookie from Santa Claus: Dutch in the USA

As opposed to the cases discussed so far, the USA is a country where Dutch has been the official language only for a short period and only in a small part of this huge land.

In September 1609 the Dutch sailed into North America. In 1614 the land was claimed for the Dutch by Adriaen Block. He called it Nieuw Nederland (New Netherland) and drew a map of it on which he also marked the Lange Eylandt (nowadays known as Long Island) as well as Manhattan. Nieuw-Nederland's governor, Peter Minuit "bought" the island Manhattan from the local Indians, in exchange for goods valued at 60 guilders. In 1624, the Dutch officially acknowledged their colony and Nieuw Nederland became a Dutch province with Dutch as its official language. In 1625, the Dutch settled in Manhattan, which was to become their capital. They called it Nieuw Amsterdam and Dutch was its official language. Although the Dutch colony was not long-lived (from 1624 to 1664), it left an impressive mark on American society.

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6 Ironically Charles V, born in Ghent in 1500 as Duke of Burgundy, was to become Lord of the Netherlands, Emperor of Germany and only later, through an unexpected heritage, king of Spain.
7 An Important source in this account of the linguistic situation in USA has been Van der Sijs (2009).
6.1 The pioneers

In spite of occasional quarrels with "de wilden", as they called the Indians, the Dutch had much more to fear from other European powers in North America. In 1664, the English sailed into New Amsterdam, and Governor Peter Stuyvesant had to surrender the province to them. This was one of the causes of the Second English-Dutch War. During the peace negotiations in 1667, it was agreed that the English and the Dutch could keep the American colonies they had taken from each other. This meant that the Netherlands could keep Suriname, and that the British could continue their dominion of Nieuw Nederland. Apparently, the shareholders of the West Indian Company welcomed this situation, in view of the profits they expected the slave trade in Suriname to bring. The English renamed Nieuw Amsterdam into New York, and the rest is history!

6.1.1 Varieties of Dutch in the USA

New Netherland was a huge territory, comprising most of the present-day states of Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Delaware. In the province at large, the Dutch and the Dutch language constituted a large minority; yet, in New Amsterdam proper they were a significant majority. Their variant of Dutch acquired the name of Leeg Duits (Low Dutch). Another variant of Dutch was the language of the church, the rather formal and archaic language of the Statenbijbel. Jersey and Mohawk Dutch were another important variety still and the lesser known "Negro Dutch" closes the list. There is no doubt that Leeg Duits was the variety through which Dutch made its long lasting impression on the American-English language. It was the language used in New York, even a long time after it was taken over by the British, and it was a language which most of the originally non-Dutch speaking European colonists learned and eventually took over. It had a long lasting influence (Bachman 1982 and 1983).

The presence of the English and the pressure they exerted to replace Dutch by their language, was an important reason why many of the Dutch settlers decided to leave Manhattan and 't Lange Eylandt. They found new territories in Albany and in New Jersey. "The Dutch Belt" reached from the north along the Hudson through New York to the Raritan River in the south, in New Jersey. Homogeneous communities developed here in which people stuck to the Dutch language, to their church and to Dutch traditions and customs. In the second half of the eighteenth century, the Dutch inhabitants of big cities like Albany and Kingston formed a large majority, and they controlled the local administration. And new Dutch speakers kept arriving as well. Jersey Dutch and Mohawk Dutch used in North New Jersey and western Albany was spoken until well into the twentieth century.

6.1.2 Loss of function and territory

In the last quarter of the eighteenth century, the number of Dutch speakers was probably at its peak. According to some calculations it is estimated that in the states of New York and New Jersey, about 100,000 people spoke Dutch in 1790. At the time of the American Revolution, probably a third of the population of New York could still speak Dutch. On top of that, the social prestige of Dutch and "Dutchness" exceeded the number of its speakers. Yet, gradually the Dutch inhabitants of New York joined the other Americans to build the new nation, disregarding their private interests and their own language and culture. In rural areas outside New York City, on the other hand Dutch lasted longer still. The compulsory education law, introduced in 1910, proved to be the fatal blow to the last vestiges of rural Dutch.

Van Hinte (1985, 73) estimates that in the early twentieth century, about two million Americans descended from the original Dutch colonists. Three American presidents were of Dutch descent: Martin van Buren, Theodore Roosevelt, and Franklin D. Roosevelt.

One of the most visible remnants of Dutch in New York are the toponyms. Some street names deriving from Dutch are, for example, Bowery Lane (Dutch boerderij), Broadway (Dutch Breede Weg) and Wall Street (Dutch Walstraat). New York's Bronx as well as the suburb Yonkers are Dutch names. Others had been named by the colonists after a town or village in the Low Countries, for instance, Brooklyn (named after Breukelen), Flushing (named after Vlissingen), Gravesend (probably named after 's-Gravensande), Harlem (named after Haarlem).

6.2 "A healthy and frugal race": The Second Wave Immigrants

In the second half of the 19th century, colonists from the Netherlands and Belgium went en masse to America (USA and Canada). Not only did they arrive in a completely different country than the "first wavers", but their own background was quite different as well. Many of them came because poverty and famine had driven them out of Europe (as was the case with innumerable people from other European countries). A large part of the Hollanders, though, were religiously motivated.
The largest groups came to Michigan and Iowa. There, "Holland" became their main settlement, surrounded by smaller daughters settlements carrying names like Graafschap, Overisel, Drenthe, Zeeland, and Groningen. It was another group of secessionists who founded the well-known town of Pella in Iowa. That their arrival didn't pass unnoticed can be seen from a quote in a Grand Rapids newspaper in 1849. The paper wrote: "During the past week our streets have been taken by the Dutch. The Hollanders have resorted here in uncommon numbers and their ox teams have made quite a caravan [...] They are a very stout, apparently healthy and frugal race" (Van der Sijs 2009, 61). At about the same time, groups of Roman Catholic Flemings settled in a number of places in Illinois, Missouri, Indiana, Michigan, New Jersey, and Iowa.

6.3 Language loyalty and language loss

In spite of their tendency to stick together, the new immigrants were forced to adapt more quickly than the "Old Dutch branch." In their new homeland, English was by now the general daily language as well as the language of official documents and the schools. Among themselves, though, they managed to preserve the language to the maximum and thus, after 150 years, Dutch was still spoken to a limited degree by descendants of the original colonists. The fact that Dutch, for a very long time, remained the language of the pulpit in the Calvinist churches helped a lot as well. Still, Dutch first lost ground in the schools and gradually in most churches as well. From the beginning, the press played an important part in immigrant life and, consequently, this was a domain where Dutch survived a long time. The last stronghold of Dutch was the home and the family. It took the First World War for most Dutch and Flemish immigrants and their children to once and for all switch to English at home. Yet, before the start of the Second World War, all Dutchmen and Flemings were securely entrenched in American society. Pockets of speakers of "Yankee Dutch" subsided scattered all over the immigrant region. Pella Dutch may be heard until the present day, be it by a steadily decreasing number of speakers.

6.4 Conclusion

In spite of everything, the contributions of the Dutch language to American English over the past four centuries can be called substantial as is explained in detail in Van der Sijs's 2009 book called "Cookies, Coleslaw and Stoops", mentioning already three of the important borrowings from Dutch. Although only 246 Dutch loanwords are attested (i.e. in American English; the approximately 500 Dutch loanwords which used to be part of the British variety of English long before that are not counted here), the Dutch language has left its ineradicable mark on everyday American life, the more so since the Dutch formed a very small minority among the inhabitants of America. According to the American linguist Charlton Laird (1972): "[m]ore words per capita have been borrowed into American English from [the] early Hollanders than from any other sort of non-English speakers." Among them are high frequency words as Yankee, dollar and boss. In Van der Sijs (2009) all 246 of them are discussed in detail.

7 Afrikaans

7.1 Early history

When in the year 1652 Jan van Riebeeck officially took possession of the Cape of Good Hope on behalf of the Vereenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie, the foundations were laid for what was to become the only still extant daughter language of Dutch. The evolution into a permanent settlement started in 1657 when Van Riebeeck discharged a small number of company servants who were to become the Cape's first free burghers and full-time agriculturalists. According to Stell (2008, 5) a distinct class of free blacks (vrijezwarten) was simultaneously taking shape. Slavery was formally introduced in 1658 and slaves from other parts of Africa and from Asia were brought in. Jargonized forms of Dutch emerged among the indigenous Khoikhoi (formally Hottentots; Raper 2011) and served as their medium of communication with the Europeans. The slaves came from many geographical and cultural origins and this "led to the creation of a stable Cape Dutch Pidgin within the Afro-Asian substratum between 1658 and 1711 (the year in which the slave population surpassed the slave-owning European population)" (Roberge 2003, 17).

As in many VOC possessions, the Dutch were not the only, and very often not even the majority group. The proportions of the main groups in the free-burgher male population over the period 1657–1707 were approximately as follows: 44 percent from Holland; 36 percent from Germany; 7 percent from the southern Netherlands; and 12 percent from France. The Dutch element was able to linguistically assimilate the other European groups despite the steady arrival of Germans (Polens 1993, 17–26). Up to the early 18th century, Europeans were more numerous than slaves but were vastly outnumbered by the native population. Until the British conquest of the Cape (1806), its official language was Dutch. A process of detribalization favored the acquisition of Dutch by the Khoikhoi
population. At subsequent stages, at least part of the Bantu speakers and Indians also adopted Cape Dutch as a prestige or native language (Stell 2008, 45). More details on 18th-century varieties of Dutch at the Cape are given in Ponelis (1996).

The first attestations of Dutch as spoken by slaves date from as early as 1671. They had been forced to acquire Dutch very quickly and in unfavorable conditions. As a result, a process of Creolization started. Some of its major characteristics were the loss of gender (Dutch: de man, het huis; Afrikaans: die man, die huis), subject–verb agreement (Dutch: ik vind—wij vinden; Afrikaans: ek vind, ons vind), the imperfect tense (Dutch: ik werkte; Afrikaans: ek het gewerk), and the distinction between strong and weak verbs (Dutch: gebroken, gezeten; Afrikaans: gebreek, gesit). Whether the so-called double negation is a result of the Creolization process as well, is generally accepted, though not by all. In a subsequent stage of development, we see how the Afrikaans vernacular develops regional variation. There are three main dialect areas: Southwestern or Western Cape Afrikaans; Northwestern or Orange River Afrikaans, and Eastern Cape Afrikaans.

7.2 British Conquest

When the British took possession of South Africa, their first settlement was at the Cape. Eventually, their rule forced a number of originally Dutch settlers (Boers as they have traditionally been referred to in English) to leave the Cape for the interior of the country, where they would found republics of their own.

7.2.1 The Cape

In 1806 the Cape was permanently occupied by British troops (the Low Countries at that time were occupied by Napoleon). This occupation was marked by a series of determined measures aimed at preparing the territory for incorporation into the British Empire, officially effected in 1814. To take effect, a minimal number of English-speaking subjects was obviously required but by 1818, the British population was still limited. By the mid-19th century, the Cape already had become a socio-economically diverse part of the colony’s population: besides the British administrative personnel, there was a distinguishable lower social class composed of Irish, Scots, and Northern Englishmen (Stell 2008, 25). This was a deliberate measure by Lord Somerset, the English High Commissioner, to water down the non-British component of the population. Despite measures taken in the 19th century by the British to anglicize the Cape, the British never managed to make South Africa a predominantly English-speaking country.

In 1822 Somerset announced in a proclamation the government’s design to turn the Cape into an officially monolingual Crown possession (Stell 2008, 26). Education was the first means by which Anglicization was hoped to be achieved. In 1821, the first English and Scottish teachers had arrived at the Cape, and the first single-medium government schools were established. By 1830, all administrative and judicial proceedings were conducted in English, and the knowledge thereof had been made a prerequisite for public office.

As a consequence of all this, a significant portion of the Dutch urban elite had been linguistically assimilated by 1840. In the countryside, on the other hand, Anglicization had achieved little. Political lobbying finally resulted in the reinstatement of Dutch as a co-official language in the Cape Colony in 1882. Meanwhile, an active knowledge of English among the Dutch had become firmly established in the urban areas. There were also symptoms of language shift among younger generations of the Dutch population. On the other hand, the mass of the Colored population9 of the Cape remained Dutch speaking during the 19th century.

7.2.2 The Boer Republics

Around 1834 a large number of the mostly rural Dutch population (the Boers) started the Groot Trek in an eastern and northern direction, which eventually led to the creation of three new countries: Natal; the Oranje Vrijstaat (OVS); and the Zuid-Afrikaansche Republiek (ZAR). Natal’s independence was cut short by the British, who took possession of it in 1843, while the other two eventually developed, at least for some time, into independent republics. The British annexed Natal as they wanted to deny the Boers access to a seaport, and thus to possible contact with Britain’s potential enemies. The other two republics, being

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8 Borrowing from other languages was important—consider high-frequency words as nool (girl), dalk (perhaps), and bate (very much)—but more decisive still was the fact that Dutch was also used by nonnative speakers.

9 Traditionally, in South Africa, a differentiation is made between the black population (Swartes or Swartmense) and the racially mixed population called Kleurlinge or Bruinnense (Colored in English).
landlocked, were not seen as a threat to British interests. In 1854 the country between the Orange and Vaal rivers officially became independent as the Orange-Vrijstaat. Its official language was Dutch. Although the Orange Free State developed into a politically and economically successful republic, it experienced a chronic conflict with the British. After the two resulting wars (called the Boer Wars by the British; in Afrikaans: Vryheidsoorlog) the land was finally annexed as the Orange River Colony in 1900. In 1910, it was incorporated in the Union of South Africa, a British dominion.

The other Boer state ZAR, informally known as the Transvaal Republic, was established in 1852 and was independent until 1877 and again from 1881 after the First Boer War. The ZAR’s official language was Dutch. In 1900 the ZAR was also annexed by the United Kingdom as a result of the Boers’ defeat in the Second Boer War in 1902, when the last of the Boer troops surrendered, mourning the deaths of 26,000 mainly women and children who died in British concentration camps. In 1910 it became the Transvaal Province of the Union of South Africa.

7.3 Taalstryd (Language Struggle)

7.3.1 The attempted Anglicization of the Cape provoked a taalstryd (language struggle)

Traditional Afrikaans historiography regards the founding of the Genootskap van Regte Afrikaners (GRA; Society of True Afrikaners) in 1875 as the commencement of the Eerste Afrikaanse Taalbeweging (First Afrikaans Language Movement). The end of that movement is traditionally located in the last years of the 19th century. The GRA was succeeded in 1880 by the Afrikanerbond (League of Afrikaners), determined to unite all (white) Afrikaners under the banner of the volkstaal (language of the people).

A period of renewed promotion coincided with the Vryheidsoorlog in 1899–1902 (Second Anglo-Boer War) and the institution of a reactionary Anglicization policy in its aftermath by Lord Alfred Milner, British High Commissioner for South Africa (1897–1905). This time saw the emergence of Afrikaans as a powerful symbol of pan-Afrikaner unity (Roberge 2003, 29). This is called the Tweede Afrikaanse Taalbeweging (Second Afrikaans Language Movement).

After the Boer War, the British renewed their Anglicization efforts. The 1902 treaty did establish a degree of bilingualism in schools and courtrooms, but the concession was a conditional one and in any case did not take any account of Afrikaans.

7.3.2 From Dutch to Afrikaans

In 1925, Afrikaans was legally recognized as an official language of the Union of South Africa and effectively superseded Dutch. There is a persisting and often heated debate among historiographers of Afrikaans as to when and how (less as to why) the vernacular language in South Africa managed to become a language in its own right, that is, Afrikaans and not Dutch any longer. The information is but rarely unequivocal and has to be interpreted. A permanent source of problems is that, for a long time still, Dutch was used by many people in writing even when it was not used orally anymore. Also, we cannot overlook the fact that South African racial philosophy and policies have also influenced the debate on the origins of Afrikaans: some people did not like to be reminded that nonwhites have played an important part in the development of what they liked to consider a white language.

The arrival of the British and the expansion of their dominion brought profound social changes, which obviously also influenced language loyalty and usage. Increasingly, Stell (2008, 45) argues, “High Dutch found itself confined to ritual or iconic functions whereas English was functioning as an H-language endowed with not only social prestige but also a practical value in economic life”. Still, for all the efforts of the British, Anglicization was far from complete by the late 19th century and in fact was never achieved.

The struggle for survival in the face of English hegemony is both at the root of the Afrikaans taalstryd, in favor of a distinct Afrikaans language and of “its form, radically breaking away from High Dutch” (Stell 2008, 45).

There is general agreement that the first conscious attempts to write Afrikaans instead of Dutch date from the 19th century (Ponelis 1994, 110). As to its linguistic form, the basis of Standard Afrikaans is the eastern dialect (Ponelis 1994, 112). This dialect was not only the oldest but, as a consequence of the continuing urbanization, also ended up the majority dialect, since it is the variant that prevailed in both the old Boer republics, brought there from the Eastern Cape by those who undertook the Great Trek.

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10 The First Anglo-Boer War (1880–1881) was a relatively brief conflict in which Boers successfully rebelled against British rule in the Transvaal, and reestablished their independence. The Second War (1899–1902) was a lengthy one, involving large numbers of troops, which ended with the conversion of the Boer republics into British colonies. The British fought directly against the Transvaal and the Orange Free State, defeating their forces first in open warfare and then in a long and bitter guerrilla campaign.
It is obviously impossible to decide when exactly Dutch was definitively succeeded by Afrikaans. They must have coexisted for a long time, but also the genesis of Afrikaans has been a continuous evolution, with both varieties serving as points in a continuum. Both simultaneously and afterward for a long time there was a sort of diglossic situation in which Afrikaans was the everyday spoken language, whereas Dutch was used as an the H-language in formal situations and in writing.

The first Afrikaans grammars and dictionaries were published in 1875 by the Genootskap van Regte Afrikaners in Cape Town. The main guideline for Afrikaans literary production was skryf soos jy praat (write as you speak), a slogan used during that same period in Holland as well.

The postwar years saw the rise of white Afrikaner nationalism and intense campaigning in favor of their volkstaal. All through that campaigning, the nonwhite population, once again, played at most a marginal role, disregarding the fact that Afrikaans was the mother tongue of almost the entire Colored population.

Norm codification, as an essential part of standardization, could only really commence in the post-WWI years when enough receptivity could be found to experiment with Afrikaans in High functions. By then indeed, the demand for a full-fledged H-language had to be dealt with urgently. To that challenge, the most immediate and practical response was a massive recourse to Dutch norms. The earlier opposition between the advocates of Afrikaans and Hollands thus became transfigured into an opposition between a radically local Afrikaans form of purism and a Dutch-oriented form of purism. Ultimately, those two extremes would rather tend to be merged than be kept distinct in Afrikaans prescriptive literature on language.

Once that debate had been concluded, the way was free to amend the constitution. In 1925, the Union government bestowed constitutional recognition on Afrikaans in an amendment to Article 137 that thenceforth stipulated that "Afrikaans is included under Hollands as one of the official languages of the Union" (Stell 2008, 47). Afrikaans was to replace Dutch in all written proceedings from 1926 onward. Print media were crossing over to Afrikaans in the 1920s, and the "ultimate triumph" of Afrikaans was consecrated when in 1933 the official Afrikaans version of the Bible was published (Ponelis 1993, 54).

7.4 Linguistic Development in the 20th Century

The Standard Afrikaans that we know today probably developed between roughly 1900 and 1930 (Roberge 2003, 31). In 1917 the Academy published the first edition of the Afrikaanse woordelys en spelreëls (Afrikaans Wordlist and Spelling Rules). The 10th edition of the Woordelys (Wordlist) appeared in 2010. A most notable achievement is the monumental Woordeboek van die Afrikaanse taal (Dictionary of the Afrikaans Language), initiated by J. J. Smith in 1926 and continued at the University of Stellenbosch. A total of 13 volumes have appeared so far, up to the letter R. In 1965 the first edition of the Verklarende handwoordeboek van die Afrikaanse taal (Explanatory Dictionary of the Afrikaans Language; HAT) appeared and has continually been updated ever since. A CD-ROM of the 5th edition appeared in 2009. This lexical handbook is regarded as particularly authoritative.

Segregation laws in South Africa already existed before the advent of the apartheid regulations in the 1950s: education, residential areas, and the workplace were segregated already. The victory of the National Party (Nasionale Party; NP) in the 1948 elections paved the way for a policy of complete segregation called apartheid (literally "separateness"), a word that was eventually taken over as a loanword in almost all the languages of the world. As far as language was concerned, apartheid led to a dilemma. The nonwhite population offered a huge potential for Afrikaans, which the NP continued to consider as its very own volkstaal, the property of the white Afrikaner. On the one hand, the educational policies of the new NP government contributed to a wider diffusion of Afrikaans among blacks, Coloreds, and Indians; on the other hand, the ideology behind the imposition of Afrikaans and the cultural and political stigma associated with that language in nonwhite perceptions had been stirring resentment that ultimately proved utterly damaging to the Afrikaans cause (Stell 2008, 76).

During the presidency of 1993 Nobel Peace Prize winner Frederik Willem de Klerk (he shared his prize with Nelson Mandela), equal constitutional rights for everyone were granted in less than four years. From 1991 on nobody could claim preferential rights or treatment on the basis of racial descent anymore. The first general election under the new system was won by the ANC in 1994, and Nelson Mandela was elected state president.

7.5 The Future of Afrikaans: A Fight for Survival

The new political situation in South Africa after the transition to majority rule in 1994 made the future of Afrikaans very uncertain. Under the previous system there had been two national languages: Afrikaans and English. Now, there are eleven; in the still provisional constitution nine "black" languages were added (Deumert 2010), which account for the home language of almost 78 percent of South Africa's inhabitants. Nevertheless, by South African standards, Afrikaans is a comparatively strong home language. In 2001 it was the home language of
roughly six millions South Africans (i.e., 13.3 percent of the country’s population). These numbers place Afrikaans in third national position behind Zulu and Xhosa, respectively (the English-speaking community has eight percent). In both South Africa and Namibia, the majority of the population with Afrikaans as home language is formed by nonwhites (Stell 2008, 87).

41,000 South Africans claimed their home language to be German, at the 1980 census (Ammon 1991, 103). Most of them live in the province of Transvaal (some 24,000), the remaining part in the Cape province and Natal, in all cases mostly in urban environments.

Approximately one third of all Afrikaans speakers live in the Western Cape province. From the early 20th century onward, the majority of Afrikaans speakers moved into urban environments, where the rivalry with English is the fiercest. The Afrikaans language community is extremely diversified and is spread over all traditional groups of the population. They are also found in every political party and in most religious groups. During his presidential campaigns, Mandela has given a number of election speeches in Afrikaans.

In anticipation of the end of Afrikaner political power, Standard Afrikaans was redefined in the interest of its survival in a multiracial society, where the white establishment was expected to lose some of its cultural influence, “Beskaafheid” as a socially and racially exclusive qualifier of correct Afrikaans was abolished, theoretically opening the door to a process of language reform, in which both whites and nonwhites could have a say (Stell 2008, 82).

Stell (2008) also establishes how after a movement of de-standardization we do now witness a re-standardization process; this will probably lead to an Afrikaans that is rather different from the former (and present) one and that incorporates linguistic and cultural values of the whole Afrikaans-speaking community. The problems Afrikaans had to face shortly after the end of the apartheid regime were (and are) enormous and multifaceted; they are summarized in Ponella (1994, 115 – 116).

Post-apartheid South Africa has seen a loss of preferential treatment by the government of Afrikaans in terms of education, social events, media (TV and radio), and general status throughout the country. Afrikaans remains more or less coequal with English as a major language of the law, but it is losing ground to English in commerce, finance, science, and technology (Webb 2002, 95). The international standing of English virtually assures it a prominent role in official and other public spheres. The extent to which Afrikaans will maintain its public role over the long haul remains to be seen.

Despite all the problems of depreciation and emigration that Afrikaans faces today, the language still competes well in some domains such as Afrikaans pay TV channels and high newspaper and CD sales as well as popular internet sites. A resurgence of Afrikaans in popular music (from the late 1990’s) has added new momentum to the language, especially among the younger generations. Even the Afrikaans language cinema is starting to experience some revival. Since 2009 Afrikaans also seems to be returning on radio and television, especially Afrikaans advertising seems to be selling very well in the current South African TV market. In all these cases the audience is composed not just of white Afrikanders but of the whole Afrikaans-speaking community including even speakers of other languages who are competent in Afrikaans as a second, third, or foreign language.

Further latent support for the language comes from the depoliticized view of younger South Africans: Afrikaans is less and less viewed as “the language of the oppressor,” and the direct ties between Afrikaans and apartheid are being felt less, making lighter the ideological burden weighing on Afrikaans. Afrikaans will almost certainly maintain its position as a home language. Whether it will also succeed in keeping its role as an important societal language will probably depend on whether the paths of white and Colored Afrikaans will further separate or, on the contrary, come closer together. One single Afrikaans, accepted by both the Kleurlinge and the Whites as their own language and part of their identity, has a reasonable chance of continuing to function as a language of culture and societal exchange.

7.6 Afrikaans in Namibia

Namibia (population of approximately 2.1 million; capital and largest city Windhoek) became a German imperial protectorate in 1884 and remained a German colony (Deutsch-Südwestafrika) until the end of World War I. In 1920, the League of Nations mandated the country to South Africa, which imposed its laws and, eventually, its apartheid policy. South-West had significant numbers of Afrikaans-speaking inhabitants long before it was mandated to South Africa; there had been important 19th-century migrations from South Africa into the territory. Actually, Namibia is an even more Afrikaans-speaking country than South Africa (Donaldson 1988). Although the South African government intended to incorporate southwest Africa into its territory, it never officially did so. Namibia obtained full independence from South Africa in 1990.
In the pre-German period, Dutch was already enjoying so much prestige that it had become established as an oral and written lingua franca in the more sparsely populated southern and central parts of the territory (Ammon 1991). Germany’s language policy in her dominions was generally to promote German at the expense of local vernaculars; in Südwestafrika this included Dutch. Nevertheless, in practice provision had to be made for (Cape) Dutch in official dealings, since it was then the most widely spoken language in the territory. Compulsory school attendance for natives eventually led to the adoption of that language among them too. According to Stell (2008, 32), “The competition between Dutch and German in Südwestafrika does in many respects resemble that which had been opposing Dutch and English in the Cape Colony. German, just as English, was entrenched as a prestige language associated with government and trade.” According to Ammon (1991, 76) “Namibia is the only country where the short lived colonial policy of the former German Empire had any long lasting linguistic consequences at all”.

The South West African People’s Organization (SWAPO) was the leading force in Namibia’s armed struggle for independence. It took until 1988 for South Africa to agree to end its occupation of Namibia as part of a United Nations peace plan for the entire region. Namibia’s first-ever one-person, one-vote election for a constituent assembly was held in 1989 and was won by SWAPO.

As of today, the mother tongue of half of all Namibians is Oshiwambo, a language spoken in the north of the country. The most widely understood language and lingua franca, however, is still Afrikaans. Despite this, for political reasons SWAPO decided to make English the sole official language of the new country. SWAPO spent its decades of exile in Zambia where it became an English-speaking organization with little affinity for Afrikaans. This also influenced the organization’s attitude to Afrikaans on gaining independence. Afrikaans was given constitutional recognition as a national but not as an official language. Prior to independence, Afrikaans used to have equal status with German as an official language. Both Afrikaans and English are used primarily as a second language reserved for public communication, but small groups with Afrikaans as their first language, both white and particularly nonwhite, occur throughout the country. Most of the white population speaks either German or Afrikaans, despite the fact that the official language is English. Afrikaans is spoken by 60 percent of the white community, German by 32 percent, English by 7 percent.

Even as of today, 90 years after the end of the German colonial era, the German language plays a leading role as a commercial language (Ammon 1991, 75ff.; Ammon, 2005). According to “Deutsch in Namibia” (DiN), a cultural association for German speakers, the number of mother tongue speakers of German in Namibia amounts to 20,000, which is 10,000 less than Wikipedia’s estimation.

Although the official status of German is rather restricted it is all present in parts of everyday life. Also, there are a number of German speaking schools (mostly private), in which some 1,800 students are taught in their native German language. Furthermore, there is a German daily newspaper (“Allgemeine Zeitung”) and there are daily German programs on the public radio station NBC. According to the German Foreign Office in January 201312 “The approximately 20,000-strong German-speaking community fosters a vibrant cultural life, boasts a close-knit network of institutions and plays a leading role Namibia’s economic life. It is recognized by the Namibian government as an integral element of society”. German is the mother tongue of many German Namibians, enjoys a very high profile and is also very much present in the tourism sector. Even so, the use of (and proficiency in) German is almost totally restricted to the white population.

8 General Conclusions

All things considered, let it be summarized that:
- in all Asian colonies the Western powers attempted first of all to assimilate a small elite and to train a middle class. Only the Netherlands decided not to introduce Dutch generally into the Dutch East Indies, a language policy which underwent no significant change up to the independence of Indonesia.
- Everywhere this resulted in the creation of a social elite educated in a European language. In Indonesia this group remained smaller than anywhere else.
- The Dutch linguistic policy was a “divide et impera”-policy, aimed at preserving the structures of colonial society.

Many of the arguments pertaining to the Asian situation theoretically also apply to the Dutch colonies in the West Indies. The main difference, though, was that in the West the relatively large numbers of Creoles (compared with Asia) and the relatively smaller population sizes made the colonial language the obvious choice for the national language. Even so, it was more thanks to the determina-

12 See www.auswertigesamt.de.
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VIelfalt, Variation und Stellung der deutschen Sprache