

culture, situation and the participants involved. The references to Eggins (1994/2004) as well as Scollon and Scollon's (2003) argument about the importance of discourse in relation to physical and socio-cultural space also provide support. And more significantly, Xu's (2007) emphasis for the need for academic acknowledgement of hybrid linguistic forms in discourse research.

- Whether or not the *Daily Voice* uses different languages in the Cape Coloured repertoire to create word play and typical sounds of Cape Coloured discourse. There are elements that are effectively used in a manner that both reflect Cape Coloured discourse as well as act to elevate this discourse to its own code rather than as a hybrid fusion of two languages. Thus falling in line with the argument of bilingual discourse as default languages made by Auer (1998), Meeuwis and Blommaert (1998).
- How does the *Daily Voice* use culturally rich words to construct or deconstruct Cape Coloured identity? Using Cape Coloured discourse potentially invokes powerful emotions due to cultural undertones, values and understanding in an easily accessible media publication influences the projected images of whomever or whatever is presented. Thus, the influence of such familiar Cape Coloured terms is effective beyond the literacy practice of reading an article as people empirically tend to engage in other speech interactions discussing, debating and arguing the emotions invoked by the *Daily Voice* and the underlying issues such as the degree and state of social ills. The *Daily Voice* thus uses words and phrases that capture an almost local Cape Flats 'flavour' with the desired effect.

7.6 Monolectal Discourse

Similarly there is evidence to support Auer's (1998) view of code-switching as being monolectal. As shown above, the hybridity of Cape Coloured discourse is fuelled by the socio-cultural schemata and spatial locales where users interact. The *Daily Voice* uses catchy headlines that may seem untidy to non-members and/or speakers of this discourse. Likewise, any researchers who share Myers-Scotton's ideologies would view such headlines as code-

switching and therefore analyse these texts as such instances using tools such as the MLF. In this respect the texts are analysed according to the rules of the source languages. However, this section argues that mere decoding of lexical items into two separate languages does not account for how meaning and interpretation is constructed and neither does it explain how readers would negotiate the difference between English and Afrikaans lexical items within a single headline. Or indeed whether or not such distinction exists in the case of Cape Coloured discourse. Therefore, I argue that there is evidence that Kaapse should be analysed as a single code with its own set of rules and meaning. Additionally, some lexemes no longer ascribe to the meanings of standard English and standard Afrikaans. In essence then, these words are no longer associated with the meanings white speakers and the mainstream newspapers would give them.

I now present the following in support of my argument that the *Daily Voice* uses lexemes that carry different meaning within the socio-cultural context of the Cape Flats. This breakdown shows how meaning can be lost if the language the *Daily Voice* uses is viewed as a combination of English and Afrikaans. Whether the source (matrix) language is English or Afrikaans becomes irrelevant as meaning-making depends on how people on the Cape Flats have developed and use the combined elements from English and Afrikaans as a unique code as just one linguistic resource. In this way I provide evidence of how the *Daily Voice* uses some lexemes in ways that mainstream newspapers do not. Essentially, this means the *Daily Voice* uses words and sentence forms that are not found in mainstream newspapers that use standard English and standard Afrikaans. For example, the headline “Bokke’s Island Dream” [bokəz] in figure 1.0 shows a morphemic construction that would not appear in a mainstream newspaper. The possessive inflectional morpheme –’s attached to “Bokke” would not appear as a unit in standard Afrikaans or standard English. Instead a term such as *Bokke se Island Dream* or *Bok Island Dream* would be used. Similarly the term “pa’s” [pΛ:z] in figure 1.2 is more likely to be *pa se* (father’s) in other newspapers simply because “pa’s” does not conform to standard Afrikaans or standard English possessive pronoun constructions.

Also, the headline “We’re no water slamse” in figure 1.2, uses the term “water slamse” [wΛtə slΛmsə], which on the Cape Flats refers to Muslims who half heartedly practice their faith.

However, using standard English or standard Afrikaans the headline could interpret as *we're no water Muslims*, which does not capture the cultural meaning as well as the clever word play on the word “water”. The story refers to the lack of water supply to particular Muslim residents on the Cape Flats and hence they are unable to perform obligatory ablution cleansing rituals before each of their five daily prayers. Also, the pronunciation of “water” as [wʌtə] and not in standard English, can only be distinguished by a person that knows when to identify this term of “water slamse” and the correct pronunciation thereof. In this way the *Daily Voice* uses lexemes and sentences that are not only familiar and distinct to the Cape Flats but also, non-existent in mainstream newspapers. Another example of how the *Daily Voice* uses a unique Cape Flats cultural saying in its headlines is the text “Jou Ma Se Hoes” in figure 1.3. This term plays on a common Cape Flats insult (see section 7.5) and if interpreted using both standard English and standard Afrikaans would be read as *Your mother's cough*. In this way, the meaning of the term “Jou Ma Se Hoes” and the schematic cultural references is totally lost and so the impact the headline has fizzles out.

Similarly the headline “Varke” in figure 1.8 which means pigs is unlikely to feature in mainstream newspapers. However the *Daily Voice* uses such a term as it is commonly used on the Cape Flats. Similarly, the name of the column found in each edition of the *Daily Voice* (see section 2.3) is “Rek Jou Bek”, which in itself would not feature as a form of standard Afrikaans much less appear in newspapers that use only standard Afrikaans. The term “Rek Jou Bek” roughly relates as *stretch your (animalistic) mouth* in standard English. However, for the *Daily Voice* this term is more about describing how people on the Cape Flats express themselves. And the *Daily Voice* provides this platform for this expression in the form of the “Rek Jou Bek” column. Another common word on the Cape Flats is the term “outjie” as is found in figure 2.3 in the headline “Jordan's mom brings her new outjie to court”. “Outjie” is commonly used on the Cape Flats to refer to a boyfriend as opposed to the standard Afrikaans word *kêrel* [kɛrəl].

In this light I provide evidence that Kaapse English/Afrikaans cannot be analysed in terms of standard English and/or standard Afrikaans as meaning of the lexemes could be lost in terms of its socio-cultural relevance. This study aimed to explore the semiotic relationship between

visual and verbal texts and how multimodally, Cape Coloured identity is constructed or deconstructed. Based on Martin and Rose's (2007:327) explanation of semiotic relationships it is deduced that the *Daily Voice* shows features of all four conditions. There are instances where the verbal text reinforce, supplement and/or complement the meaning constructed (deconstructed) by the visual elements. The reverse is also applicable as various instances show the dominance, subordination, equivalence or reinforcement of visual elements in relation to verbal elements.

The verbal texts have been analysed in terms of the code-switched dynamics as well as the manner in which they exhibit conventional language devices (as discussed by Reah 2002). Also, analysing the appraisal of code-switched elements pointed out how cultural ideologies are expressed through linguistic repertoires. Both verbal and visual texts were analysed in terms of their salience, information value and framing. The initial separate analysis allowed the individual meaning-making potential of both the verbal and visual to be identified. This study established how each type of sign indexed the other to create meaning multimodally. Also, these multimodal compositions of the *Daily Voice* frontpages contextualised and positioned the potential attitudes toward the social issues covered in the news or competition content.

Summary

In this chapter I extended the analysis in terms of how the *Daily Voice* is able to draw on a rich supply of Cape Flats linguistic resources that may well not be appreciated using a monolingual approach to (multimodal) discourse analysis. I demonstrated my arguments for localised approaches to discourse research by highlighting the importance of how the *Daily Voice* frames schematic references using particular newsroom devices, one of which includes intertextual connections. More significantly, I showed that the developing area of appraisal need not be fixed to one particular ideology but instead be used as a flexible tool to multimodally analyse hybrid discourses such as those familiar used by the *Daily Voice*. In this way I showed how verbal and visual elements on the *Daily Voice* frontpages intensify the emotional appeal to a target audience. I also suggest that intertextuality is an important concept to incorporate in the appraisal analysis of the hybrid discourse used in typical *Daily*

Voice (frontpage) news stories on both a verbal and visual level. I showed how the *Daily Voice* uses framing techniques to draw on their audience's Cape Flats schema through schematic references that are often intertextual. I also show how Reah's (2002) language devices are incorrectly separated as indeed signs used on the *Daily Voice* frontpages act as schematic references dependent on socio-cultural knowledge of the Cape Flats. Thus, I used intertextuality to refute the language devices presented by Reah (2002) in order to accommodate the array of linguistic resources of Cape Flats discourse used in the *Daily Voice* and in so doing, I argued for hybrid bilingual language to be viewed as monolectal. In this way, hegemonic ideals are countered by virtue of domesticated or localised research analysis of a socio-cultural specific discourse. Several extracts of data are analysed in detail to show how meaning-making is centred on the nature of the contexts of culture and situation.

More significantly, these observations reinforce the work of Xu (2007) who encourages more context dependent studies rather than use perceived universal frameworks that do not (wholly) accommodate bilingual discourse of non-Western communities.

I also argue that appraisal is used to amplify the reactions and emotions of the *Daily Voice* audience as the newspaper uses stories located on the Cape Flats to appeal to its readers. I establish that the appraisal system suggested by Martin and Rose (2003/2007) and Martin and White (2005) can be used to evaluate how verbal and visual signs are used to intensify audience emotional responses. In this light, I argued that visuals can be used as tools of appraisal but in doing that, it uses schema and framing devices that draw on intertextual references. In view of this I show how the verbal and visual appraisal of the *Daily Voice* data is analysed.

Another key argument I extend in this chapter is based on viewing the linguistic practices on the Cape Flats in terms of their meaning-making potential within a specific socio-cultural context and not as universally predictable. I argue that a monolectal view is more fruitful to address bilingual discourse research of this nature. More importantly, I support my views by dissecting the bilingual speech prominently used on the Cape Flats featured on the *Daily Voice* frontpages. I break selected lexical items into the various inflectional morphemes

attached to the root words. Through this I show how such formulations are difficult to understand in terms of monolingual approaches to bilingual discourse. In this way I show how a monolectal view is more advantageous than using perceived universal frameworks such as the MLF when doing bilingual discourse research as the formulations of words unique to the Cape Flats may well be understood in terms of the rules of a single socio-culturally specific code.



Chapter 8 Conclusion

8.0 Introduction

I answered the first research question regarding how the visual and verbal texts on the frontpages work together to capture the sociolinguistic, economic and political contexts of the Cape Flats by illustrating the complex and unpredictable juxtaposition of these elements and how they index meaning to and from each other. Sociolinguistically, the code-switching practices associated with Cape Flats linguistic repertoires have been identified in the *Daily Voice*, as well as the structured patterning of Cape Coloured code-switching. The markedness nature of the code-switching thus works two fold: (a) the premeditated nature of headline (subheadline) writing shows that the *Daily Voice* actually positions the idea that the code-switching used on the frontpages mimics the linguistic practices of their target audience and (b) *Daily Voice* readers either feel as if the tabloid's discourse reflects and maintains their own speech patterns or feel that the *Daily Voice* makes clear attempts to 'sound' Coloured especially as the entire publication does not necessarily use the language formulations found on the frontpages.

With regard to the second, I have established how the verbal and visual elements on the *Daily Voice* frontpages contextualise the Cape Flats in a much deeper rooted manner than what may be visible. For instance, the code-switched verbal texts maintain or reflect (or attempts to reflect) the linguistic repertoires of Cape Flats inhabitants. Likewise, the images index the realities of living on the Cape Flats. For instance, most of the headlines are about crime. Some might argue that this is a result of the strategic political racial segregation of the past. Secondly, the majority of the newsmakers are from the Cape Flats itself, for instance Najwa Petersen's and Dina Rodrigues' are cases in point. In other words, the images index where the stories take place, who are involved as newsmakers and what takes place. The 'what' concerns the various degrees of crime that have stigmatised this minority group for many a decade and the deeply rooted political undertones of these highly colour saturated tabloid-style images are reminiscent of the Kaapse Klopse which subconsciously reminds Cape Flats residents why they are Cape Flats residents.

Considering the apartheid legacy, the low incomes and poverty on the Cape Flats, the contextualisation of the Cape Flats is also achieved through the verbal text advertising the low cost (R2 at the time of data collection) as well as the idealised promise of instant wealth in the many *Daily Voice* competitions. From a media perspective bad news makes good news but now it is fearless (“Ons Skrik Vir Niks”) and *cheap*.

The second research question of how language and visual imagery are used in multimodal combinations to allude to Cape Coloured identity has been answered in part above. The complex multimodal nature accommodates various symbiotic relationships between the language/s and images used because of the linguistic and visual resource options available to the *Daily Voice*.

In this light the recognition of Cape Coloured discourse as monolectal rather than as a composite of two autonomous languages is essential. This recognition dare not be invalidated by applying theory and analytical tools that are designed for monolingual discourse research. Instead, the design of adaptable and/or newer models should not be detached from the socio-cultural contexts where they are meant to be used but be localised. Such design would encompass guidelines that perhaps explain why and how meaning is socially constructed and negotiated without prejudice to the hybridity of alternative discourse.

8.1 Towards An Alternative Discourse?

The findings to this study indicate that the Western paradigms and frameworks regarding bilingual discourse research and visual communication are efficient but not necessarily sufficient to objectively analyse hybrid discourses. Although the work of Kress and Van Leeuwen (1996/2006); Myers-Scotton (1993a); Iedema (2003); Martin and Rose (2003/2007) and Pavlenko and Blackledge (2006) provide tools to further the aims of this study, there are instances where the respective frameworks do not rigidly accommodate the data analysis. Although it is possible to suggest that non-Western discourses and conventions merely flout Western paradigms, it must be considered that the flouting might not be case of flexing Western conventions but in fact, an indication of the lack of presence or recognition for non-Western analytical frameworks. This argument is supported by Xu’s (2007) call for

academics to break the chains of perceived and entrenched claims of the ‘inherent’ universality of Western ideologies, frameworks and research methodologies, especially in the exploration of marginalised ethnic discourses.

In order to motivate the importance of contextualising the analysis of the data used, I questioned the universality of several approaches commonly used in bilingual discourse and identity research. I not only critiqued the work of Myers-Scotton (1993a) and Reah (2002) but also provided alternative approaches and motivations to analyse my data. For example, some aspects of marginalised discourse could be classified as ‘loaded’ in Reah’s (2002) or Western terminology when they are an important meaning-making component when analysed from a local context viewpoint. I contextualised the grammar of visual design developed by Kress and Van Leeuwen (1996/2006) to a specific socio-cultural context, a point which they highlight. In this light I showed how the tenets of their design could be extended beyond Westernised contexts and that marginalised discourses such as those unique to the Cape Flats, are not inefficient, but indeed dynamic. I also extended the developing appraisal theory by Martin and White (2005) to show how both marginalised discourse and visual semiotics need to be considered within the appraisal framework.

Appraisal is a developing area of study and its applicability across various socio-cultural contexts is thus still under development. On the other hand code-switching is established though I question its applicability in the multilingual context of the Cape Flats. Thus I establish two key findings through my analysis. The first, establishes the need to consider the approach toward bilingual talk especially hybrid varieties. Thus one’s notion of code-switching influences the analysis of verbal appraisal. If code-switching is viewed as mere alternation of two languages then appraisal will most likely focus on embedded items within bilingual talk as emanating from separate linguistic systems. In this regard English and Afrikaans and thereby miss the socio-cultural meanings embedded in Kaapse English/Afrikaans. However, a monolectal approach offers different avenues of analysis as can be seen in chapters 6 and 7. In this light, I showed how a monolectal approach to bilingual discourse allows the *Daily Voice* to use several linguistic resources unique to the Cape Flats.

This highlights my second key finding that shows how the use of normalised and recognised Cape Flats speech patterns elevate the use of appraisal to a new level not just in terms of bilingual discourse but in terms of visual appraisal. That is, visual appraisal as a tool to augment the emotions of *Daily Voice* audiences. I thus extend Martin and White's (2005) developing appraisal theory (cf also Martin and Rose 2003/2007) beyond the appraisal of verbal discourse to include visual texts. However, in this conceptualisation in multilingual contexts, appraisal goes beyond appraising single autonomous language systems to appraising the type of bilingual talk that is used on the Cape Flats as a code in its own right.

Therefore, in this thesis I argued strongly for a paradigm shift away from viewing bilingual discourse in terms of monolingually based ideologies. Instead I argued for discourses such as Kaapse English/Afrikaans to be considered as codes in their own right. In this light, a monolectal view allowed me to do a multimodal discourse analysis of the selected data without being confined to interpreting verbal text in terms of predictable and premeditated theories of bilingual discourse. Instead, an unbiased approach allowed me to view how the *Daily Voice* is able to tap into a pool of diverse linguistic resources in its various frontpage constructions. And in this way I show how a social approach to bilingualism within the media can be used to evaluate the negotiation on Cape Flats identity.

I also showed how the localisation of Kress and Van Leeuwen's (1996/2006) notions of visual design can be used to do a multimodal discourse analysis of unique texts such as the *Daily Voice* frontpages. I also extended their notion of framing beyond aspects of mere spacing to the consideration of how Cape Flats schemata are used to frame meaning.

In my thesis I also explored a very young area of the appraisal theory as set forth by Martin and White (2005). Not only do I localise appraisal theory by analysing marginalised bilingual discourse to show how the *Daily Voice* constructs Cape Flats identity, I further their theory towards looking at how visuals are used as appraisal to capture the *Daily Voice* audience. This observation I believe elevates an under researched area of appraisal to newer heights. My explorations of appraisal theory in terms of marginalised bilingual discourse and visuals emanates from my decision to localise my study.

8.2 Readdressing the limitations

The interpretive nature of the study does leave room for further exploration. The main challenge was to draw together several areas that are characteristically multifarious. Having to identify speech patterns that include code-switching, investigating multimodal discourse analysis of hybrid linguistic practices and visuals as well as addressing the dynamics of emerging media discourses, requires careful focus to stitch the threads of major areas of linguistics (SFL-which is indirectly argued through the continuous emphasis on socio-cultural and contextually constructed meaning, MDA, Bilingualism in media discourse and identity negotiation in multilingual contexts). The mere scraping of the appraisal framework due to the limitations of this study, relates that a lot of the emotional essence captured by the code-switching used is absent. The approach to code-switching influences the use of appraisal significantly, for a monolingual biased approach would mean that embedded elements are appraised. A more monolectal approach would, as is exemplified in this thesis, draw on different techniques for the use of appraisal. However, it is important to note that appraisal itself, along with bilingual practices in ethnic minority media discourse as well as poststructuralist approaches are all relatively young research areas. Hence, any recognised frameworks for exploring all these areas may well have not been readied for analysing the data of this study.

The limitations of this thesis meant I needed to establish a very specific socio-cultural context, the Cape Flats, in order to achieve a multimodal discourse analysis of the selected *Daily Voice* frontpages. It needs to be recognised that only the frontpages were analysed. The rest of the *Daily Voice* publication is not presented in the same manner and therefore from the perspectives of MDA, bilingualism in media discourse, identity negotiation and media news layout, different approaches and considerations will be needed. The arguments regarding the construction and negotiation of identities will differ or be extended as the rest of the *Daily Voice* poses different challenges. I recommend further investigation into bilingual discourse appraisal and visual appraisal (of the media) in a separate study.

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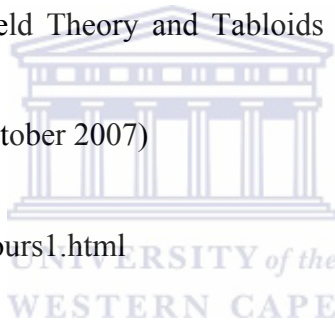
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APPENDICES



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Figure 1.0

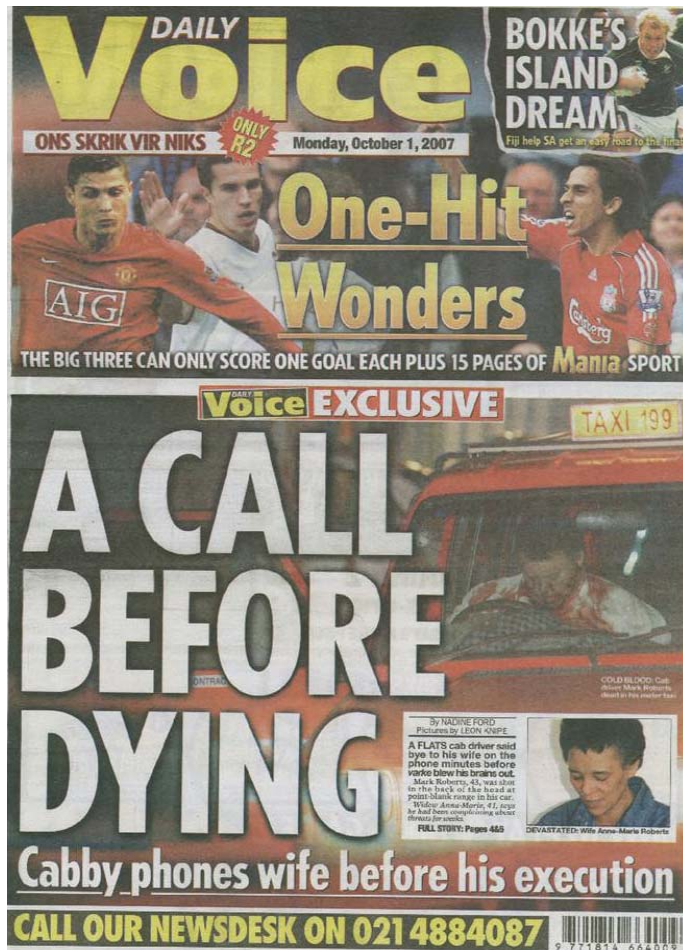


Figure 1.1



Figure 1.2



Figure1.3

Figure 1.4



Figure 1.5



Figure 1.6



Figure1.7

Figure 1.8



Figure 1.9



Figure 1.10



Figure 1.11



Figure 1.12



Figure 1.13



Figure 1.14



Figure 2.0

DAILY VOICE Tuesday, August 28, 2007 11

REK JOU BEK

ONS MENSE PRAAT SAAM

BOUGHS AND CRIME
TO the mothers asking us to our innocent kids, do you think you are aware? Do you know what you really are? You are all a bunch of puppets who are controlled by a puppet master telling you what you must do, how you must do it and who you must do it to, which just goes to show that you all are so good to the community and so good to yourselves. Plus they are senseless and deserve the death penalty. Bethelwe South

I pray our minister of health is sober when she reads this. Everyone is dying of AIDS, but now it seems they're all dying of cancer. I wonder if you know. My mother abused this drug from Monday to Saturday 10 times a day, never my little nephews, aged two, three and four are aware of it. The small one waits patiently every time for the empty packet to be licked clean by my mother, then the other one comes crying because he felt the empty packet. My grandmother's name is Bay Gwebe for the pain. I've lost my grandmother to the drug. MIMAS

When you work children, it is a big thing to smoke cigarettes. Today kids in their school clothes are lighting up *dagga* pills. Eerna, Mambombi

If all of a sudden I am accused of sex I've been clean for almost seven months. Try to keep it. Temptation is hard, I know, but keep strong. You only let the devil win by giving in. Well done, Sipho!

Way to go Ryaanah! I've been clean for two years now. No rehab, I just went down on my knees and asked God to release me from Satan's grip. I have never, in this day, regarded accepting Christ as my personal saviour because without him I would be nothing. Thanks to my family who never stopped praying for me. To mothers of addicts, never stop praying for your children. Sander Z

The 1K Winkhove competition. You stand a chance to win a trip to the morgue. To win, you must be a licensor or worse. To claim your fantastic prize: keep on looking and you will die soon. Friends and family members who don't like to use any drugs cannot enter the competition. Sandy

Everybody has problems. Avoidance is a coward in my book. We should've killed him instead of let his family go on with their lives.

HEART MATTERS
My boyfriend's ex-wife keeps on SMSing him to come and abuse her. Woman, get it through your head. You will be the ex if the world wanted you. The only thing you should do is take the kids. We should be together. Any from Duff!

I also once got involved with a mad woman. She told me she loved me. I thought all she wanted to do was to get back at her husband. For *fillins*, I lost my house, my wife, everything. It happened, but I don't regret it. It is not worth it. Conceded, Alibone

This is Adria. I never knew he had a girlfriend, so also blaming me. He let go of both of us. And stop pretending you are married. To all the men out there, stop blaming each other. It's the men trying to us. Succred ones

There aren't enough men for all the women, so we rather take another woman's man. If he is still married, he must be doing something good.

GOVERNMENT
Minister of Education, all the time you hear children aren't doing well in schools, but what are you going to do about it?

MAJWA AND TALIP
Let Majwa out. A child needs a mother, not an amity. Her situation will change with the new media. Heartbroken reader

Majwa's father is the one who should be locked up, or at least gagged. His mouth causes the pain. And Majwa should stay in jail until she is proven innocent. Too many people vote for gaga politicians.

Qudaiman, stop being a woman's boy. Grow up to be someone like her. S Honey

To all you stretch buyers, this is not a media circus or a soap opera. We are dealing with real people with real emotions. A life was taken. A sacred life – and five children orphaned. There are no winners. Both families have a reaction, so don't rick your box until you feel a pang in our shoes. Feel up relative

TOBY SEX
Don't Lorraine, stop boasting about your money. There's certain things in life you can't buy, and definitely not your daughter's freedom. So stop acting like a prodigal.

Lorraine DUB, why don't you do right by your other kids. Maybe your life will come right again. You went to Mozambique many times already? I need Lorraine to realize the punishment he deserves, the one before this, not this one. Nzi

Corporal punishment should have been allowed at schools and not taken away. Instead of striking, they are punting. Surely parents know who they are. Please parents, show who is in control. Time to act. Veronika

What is wrong with the cops? The cops are just enjoying themselves. They aren't going to learn if they don't make mistakes. Leave them. Let them enjoy having sex whenever wherever they want until they are no more. Suspect, aka madrasina

There is nothing wrong with having sex with more than one person, anywhere, anytime. Our men and women had sex with more than one person. Not all, most of them, but now they have problems with teens doing it.

I am born and toilet pornography is old news. But now we have a new paper like the Daily Voice to expose all the AIDS!

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DAILY VOICE Tuesday, August 28, 2007 9

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HERO GIVES STROKE SUFFERER BATH SET
Anthony Tockley, 53, of Retreat, was left lame on the right side of his body after the stroke in February.

Simple tasks such as taking a bath are like climbing a mountain for Anthony.

But now the Captain has come to his rescue.

Our hero arranged that Anthony get a hand shower and bath set to make washing time easier. His wife Sharon wrote to the Daily Voice asking for help.

Active

"He used to be very active. Even after his stroke, he returned to work at the shipping company," she says.

But work was a lot tougher then Anthony expected and he resigned soon afterwards.

Anthony is a very proud man and when Sharon told him she called on Captain Voice Power he was a bit upset at first. But later, unable to hide his joy, he smiled from ear to ear.

POWER SHOWER: A happy Anthony Tockley with wife Sharon and the Voice Power team

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Figure 2.2

4 DAILY VOICE
ILY VOICE Thursday, August 23, 2007

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THE NAJWA FILES

Poor Taliep looked like a little lamb tied up on the ground

CO-ACCUSED: Walheed Hassan is one of the alleged hitmen

PRIME SUSPECT: The music legend's wife Najwa Petersen, 45, is accused of his brutal murder

EXECUTION: Taliep Petersen was tied up and shot dead with a single bullet to the back of the head

BEHIND BARS: Co-accused Jefferson Snyder

MURDERED: Music legend Taliep Petersen

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'HITMAN' RELATES KILLING TO AUNTY

A 'HITMAN' told his family he agreed to be involved in Taliep Petersen's murder because Najwa claimed she was abused.

Walheed Hassan's aunt says he only planned to meet Taliep and then contact his plush home.

In fact, she says Hassan, 28, had no idea it was Taliep they had abducted until two days after his gruesome murder in his Athlone home.

EXCLUSIVE BY LAUREN KANSLEY

Rudie Hassan, 48, of Heanover Park, says she was shocked to discover her nephew had been arrested in connection with Taliep's murder.

Two, three and then he was gone from the table," Rudie says she is a fan of Taliep's music and was eager for one to fulfil his wishes.

"I used to say 'They can prove and their pore men 'killers,'" she tells the Daily Voice.

"Then when I heard that Najwa Petersen had been arrested I said, 'Allah's LILLY' (thanks to God)."

A day later Rudie learned that Hassan had also been arrested in connection with the execution.

"When Walheed's name and picture appeared in the papers I was shocked," Rudie says.

"I didn't want people to know we were related."

Hitmen

Prosecutors say Najwa, 45, hired Hassan and two other 'hitmen' to kill Taliep after he threatened to divorce her.

But police claim that after two botched attempts two days before the murder, Najwa eventually shot Taliep herself, despite having 'hitmen'.

Rudie says she was forced to defend Hassan when things got ugly at Waberg Regional Court last week.

"We do have to say that like that 'What does it matter what he says?'" Rudie says Hassan told her he is prepared to spend the rest of his life behind bars for her.

She says the bulk of being involved in Taliep's murder made his life a misery before his arrest.

Rudie says Hassan seldom speaks about Najwa but described her as "devout".

"He says before they come upstairs in court he says 'Just say you love her,'" she adds.

"He says she is devout and a good actor."

Hassan has told close relatives his version of events and Rudie says she believes him.

"Only Walheed and Najwa were there," she claims.

"Only the two of them know what really happened."

Rudie says Hassan told her he felt sorry for Taliep while he lay bound on the floor of his Athlone home.

"Walheed says Taliep looked like a 'skapie' on the floor," she says.

"He says Najwa became aggressive and demanded that he shoot Taliep."

Co-operative

Investigating officer Joe Dryden has publicly complimented Hassan on his co-operative manner with cops.

"Only Walheed and Najwa were there," she claims.

"Only the two of them know what really happened."

Rudie says Hassan told her he felt sorry for Taliep while he lay bound on the floor of his Athlone home.

Rudie says that despite his involvement in the murder, she is proud of her nephew.

"I love him to bits and I am proud he is taking responsibility for his part," she says.

"Only God judges."

Rudie says the only missing link is Fahiem Hendricks - the man cops claim prompted Najwa to murder Taliep.

"Fahiem is now in witness protection but he must also get arrested," she insists.

"Without him more of this would have happened."

Figure 2.3



Figure 2.4



