Exercising Linguistic Citizenship through coloured narratives.

By

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Abstract

This project explores the negotiation of shifting racial identities within a transforming post-Apartheid context, in particular, the negotiation of what it means to be 'coloured'. Twenty-seven years into South Africa's democracy, the power and influence that race and language hold over many South Africans' are still prominent within this country. Because race is historically intersected with language and social class, language is used as an instrument of racialization. Therefore, this project seeks to understand how coloured racial and linguistic identities, which are steeped in complexity and ambiguity, are navigated by participants. It will focus, in particular, on how participants engage with Afrikaans and Kaaps to navigate these complexities and signal alignments and ambivalences. Additionally, this research aims to explore the potential of multilingualism to be a dynamic factor in the inclusive transformation of historical positions. Its central aim is to contribute to the notion of Linguistic Citizenship (Stroud, 2001, 2015, 2018, 2021) by capturing how linguistic encounters and interactions can go beyond the defined subjectivities of race and ethnicity, and how people use language to challenge and subvert historical and more contemporary identities. The data draws on focus group discussions with UWC students and the narratives produced within these spaces. It will draw on contemporary scholarship in Sociolinguistics, Discourse and Narrative Analysis and Linguistic Citizenship to explore how participants perform acts of Linguistic Citizenship to showcase their agency and voice as language and narratives become a site where identity juxtapositions are laid bare, and participants and their (racial and linguistic) identities are reimagined.

Declaration

I declare that **Exercising Linguistic Citizenship through coloured narratives** is my own work, that it has not been submitted for any degree or examination in any other university, and that all the sources I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by complete references.

Name: Lauren van Niekerk   Date: 11 November 2021

Signed: _____

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Keywords

- Apartheid
- Race
- Identity
- Coloured
- Afrikaans
- Kaaps
- Positioning
- Linguistic Citizenship
- Narrative Analysis
- Small Stories

Table of Contents

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Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1. Introduction

In South Africa, language has always been implicated and embedded in racialized identities. According to Alidou and Mazrui (1999:107), "Human beings are very much at the mercy of a particular language which has become the medium of expression for their society" (Sapir, 1928:208). This echoes the notion that people are often primarily and culturally identified based on the languages they speak (Webb and Kembo-Sure 2000:122 cited in Makoni and Trudell, 2006:21). Thus, this research joins the project led by Professor Christopher Stroud on Linguistic Citizenship, and explore the potential of multilingualism to be a dynamic factor in the inclusive transformation of historical identities and positions. Its central aim is to contribute to developing a notion of Linguistic Citizenship by capturing how linguistic encounters and interactions can go beyond the defined subjectivities of race, ethnicity, and identities; in other words, how people use language to construct and navigate the complexities and ambivalences of their (racial) identities and positionings.

Twenty-seven years into South Africa's democracy, the power and influence that race and language hold over many South Africans' are still prominent within this country. In the Population Registration Act of 1950, coloured identity is defined as "(a) Coloured person is a person who is not a white person nor a native." (Posel, 2001:85). This 'definition' highlights the ambiguity and complexities found in being classified as 'coloured' in South Africa, particularly because this essentialised view of race reflects the often quoted struggle of those who self-identify as coloured, that because they are neither 'white' nor 'black', they are thus seen as the segment of the population that is always in the middle. As Gilbert (2005) asserts, identities cannot be boxed or grouped and neatly labelled, and are always intertwined with lived experiences. Ruiters (2009:110) echoes this when she argues, "a racial identity remains the primary source of self-definition despite the removal of Apartheid legislation because it indicates in social and political shorthand who they are, where they come from and their cultural distinctiveness". Additionally, because racial categories are still active and re-inscribed, legally and socially (Fassin, 2011), the intersection of race, language, and class has made it difficult for many to separate one construct from another. Furthermore, this racial classification and construction is not only limited to race and identities but also extends to language. With these social constructs tightly interwoven, there is a range of complexities to consider, particularly for coloured identity. Thus, it is of interest to explore how colouredness,

which is steeped in complexity and ambiguity, is navigated by participants through their engagement with the powerful and racialized language ideologies created and attached to their identities by Apartheid, in this post-Apartheid context.

These objectives can be linked to Stroud's (2018:4) definition of Linguistic Citizenship (LC), which refers to "what people do with and around language(s) in order to position themselves agentively, and craft new, emergent subjectivities of political speakerhood, often outside of those prescribed or legitimated in institutional frameworks of the state". Accordingly, the theoretical framework of Narrative Analysis (small stories) and Linguistic Citizenship will be used as a lens in understanding how the participants in this study use language to navigate their identities within the political and social climate of the post-Apartheid. Moreover, the aim is to understand how Linguistic Citizenship is enacted or performed when participants showcase their agency and voice through language practices and narratives. For this reason, the data analysis is based on focus group discussions done with students from the University of the Western Cape (UWC). The aim is to explore how participants position themselves in relation to the historical, racialized and dominant ideologies of Apartheid, through their narratives and language practices.

NOTE: The use of the term coloured, as well as the way one pens it, is a highly contested issue. Thus, I wish to declare that I share the stance of Greene (2010:7), which is that "the term coloured, and any racial category for that matter, appears in lower cases. I have chosen to write the term as such to convey that it is a description and is, like any description, defined by the beholder. I shy away from using coloured as a proper noun because that would imply a singular definition, which is exactly the kind of essentialization I want to move away from"

1.2. Statement of the Problem

As South Africa sees twenty-seven years of democracy, the influence of Apartheid and its racialized ideologies still prevails within our society. Moreover, the legacy of these racial classifications continues to shape the experiences of South Africans in this post-Apartheid context. This particularly showcases itself through the racial category of coloured. Rassool (2019:6) notes that "by the [mid] 20th century, the category of 'coloured' seemed to harden into a more restricted meaning of a mixed, creole, mainly Afrikaans-speaking population, hemmed in as people had been by race classification, and Apartheid laws on group acts, education and amenities." This restricted meaning prompts a need to explore the possible complexities and ambivalences found in this identity. The meanings and experiences of colouredness have been explored by different scholars (Erasmus & Pieterse, 1999; Posel, 2001; Adhikari, 2004; Petrus & Isaacs-Martin, 2012; Nilsson, 2016) who argue that in our transforming society, people are still kept within official racial designations and criteria. Thus, the focus of this study will be on exploring colouredness as a symptom of a much larger post-Apartheid transformation dilemma, and the way this intersects with language. By exploring how the discourses of racialisation have filtered through and shaped my participants' narratives (in terms of their identities and linguistic choices), I hope to draw insights that could lead to the deconstruction of these boundaries and classifications. Moreover, through using the theoretical framework of Linguistic Citizenship and Narrative Analysis, I hope to help build an understanding of the unexplored complexities and ambivalences found in the constant conflict between the essentialized notions of race and language, and the hybrid nature of their lived experience.

1.3. Aims and Objectives

The main objective of this research is to understand how participants navigate and negotiate their colouredness in terms of the way they discursively position themselves through narratives, and they alternatively push against and reaffirm the historical discourses of race, language, agency and belonging in contemporary South Africa.

The key research questions are:

1. How do participants position themselves and others in relation to issues such as the past, present and future, racial and linguistic identities and ideologies?
   - How do participants use language to navigate, resist, align or perform the ethnolinguistic and Apartheid ideologies attached to their identities and their performances?

- Which racial, social, and discourse identities are constructed or produced by the narrator and their audience?

2. How do participants enact their Linguistic Citizenship, to challenge broader social and historical discourses about colouredness, and craft new emergent identities for themselves and others?

1.4. Chapter Overview

Chapter 2: This chapter will discuss the background and relevant research surrounding the concepts of Race and Identity, Racialized Discourses in South Africa, Colouredness, Afrikaans and Kaaps/Afrikaaps, particularly the influence of Apartheid on our current post-Apartheid context.

Chapter 3: This chapter will discuss the theoretical framework of Professor Stroud's Linguistic Citizenship and Narrative Analysis as the analytical tools in exploring how these participants position themselves through small stories and language, in relation to the racialized and dominant positionings imposed upon them by language and race.

Chapter 4: This chapter discusses the research approach of Discourse Analysis, the 2018 and 2020 focus group data collection and transcription process, as well as the positionality of the researcher and the ethical statement.

Chapter 5: This chapter analyses the five chosen narratives from two focus groups (2018 & 2020) in relation to their racial and linguistic identities and presents a core argument that explores how these participants navigate these dominant ideologies, such as Kaaps being the ethnolinguistic identity of colouredness, through their narratives of lived experience.

Chapter 6: This chapter will discuss and reflect on the rich findings found in the participants' narratives, in relation to the research questions and conclude this research project.

Chapter 2 - Literature Review

Race and language have a long and contested history in South Africa, from the beginning of the colonial era (1652) through the Apartheid years (1948 to 1994), into this post-Apartheid context. At the nexus of this, various interactions play out, as people are positioned and navigate according to race, class, language, etc. and it is this racializing history of South Africa that continues to influence the post-Apartheid context. Moreover, while these positionings seem to be sustaining these essentialized ideologies, many lived experiences are showcasing complexities and ambivalences that come from the negotiation between how speakers are seen and how they see themselves, particularly in relation to their identities and linguistic practices.

Hence, the aim of this project is to explore how colouredness, which is steeped in complexity and ambiguity, is navigated by participants through their engagement with the powerful and racialized language ideologies created and historically attached to their linguistic and racial identities. I hope that by looking at these factors, we are able to understand and eventually deconstruct these racialized identities for a truly more transformative society. Thus, this section will provide a brief history and discussion around Race and Identity, Colouredness, Racializing Discourses in South Africa, Afrikaans and Kaaps/Afrikaaps, to sketch the background of these ideologies and illustrate their importance to this research.

2.1. Race and Identity

According to Heere, Walker, Gibson, Thapa, Geldenhuys, Coetzee and Willie (2015:26), when European nations began to explore and repress populations around the world in the 15th century, "race became the primary label used to define groups." Additionally, Heere et al. (2015:26) state that this labelling practice was used because Westerners were "both indifferent and ignorant of the varying ethnicities of the indigenous populations they encountered in Africa and the Americas." Consequently, the ethnicity of these groups was ignored and skin colour was used for classification purposes (Heere et al., 2015:26), which is where the concept of race was first introduced. Centuries later, racial classification as a source of identification became a vital tool for oppression during Apartheid (Van Vught, 2019; Posel, 2001). This highlights the essentialist perspective of race and identity, which views "the self as continuous and fixed" (Weber and Horner, 2012:84), and provides a limited and finite viewpoint where race functions solely as a marker of classification and identity.

Additionally, Posel (2001:53) expands on this racial classification process when she cites the links made between one's race and culture by Gilroy (2000). Gilroy states that racial classification as identification became a 'bioculturalist' mix, which "aligned readings of bodily difference closely with differences of class, lifestyle and general repute". This combination moves away from the essentialist constructs of race being the sole marker and classification of identity and takes on a social constructivist approach, which integrates the layers of class, culture and repute into its classification processes. This views identity as an onion because it showcases "the possibility of having multiple and changing selves." (Weber and Horner, 2012:84). Furthermore, Gilroy (2000) states that 'race' had both cultural and biological markers, "each providing tautological evidence for the other (as mutually both cause and effect of the character of the other)". Thus, this intersects the constructs of race and identity, with each signifying different positionings but being perceived as substitutes for one another.
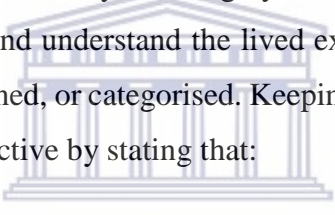
Additionally, this interlinking of both culture and 'biology' has created a hybrid construct which "lay at the core of Apartheid's racial project and enabled a practice of racial differentiation" (Gilroy, 2000 cited in Posel 2001:53). This can be seen in the structure and purpose of Apartheid's design, in that it institutionalised and expanded on the labelling practices that were first introduced by the European settlers. This is also seen in the racial labels provided, known or referred to as 'coloured', 'white'; 'black/African/native', 'Indian/Asian' or 'Other' by the Apartheid regime. Furthermore, this created a hierarchy of races within the country, and echoes a sentiment made by Harris and Rampton (2009:2) that "notions of race reinforced a commonsense, in which 'white European' was superior, 'black' was inferior, and 'brown' was in between." with this ideology extending into various laws which were implemented and gave life and body to the Apartheid system.

The legacy of these classifications continues to, in multiple ways, shape the experiences of South Africans in this post-Apartheid, for example, while many may wish to discard these racial labels, they are constantly put in a position wherein their racial identities are reinforced. Erwin (2012:103) cites Alexander (2007:93) when declaring that many are not aware of the historical, social, and political ways in which their social identities were constructed. It is due to this, that race and identity have become so intertwined that many cannot discern the difference between them. Moreover, due to the government's redress regarding the injustices of Apartheid, these racializing discourses are still in use. Thus, "race is normalised through classification rituals in countless performances of everyday life. With South Africans being expected to tick one of at least four racial boxes on a variety of bureaucratic forms..." (Erwin,

2012:96). Hence, this redress reinforces and re-inscribes the historical discourse of Apartheid within post-Apartheid contexts and particularly within the discussions and performance of identities.

Lynk (2005) argues that though the language is constantly changing, keeping these boxes and categories has left no room for people to form or claim a different racial identity, or even deconstruct and diverge from these racial discourses when referring to themselves or others. As Ruiters' (2009:110) argues, "a racial identity remains the primary source of self-definition despite the removal of Apartheid legislation because it indicates in social and political shorthand who they are, where they come from and their cultural distinctiveness". This once again highlights that race and identity within South Africa are tightly interwoven. They are typically seen as one representing the other, rather than two intersecting entities, which is where the complexities of race and identity are located.

Furthermore, the complexities found within identity are highlighted when Lynk (2005) quotes Gilbert (2005:65) who argues that identity is a "highly-contested and theoretically-complex" notion when seeking to apply it and understand the lived experiences of people; that identity cannot easily be described, explained, or categorised. Keeping this in mind, Fassin (2011: 425) provides a complementary perspective by stating that:
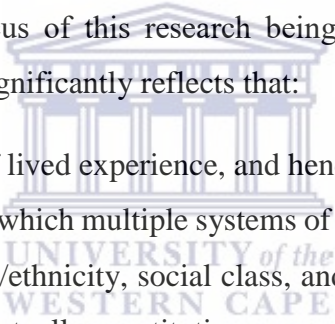
> The existence of racial categories and racist prejudices as well as the production
> of racialized rules, laws, customs, surveys has profound consequences on the
> sociology and psychology of minorities – and of majorities – providing them a
> concrete existence not as racial entities but as social groups which are identified
> by others but also self-identified.

These perspectives demonstrate not only the theoretical but also the real-life conflict that occurs when one speaks about their (racial) identity. Gilbert (2005) asserts that identities cannot be boxed or grouped and are intertwined with lived experiences; whereas Fassin (2011) argues that because racial categories are still active and re-inscribed, legally and socially, identities find uniformity through these 'social groups' as constructed by Apartheid categorisation. Furthermore, these perspectives - identified by Fassin (2011) and Gilbert (2005) - demonstrate why this research is important, as I wish to understand how participants navigate the lived experiences of their racial identities, particularly when faced with the social systems (of race, class and language) which re-inscribe the historical constructs of Apartheid in contemporary lives.

14

This research project is informed by the social constructivist perspective as it demonstrates that identities are constantly evolving and fluid; in comparison to the limiting, essentialized construct of race. Furthermore, this constant evolution of identities is particularly showcased through storytelling, as people combine the different positionings of their identities and their interactions with others to demonstrate how they navigate this complex and multifaceted process. Additionally, as Wenger (1998:163) highlights, identity is a learning process, a process of socialisation; which I feel is demonstrated through lived experiences and more specifically sketched out in narratives, which develop and change as the story is recounted.

The theoretical notion of intersectionality points to the multiple inner (central) and outer (peripheral) layers found within identity (Weber and Horner, 2012:84). Phoenix (2006: 187) notes that intersectionality is useful in that it "aims to make visible the multiple positioning that constitutes everyday life and the power relations that are central to it." Some multiple positionings, in this case, would be race, language and class, demonstrating that the hierarchy is not limited to race but intersects with the social and economic class, as well as language. Furthermore, due to the key focus of this research being the complexities of one's lived experiences, Levon (2015:295) significantly reflects that:

> an adequate description of lived experience, and hence social practice, requires
> us to consider the ways in which multiple systems of social categorization (e.g.,
> gender and sexuality, race/ethnicity, social class, and place) intersect with one
> another in dynamic and mutually constitutive ways.

Here Levon (2015) argues that each social category, while seen as individual entities are co-dependent as they influence the way individuals are seen by others and see themselves. However, intersectionality is important as it actively pays attention to these intersecting constructs and the role they play in one's identities and daily life. Additionally, this can help us to explore and perhaps even understand the complexities and ambivalences which are created between these intersecting constructs. This kind of lens allows us to see the entire network of systems in place and seeing this might help us understand how we can deconstruct for a more transformative and inclusive society. Lastly, Levon (2015:301) declares that,

> we can achieve the goal of integrating intersectionality more fully by combining
> a focus on marginalized lived experiences with a sustained examination of the
> ways that linguistic practices linked to one category are used to constitute
> another

This is why the focus of this research is to look at the lived experiences of colouredness through narratives and linguistic practices, as it focuses on the complexities and ambivalences that can come with identity and language positionings, in relation to dominant and counter perspectives. Moreover, it is with this hope, that I wish to understand how language, race and class are negotiated in these narratives of lived experience.

2.2. 'Colouredness'

As mentioned above, within contemporary South Africa, everyday understandings of race and identity continue to be influenced by historical Apartheid ideologies. In this section, I will focus on the notion of 'being coloured' and the complexities that accompany this 'racial' identity. As argued by Field (2001: 111), "the struggle over the meanings and ways of living coloured – or any other – identities are never fixed but an ongoing process."

However, before delving into these complexities, this section reviews the historical construction of colouredness. Rassool (2019:3) notes that "between the 17th century and the early 19th century, the Cape became an importer of African and Asian slaves brought from all over, including Mozambique, Madagascar, Indonesia, India, and Ceylon". Additionally, this colonial beginning led to "the Cape becoming known as a colonial slave society and marked by the servitude of 'Khoesan' people" (Rassool, 2019:3). By the 19th century, communities of the Khoe, who were called 'Hottentots' by the colonisers, with 'Hotnot' becoming the derogatory term derived from this name (Gilimoee, 2003:5), had been "decimated and largely displaced" (Beinart, 1994:1, cited in Rassool 2019:3). However, Rassool (2019:4) highlights that "the passage of Ordinance 50 in 1828, widely known as the emancipation of the Hottentots",

> …didn't greatly alter the 'material conditions' of Khoe and proletarianized freed slaves. What changed was the elimination of the legal category of 'Hottentot' and of the distinction between slaves and Khoe which led to them being identified as 'colo[u]red' (Dooling 2007:93-95; Worden 1994).

Later, "in the 19th century, the category of 'coloured' and '*gekleurd*' (of colour), like the early usage of black as in 'free black', was in reference to all people who were deemed not to be European or Native" (Rassool, 2019:5). In addition,

> By the [mid] 20th century, the category of 'coloured' seemed to harden into a more restricted meaning of a mixed, creole, mainly Afrikaans-speaking

population, hemmed in as people had been by race classification, and Apartheid

laws on group acts, education and amenities' (Rassool, 2019:6)

Moreover, laws such as the Population Registration Act in 1950 organised the population into racial categories, defined the characteristics of the different socially constructed races and hardened this essentialized ideology into law. Posel (2001:85) highlights a particular section of the Act that illustrates the 'defining' attributes of these constructed races. The Act states that:

A native is a person who is in fact or is generally accepted as a member of any aboriginal race or tribe of Africa.

A white person is one who in appearance is, or who is generally accepted as, a white person, but does not include a person who, although in appearance [is] obviously a white person, [but] is generally accepted as a Coloured person.
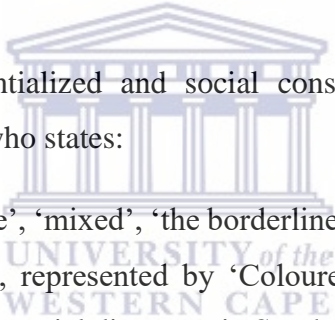
A Coloured person is a person who is not a white person nor a native.

The statement "*A Coloured person is a person who is not a white person nor a native*" embodies and highlights the complexity of being classified as coloured in South Africa. It can be said that this 'definition' hosts an essentialist notion of race, whereby if people are neither one nor the other, they are automatically placed in this category that reflects the often-quoted struggle of those who self-identify as coloured – as they are viewed as neither white nor blackand thus are seen as the segment of the population that is always 'in the middle'. This association is highlighted by various scholars (Erasmus & Pieterse, 1999; Erasmus et al, 2001; Posel, 2001; Adhikari, 2004; Petrus & Isaacs-Martin, 2012; Nilsson, 2016; Rassool, 2019) who explore how this racial, ethnic and cultural identity is steeped in ambiguity and because of this, these scholars feel that many people are still struggling with this identity and the meanings attached to it. This 'leftover' definition is particularly emphasised by Adhikari (2006:480-481) who quotes a statement made by the former first lady of South Africa - Marike de Klerk, in a 1983 interview when she expressed the opinion that:

…they [coloureds] are a negative group. The definition of a coloured in the population register is someone that is not black, and is not white and is also not Indian, in other words a no-person. They are the leftovers. They are the people that were left after the nations were sorted out. They are the rest.

17

The fragments of this are echoed by Petrus and Isaacs-Martin (2012:96) who state that most coloured people are caught between belonging and not belonging, which demonstrates the indeterminable crux of coloured identity and not having a definitive meaning attached to what a coloured is; or more specifically what being coloured means. The ambiguity of coloured identity, as highlighted by Posel (2001), from the Population Registration Act, as "not being a white person nor a native" provides uncharted territory that many coloured people struggle to navigate. However, note that this 'struggle' assumes essentialized categories of race as being your 'true', core identity, which is at odds with a social constructivist notion of identities as lived experiences that are constantly evolving and multifaceted. So in a way, no definitive meaning can be attached to what it means to be coloured – as all meanings are a product of what people (both those who identify as coloured and those who do not) say about what it means to be coloured. This reiterates Weber and Horner's (2012) social constructivist onion metaphor, that people are multifaceted and have multiple layers to their identity, which challenges the 'singular' definition of the essentialized (stone in the middle of the peach) racial construct.

This conflict between the essentialized and social constructivist notion of identities is elaborated by Reddy (2001: 68) who states:

> The very notion of 'impure', 'mixed', 'the borderline', 'the unclassifiable', 'the doubtful' people/category, represented by 'Coloured', functions as both the extreme Other of dominant racial discourse in South Africa, and also as its very ambivalent core. Without it, the remaining discursive categories, 'white' and even 'aboriginal native' and 'Indian' categories, lose their central grounding. In a rigidly, hierarchically structured racial classificatory system, there will and must be a category for the 'unclassifiable' – the Other – which resists the discourse but also functions to give the classificatory system its very meaning. 'Coloured' has been the home for this function in South Africa.

This statement by Reddy (2001) demonstrates a key feature within South African society. It is this notion that you cannot live in this country without being something, without having a definitive trait/s which categorises you into a particular (racial) group. This is why even the group known as 'Other' became 'Coloured' in order to fulfil the need to be labelled and to serve a function in the hierarchy of races. As Lewis (2001:133) states, "the term 'coloured' has

18

been linked to a fixation with maintaining racial boundaries." – A fixation that lives today, 27 years after democracy and in our post-Apartheid context.

Additionally, the lived experiences of many coloured people in South Africa today replicates in some way the experiences of those who lived under Apartheid; though there seems to be a clash between what is historically constructed and lived experiences. In other words, the dominant narrative seems to be that the feeling of 'being caught in the middle' – between two dominant races (black and white) – persists in the post-Apartheid context. In an opinion piece, Petersen (2015) states that "…it feels as if South Africa is only represented from two perspectives either black or white, and anyone else basically doesn't exist". This echoes the ideology that many 'coloured' people feel trapped between belonging and not belonging (Petrus and Isaacs-Martin's, 2012). Additionally, as Petersen (2015) states, for a coloured person, such as herself, the perception is that there are only two 'races' that are primarily focused on and that she feels as if other 'races' are neither understood nor acknowledged, which further endorses the ambiguity that surrounds coloured identities and its complexities.

One of the many interesting complexities is the label 'coloured'. Grunebaum & Robins (2001:170) explore this complexity by noting the uncertainty and unease in how to refer to the racial category coloured, which existed even during the fight for the dismantlement of Apartheid:
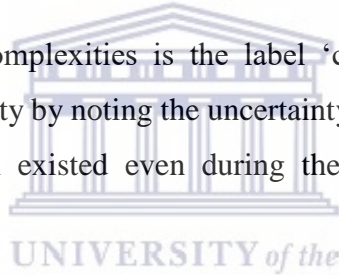
> This view of coloured identity as an Apartheid construct, and an obstruction towards black working class solidarity, was endorsed in the political culture of the mass democratic movement of the 1980s. Within academic and political discourse, the ambiguity of coloured identity was signposted by the uncertainty about whether to use the 'so-called' application, as well as doubts about whether to use a capital C, the lower-case c and/or to encapsulate the term within inverted commas. This anxiety revealed the uncertainty and instability of this category even within anti-Apartheid political and academic discourses.

The aforementioned is a further affirmation of Petersen's (2015) opinion that only two races are generally represented, black or white. Furthermore, the mere fact that there is a discussion surrounding whether or not the term coloured should be in either lowercase or uppercase, in inverted commas or have the phrase 'so-called' placed in front of it, is a testament to the

constant fluctuations a self-identifying coloured seemingly endures[1]. Additionally, it highlights the complexity and ambivalence of the 'coloured label', in that while it was legally given by the Apartheid regime, the discussion surrounding its spelling and phrasing, leads to two factors we need to consider. Firstly, questioning this label and its phrasing is what we need in order to deconstruct and move away from racial discourses and the influence of Apartheid ideologies. However, the second factor that needs to be considered is that the continuous uncertainty, diminishing or revaluating of this label, as I demonstrated, is not taken at face value alone. Any critic of this label is seen as a critique of the identity and ultimately the culture, due to racial discourses being deeply entrenched in everyday experiences. As a result, this makes it difficult to get rid of old discourses as they still hold so much significance and weight, with many self-identifying coloured people campaigning to have this 'label' respected and valued in the post-Apartheid.

Furthermore, this anxiety is echoed and perceived as sensitivities by Adhikari (2004:173) who identified that the issue of race is highly sensitive for the coloured community. He goes on to say, that this sensitivity derives from their marginalisation which has resulted in their vulnerability and in a society in which race is the main form of social identification. Secondly, he notes that the sensitivity arises from their intermediate position in the racial pyramid, which has refined their awareness of the racial issues affecting them as a group and an individual. It is this sensitivity that influences the way colouredness is seen and spoken about. Thus, the discussion and discourses around it result in its complexity, particularly because of its position within the active racial hierarchy.

2.3.   Racial Discourses in South Africa

As mentioned above, racial discourses are deeply entrenched in the everyday lives of South Africans. According to Dick and Wirtz (2011), racializing discourse is "the actual language use (spoken and written) that sorts some people, things, places, and practices into social categories marked as inherently dangerous and Other". It is becoming clear that while race is

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[1] As one of my examiners noted: "During the Struggle years – 1976 to early 1990s – many whom the State, in racial categorization terms, identified as "coloured" protested by refuting such a position, claiming that in the struggle for freedom they would identify as Black. So there was a time in which many leaders, also in the coloured community, defended a dichotomy which only later developed into a new argument of inclusion/exclusion of those with "mixed heritage". Further, in contesting the positioning as "neither white nor black" a practice developed by which right into the early 2000s "people of colour" were referred to as "so-called coloureds". Additionally, SA History Archives discusses "the emergence of the qualifier 'so-called' with the associated problems articulated by La Guma as "It makes me feel like a 'so-called' human" (South African History Archive, 2022). Some at the time, debated the use of other terms used in other contexts where similar devaluing practices prevailed, e.g. *creole*, *bi-racial, multi-ethnic,* etc."

a construct, the creation and establishments of race are re-inscribed and reproduced through discourses of racial classification and differentiation, which is not something that can easily be destroyed. The racial discourses of Apartheid, which categorised the population in order to separate, control and discriminate, still prevail in this post-Apartheid context.

Bock and Hunt (2015) note that negotiating the terrain of social, political, and economic transformation is complex for young South Africans. They state "it requires that they navigate their way through the range of discourses associated with the 'old' and the 'new'; in search of spaces and identities which allow them to articulate their complex subjectivities and positions" (Bock and Hunt, 2015:141). This suggests that while South Africa is undergoing social and political transformation, past discourses are still shaping conversations where race and identities are discussed. Moreover, the struggle arises in having to discuss 'new' experiences using old discourses.

Reddy (2001:65) eloquently surmises that:

> A discourse of racial and ethnic classification plays a large part in producing certain types of identities – making them 'real' by providing them with everyday meanings – for those captured within the category and those excluded from it. These everyday, taken-for-granted meanings provide the commonsense understandings within which social relations in the society are approached, comprehended, spoken, written, and thought about. This discourse of classification has a long history in South Africa and has had a particular impact on the way the state and civil society have been organized.

This reiterates Erwin's (2012) statement that the normalisation of these race classifications (and their use to legislate redress) are re-inscribing Apartheid discourses and are still operative as dominant narratives, which many are still using when discussing their identities and lived experiences. Furthermore, Field (2001:104) adds that "the cultural hybridity of coloured identities does not necessarily undermine people's ability to make choices and decisions for themselves", it only undermines the supposed signification of explicit cultural hybridity of certain communities, i.e. coloured, "as disruptive and problematic to the dominant discourses of 'whiteness' and 'blackness' (Gilroy 1993; Bhabha 1994)." This, once again, highlights Petersen's (2015) sentiment that South Africa is only represented by these two dominant discourses, and any 'Other', non-dominant narratives are seen as troublesome and neglected – adding to the complexities and ambiguities of these identities and their expressions.

21

Moreover, Field (2001:104) notes that

> The simultaneous location between and within these essentialist discourses involves the contradictory tensions, ambivalences, and struggle through a mixture of confusion and clarity…for each person who, or community that was classified coloured. Therefore, when coloured people 'measure' themselves by these discourses, it usually means that the emotional consequences of living hybrid identities can be confusing, complicated and painful.

This is echoed by Hall (1996:130 cited in Lewis, 2001:147) who states that "identity, inevitably 'incomplete', is always negotiated around master and counter-narratives yet never finds a stable home". When compared to the lived experiences of colouredness or any identity, the spectrum holds the dominant essentialized notion of one's race, with the opposing side holding the social constructivist aspect of one's identities. This leads to lived experiences never finding a stable home due to the constant evolution, negotiation and changes between and all around these ideologies and narratives. This discussion by Field (2001) and Hall (1996) reflects the struggles and sensitivities surrounding the negotiation of one's (racial) identities, encircled by and parallel to dominant ideologies. Moreover, it seems that because of the unstable nature of identities, particularly colouredness, the search for stability is still constrained by Apartheid narratives of race, which circulate and re-inscribe themselves even as counter-narratives challenge and resist the same racialized discourse ideologies.

Thus, I will be exploring how the discourses of racialisation have filtered through and shape participants' narratives as they negotiate the constant conflict between the essentialized notions of race and its hybrid social construct and complex lived experience.

2.4. Afrikaans

Apartheid ideologies are not only limited to race, but strongly affect the way we view language in this country, and how the languages that we speak are used to position us. As Rosa (2018:2) argues, "languages are perceived as racially embodied and race is perceived as linguistically intelligible, which results in the overdetermination of racial embodiment and communicative practice – hence the notion of *looking like a language* and *sounding like a race.*" This suggests that while exploring colouredness and the discourses surrounding this identity, we cannot ignore the construct and racialized association of 'its' languages.

Many theorists, such as van der Waal (2012) and Giliomee (2003), have emphasised the fact that the history and origins of Afrikaans are a contested issue for many. Kriel (2018:137; 139) notes that during the 16th century, when the Dutch settlers came, one of their objectives was to impose "linguistic uniformity". They did this by attempting to enforce the "Dutch only" rule, yet they could not control the 'kind´ of Dutch that was spoken. Thus, by the 19th century, the 'kind' of Dutch spoken was a creolized vernacular (Giliomee, 2003:53 cited in Kriel 2018:139), which evolved into what is known as Afrikaans. Moreover, Groenewald (2003, cited in Giliomee, 2003:4) states that no scholar can deny that Afrikaans was created at the Cape during the 17th century and that we are speaking this language today "because of the influence of the slaves and Khoikhoi who had to learn this new language."

This historical mixing pot of cultures is affirmed by Giliomee (2003:4) who notes that:

> In the course of the eighteenth century Dutch was further simplified and a considerable amount of Malayo-Portuguese, spoken among the slaves, was injected. By the end of the eighteenth century, Cape Dutch had largely become what is now Afrikaans.

It was during this time, that the Cape's main variety of Afrikaans became a shared cultural creation, in small scale localities, of European and non-European, whites and blacks, masters, slaves, and servants (Giliomee, 2003:4). Moreover, Giliomee (2003:4) adds that it is through this integration of cultures that slave descendants became the first to use Afrikaans as a print medium. By 1840, the first Afrikaans book printed in Arabic script was used in Muslim schools in Cape Town and established as a medium of religious instruction in the Cape Muslim community by the 1850s. However, this history is was erased and invisibilised as the history of Afrikaans was 'purified' of any racially mixed heritage during the standardisation of the language and its elevation as a symbol of white Afrikaner nationalism.

Various scholars (Giliomee, 2003; van de Waal, 2012; van Heerden, 2016; and Kriel, 2018) have noted that Afrikaans has been perceived as a symbol of Apartheid and the language of the oppressor, resulting in the language becoming disconnected from its history. In the words of Kriel (2018:133), "Afrikaans is the language that gave the word Apartheid" and if you directly translate the word 'Apartheid', you are given 'Apart-ness' or 'Separate-ness' – a name it has fulfilled. Likewise, this statement encapsulates the resulting ideology that has created an invisibilization regarding the true and rich history of the Afrikaans language (an indigenously

South African language[2]), which was birthed for survival and to bridge communication barriers. The project to 'construct' Afrikaans as a pure, 'white mans' language during Apartheid, is highlighted by Grebe (2009, cited in van de Waal, 2012:450) who states:

> The creation of a standard Afrikaans was a conscious construction of a racial collective identity, a[n] 'imagined community', situating the language of ordinary white Afrikaners between the working-class vernacular of the coloured population and the Dutch of the white elite.

Grebe (2009) emphasises that the Afrikaans language was shared between many cultures, but the conscious construction to maintain the view of Afrikaans as being "the one and only *white man's language*" (Kriel, 2018:144) came to be, because of its purpose as "the vehicle of Afrikaner nationalism" (Rassool, 2019:7). Furthermore, van Heerden (2016:38) highlights,

> "The irony of the 'white' appropriation demonstrates the way in which the so-called white Afrikaans-speak[ing] community is itself a historical construction."

This historical construction is important as it demonstrates how effective the practice of essentialization was in this context and its lingering effects found within the post-Apartheid. As I have previously mentioned, Afrikaans is indigenous to South Africa as it was created here and influenced by many cultures. However, due to the white appropriation[3] and branding of Afrikaans, it is perceived as historically and purely belonging to the 'white' population of South Africa. Thus, people of colour are perhaps more hesitant or resistant in utilising this variety of Afrikaans and prefer using its colloquial (informal) variety, i.e. the language variety of Kaaps.

Kaaps, alternatively known as 'Cape Afrikaans' or 'Afrikaaps, can be seen as an example of the multicultural identity of Cape Town and its colonial and slave heritage. Hendricks (2016:9) mentions that "Kaaps, together with all other distinguishable colloquial varieties of Afrikaans, is organically linked to, and thus in interaction with, Standard Afrikaans as [a] commonly used unitary variety". However, due to this construction of Afrikaans presenting a 'white' identity, "Kaaps is tainted with historically produced class- and race-based associations that intersect

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[2] There are many current debates and discussions regarding this discuss this status of Afrikaans (Walker, 2021; Anstey, 2021; Stellenbosch University, 2021a:5), particularly in light of the current Higher Education Minister stating that Afrikaans is not an indigenous language (Bhengu, 2021; Mentor 2021)
[3] Thank you to my examiner who highlighted that in many areas such as the Northern Cape and Namaqualand, the distinctions between "White" and coloured Afrikaans is much less pronounced.

with powerful language ideologies", which affect how people's speech and potential were appraised in different settings (Cooper, 2018:31) resulting in this variety (which will be discussed next) being portrayed as inferior or 'ghetto' and dominantly associated with colouredness, together with other colloquial varieties of Afrikaans.

More importantly, however, is Giliomee's (2003:14) statement that:

> As long as coloured people were part of the political system in the Cape Province, the definition of the Afrikaner people in the Cape Province tended to be fluid and open-ended. It became rigid once the system had become racially exclusive.

This highlights the constant conflict between the informal and non-standardized form of this language in relation to its standardized variety. Giliomee (2003) notes here how the relationship between colouredness and Afrikaans ("fluid and open-ended") changed once it became boxed by the rigid Apartheid system and was branded as "racially exclusive" language. However, it is interesting to note how this shift affected not only language practices but influenced the racialization of these varieties (with one being seen as inferior to the other). Furthermore, De Waal (2012:451-452) states that many activists of Afrikaans had a negative reaction to young people code-switching between English and Afrikaans (which has become a key characteristic of Kaaps). This kind of code-switching showcases the hybridity of Kaaps, which can be seen as a rebellion against the notion of a 'pure', 'standardised' language. However, Kaaps has not escaped the notion of "*sounding like a race*" (Rosa, 2018:2), particularly when it comes to colouredness.

2.5. Kaaps/Afrikaaps

As mentioned above, certain languages or varieties have become attached to particular racial identities. Moreover, it is due to this kind of racial association that colouredness cannot be discussed without including the Afrikaans language variety of the Cape, known as Kaaps/Afrikaaps.

Kaaps is regarded as a sociolect and geolect primarily utilised in the Cape and its surroundings (Carstens 2003, Hendricks 2012, Van de Rheede, 1985). It is a southwestern variety of Afrikaans which includes many 'Asian, Malay, Creole Portuguese (Van Rensburg 1989:463 ff., Van Rensburg 1997:10 ff.; Kotzé 2001:108) and English influences' (Hendricks 2016:9).

Kriel (2006, cited in van de Waal, 2012:452) highlights the diversity of Kaaps by stating that:

Code-switching was also a standard practice in the Kaapse Afrikaans of the coloured population where it had a function of expressing social belonging, based in membership in both English-speaking and Afrikaans-speaking social orders.

The diversity of Kaaps, as well as its origins, is particularly similar to that of standard Afrikaans; however, due to racial and institutional representations, the latter is viewed as superior to the former (Cooper, 2018). This led Kaganof and Valley (2011) to argue that "white, 'standard' Afrikaans speakers position themselves centrally as the 'self', and all other Afrikaans speakers as the 'other'" (cited in van Heerden, 2016:18). This ability, highlighted by Kriel (2006), of the coloured population to hold membership and express social belonging to both English and Afrikaans further highlights the positioning of colouredness as always intermediate, even in language practices. However, it can also be viewed from a social constructivist perspective which sees the fluidity and freedom regarding their choice of membership in both linguistic groups as inherent to the notion of colouredness. Additionally, it also emphasises the intricacies of how race and language are interwoven, with both constructs and positionings influencing the ethnolinguistic identity of speakers and how they view, experience and use their linguistic repertoire.
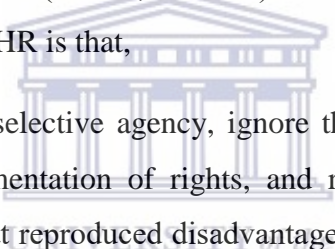
Thus, for this research, I wish to understand how participants navigate and negotiate these dominant ethnolinguistic ideologies, such as Kaaps being the linguistic identity of colouredness, in terms of their linguistic practices and performed identities.

Chapter 3 - Theoretical Framework

This theoretical framework focuses on Linguistic Citizenship and Narrative Analysis, with a particular focus on small stories. These key frameworks provide a lens with which to explore the complexities and ambivalences that arise when analysing how participants discuss and navigate their racial and linguistic identities in a post-Apartheid South Africa.

3.1. Linguistic Citizenship

A framework to explore the negotiation of racial, ethnolinguistic and dominant ideologies, particularly through language, is Linguistic Citizenship (LC). Stroud (2018:4) refers to it as "what people do with and around language(s) in order to position themselves agentively, and craft new, emergent subjectivities of political speakerhood, often outside of those prescribed or legitimated in institutional frameworks of the state." This is important, as LC has critically engaged with Linguistic Human Rights (LHR), which is "in all essentials a form of (affirmative) politics of recognition" (Stroud, 2015:22). However, Stroud (2015:23) notes that a critique from many regarding LHR is that,

> LHR tended to promote selective agency, ignore the material and economic constraints in the implementation of rights, and rest on understandings of language as 'standard' that reproduced disadvantage among speakers of other, non-recognized varieties (Stroud, 2001, 2009; Stroud and Heugh, 2004).

This perhaps is seen in the ways that non-standardized varieties are treated compared to their standard variations, and the inferior complex attached to the former, as well as the influence on their rights as speakers (i.e., Afrikaans and Kaaps). However, Linguistic Citizenship seeks to move beyond, and outside of, the prescribed and legitimized frameworks that this selective agency promotes, to craft new subjectivities and find agency and voice, through language, to be unrestricted and deconstruct the systematic restrictions and (Apartheid) ideologies that still hold different people 'in place'. A Linguistic Citizenship lens, can, for this research, aid in understanding how Apartheid ideologies and its institutional framework of racial categories, are still influencing participants' post-Apartheid lived experiences and how the prescribed ethnolinguistic identities are negotiated, resisted or supported by participants in their everyday lives and narratives. It is as Stroud (2021) states,

The construct of language through which 'minority'/indigenous/vernacular' speakers are granted affirmation is the very same construct – cut to the same cloth – as those forms of language used to dispossess and marginalize; they replicate forms of 'understanding language' that have historically served to oppress.

This highlights that 'minority'/indigenous/vernacular speakers' and their languages are still seen and heard through the notion of 'standard' or 'bounded' language – which has the effect of marginalizing and oppressing those varieties which do not fit this notion. As a result, Linguistic Citizenship is an important framework as it allows one to look at how participants navigate and use language(s) to agentively position themselves and find the freedom to craft new, emergent, ambivalent and complex subjectivities in relation to the dominant ideologies of identity and language imposed on them by Apartheid, colouredness and Kaaps.

Williams and Stroud (2015:6) elaborate on Linguistic Citizenship by stating that,

Central to linguistic citizenship is an understanding of the variety of semiotic means through which speakers express agency, voice and participation in an everyday politics of language ... giving new meaning and repurposing to reflect the social and political issues that affect them.

These semiotic means could reflect themselves through narratives, linguistic varieties or stylized performances, which speakers use to perform their identities and engage with dominant language ideologies. For example, the dominant ethnolinguistic identity of colouredness is perceived by many as Kaaps, however, many could refrain from using this linguistic variety to resist this kind of positioning, particularly if one self-identifies as coloured. Moreover, it is how they resist or align with these positionings to give themselves agency and voice that is Linguistic Citizenship. Stroud (2018b: 37) argues that Linguistic Citizenship entails a process of engagement that opens the door for deconstructive negotiations around language forms and practices. This kind of engagement allows for speakers to become active participants in deciding what their narratives and positionings will be, particularly concerning dominant ideologies (i.e. the social and political, etc.), in and through their language practices.

Field (2001:100) states that 'the degrees of control and autonomy which the individual feels they have directly impacts on the sense of agency and potency they have within the immediate social world'. Thus, I will be using narratives as my data source, and argue that stories may

narrate a moment where someone enacts their Linguistic Citizenship and provide a space for participants to highlight the current discourses and language ideologies, as well as showcase the continuous and ambivalent shifting location of their agency and voice in relation to their racial and linguistic identities.

Hendricks (2001:34) notes that "inherent difference is constructed through a focus on language, the body, and perceptions of cultural practice." If we perceive and replace 'inherent differences' with lived experiences, then we see that one's lived experience is and can be 'constructed through a focus on language (Kaaps/Afrikaans), the body (race), and perceptions of cultural practice', with this intersection being encapsulated by Rosa's (2018), statement of "*looking like a language and sounding like a race*". This highlights the perception, particularly in South Africa, that many times, one's language is predisposed or assumed based on one's body (race) and greatly influenced by one's cultural practice (i.e. being coloured in Cape Town, it is automatically assumed that Kaaps is your ethnolinguistic identity). Moreover, as storytelling intersects and involves all of these factors in its construction and delivery, Linguistic Citizenship allows us to pick out these instances where one's agency and voice is performed and moves beyond and outside of, the historical and racialized dominant ideologies currently in place.

Therefore, in this section, I have argued that Linguistic Citizenship is a pertinent framework to use for this research as it allows one to look at how participants deconstruct, navigate and use language(s) to agentively position themselves to craft new, emergent, ambivalent and complex subjectivities in relation to dominant ideologies of identities and languages. Thus, a core aim of this project is to understand how participants navigate these interwoven complexities, to construct and enact their Linguistic Citizenship through narratives, which will be discussed in the next.

3.2. Narrative Analysis

According to Stroud (2021),

> The ability to engage with different others, to recognize different others as
> *interlocutors*, and to similarly be recognized and engaged by a *plurality* of
> others is, as the philosopher Hanna Arendt has noted, a prerequisite for agency
> – to be heard, seen, and to have one's voice counted by others (Stroud, 2021).

Narratives can provide this prerequisite of agency because they allow the speaker to be heard, seen and countered. In addition, narratives serve the function and purpose of providing insight and understanding into a person's identities and positionings. Thus, narrative analysis helps provide insight into the emergent, complex and ambivalent subjectivities presented by participants through their stories.

Narrative Analysis covers a vast interdisciplinary field of research. In sociolinguistics, ground breaking work was conducted by Labov (1972) – I, therefore, begin this section with a brief review of his approach, before considering other prominent theorists in the field, such as De Fina, Bamberg and Georgakopoulou.

In his seminal 1972 paper, Labov argues that narratives are one method of recapping past experiences by matching a verbal sequence of clauses to the series of events that occurred. In addition, Labov provides an overall structure for understanding and analysing these narratives. Johnstone (2008: 92) points out that according to Labov, any narrative includes at least two clauses and that changing the order of the clauses will consequently change the sequences of events. This highlights the structured pattern Labov (1972) identified within his collected narratives. Labov (1972) believes that every story has a beginning, middle and end, with this chronological order resulting in a 'complete narrative'. With reference to his narratives of personal experience, a complete narrative consists of an *abstract* – which is found at the beginning of the story and summarises the key point or action; an *orientation* – which introduces the time, place, persons and the activity; a *complicating action* – which "recapitulates a sequence of events leading up to their climax, point of maximum expense" (Johnstone 2008:93); *evaluation* – which is the reason behind the story being told or understanding the actions of the characters within the story; the *result* – which is the resolution after the climax or complicating action; and lastly, the *coda* – which is a clause for "signalling the narrative is finished" (Labov 1972: 365). Some of these stages are optional, thus, according to Labov's structure, a narrative does not have to have an abstract or coda.

While Labov's work is still very influential today, scholars have critiqued his framework, theorists such as De Fina (2008) and Bamberg and Georgakopoulou (2008) have criticised the fixed genre of Labov's stories which are limited to one kind of narrative (narratives of personal experience, and in particular 'danger of death' stories), although they also acknowledge their debt to his ideas in shaping their own approaches to narrative.

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De Fina (2008:426) provides a critique of Labov's work by stating that while trying to apply Labov's structure to her participant's stories, the utterances of her participants are not easily placed within Labov's model. This resulted in De Fina (2008) only using the *orientation*, *complicating action,* and *evaluation* segments of Labov's model to analyse her participants' narratives. This suggests that not all narratives follow the chronology and structure of Labov's model. Additionally, this does not mean that these narratives are incomplete, rather that they are not as predictable as Labov suggests. Another major critique, which De Fina and Georgakopoulou (2012:35) highlight, is the fact that "the model still lacks coding categories or any other means of incorporating interactional processes in the description of narrative analysis". The lack of accounting for the interactional influence within his stories suggests that Labov views stories as isolated monologues. However, interactions can determine and co-construct how and when stories are told, which in turn, highlights that interactions significantly influence narratives and that not all fit into Labov's framework.

De Fina's (2008) approach to narrative analysis addresses this 'gap' by focusing on the interactional contexts which influence a story, rather than the sequence in which it is told. This moves away from the trend of seeing the preferred environment for narrative study as a monologue interview and "towards studying storytelling as a process" (De Fina, 2021:3). This provides us with the ability to see narratives as not just structured stories but constantly evolving ones due to the influence of interactions around them. De Fina (2008:423) argues that speakers are engaged in a continual negotiation between the local and macro discourses, which allows a link to occur between local meaning-making activities and macro-social processes, with micro (local) being the interaction at hand and macro being the "social roles and relationships that transcend the immediate concerns of interactants involved in local exchanges" (De Fina 2008:422). Analysing this negotiation and interaction between the micro and macro contexts allows us to understand where speakers can and will enact their Linguistic Citizenship in relation to social and historical contexts, i.e., through their everyday language practices and identity work.

Additionally, De Fina (2021:3) notes that,

> Linguistic anthropologists Ochs and Capps (2001) alerted researchers to the
> emergent and often incomplete nature of conversational stories and to the many
> ways in which, rather than representing finished and well-polished

31

recapitulations of past experience, they more often than not become the
occasion and arena for interpersonal emergent meaning making.

It is these kinds of conversational stories, the unfinished and unpolished, which showcases the interaction of past and present experiences being negotiated and evolving, as storytellers create meaning and evaluate through their everyday narratives. De Fina (2020:4) feels anthropologists have revealed "what it means for narratives to be embedded within everyday practices and how they are mobilized by participants to carry out social actions" – e.g. performing/enacting one's Linguistic Citizenship. Thus, De Fina (2008:425) argues that both the micro (local) and macro (broader social) context is connected and interdependent, with both carrying weight towards the interpretation and analysis of language practices and storytelling.

Likewise, Bamberg and Georgakopoulou (2008) expand on the perspective of narratives provided by Labov and De Fina by stating that:

> While it is worthwhile to invest efforts in investigating what narratives *are* and
> what they consist of, structurally as well as interactively, our point of departure
> is more grounded in a functional perspective on narrative and language use in
> general…we are interested in the social actions, functions that narratives
> perform in the lives of people (2008:378).

This suggests that while Bamberg and Georgakopoulou (2008) view the importance of Labov's (1972) chronological and structural lens, as well as the influence of interaction by De Fina (2008), they believe the function and purpose behind these narratives should be the main focus. As a result, they view narrative analysis as understanding how individuals utilize stories as tools to perform their identities. Thus, stories can provide a deeper understanding of our complex identities and language practices, as it is through the act of storytelling that we can explore this or showcase our lived experiences.

3.3. Small Stories

An important development within narrative theory, which is important for this research project, is the research on 'small stories'. Bamberg and Georgakopoulou (2008: 381) favour the theory of small stories and the purpose they serve in providing understanding within the everyday lives of people, as they believe that small stories:

> can be about very recent ('this morning', 'last night') or still unfolding events,
> thus immediately reworking slices of experience and arising out of a need to

share what has just happened or seemingly uninteresting tidbits. They can be about small incidents that may (or may not) have actually happened, mentioned to back up or elaborate on an argumentative point occurring in an ongoing conversation.

This suggests that Bamberg and Georgakopoulou (2008) believe that small stories are interwoven within conversations and while they might be small in size (or not fully developed), they serve a purpose or function in everyday conversation by providing evidence or strengthening an argument. Additionally, Bamberg and Georgakopoulou (2008:382) are interested in "how people use small stories in their interactive engagements to construct a sense of who they are" thus providing us with the understanding of how people position or perform their identities and linguistic practices in everyday conversations. In the analysis of the data for this research project, I have found Bamberg and Georgakopoulou (2008:385) three levels of positioning very helpful as an analytical lens. These levels are:

> '**(i)** how characters are positioned within the story (level 1); **(ii)** how the speaker/narrator positions himself (and is positioned) within the interactive situation (level 2); and **(iii)** how the speaker/narrator positions a sense of self/identity with regard to dominant discourses or master narratives (level 3)'

This kind of approach showcases that small stories are a useful analytical lens to explore how participants understand or view their identities in relation to macro, societal contexts and the local context of interaction. Georgakopoulou (2007:40) describes small stories as "fundamental acts of sharing, and through doing so, reaffirming closeness in positions and viewpoints, putting them to the test, or revisiting them" (cited in Page, 2012:71). This approach views positionings and ideologies as constantly negotiating, testing and evolving during the narrative delivery, with the reaffirmation (either through supportive or opposing co-construction) determining the performance of the narrative and how the characters and/or narrator are portrayed. Moreover, Page (2012:141) notes that:

> Space and narrative are inextricably connected to the identities that emerge in and through storytelling, for, as Schiffrin reminds us, "personal identity sits at the crux of time and space not just in narrative, but in all discourse (2009, 423)"

This perfectly highlights the function of small stories, for the narrator to engage, negotiate, evaluate, resist, align and create new emergent positionings concerning dominant ideologies

33

and in the process, inevitably change the perceptions of who they are, how they see themselves and how others see them. This, in turn, encapsulates the notion that storytelling is not a structured unit of analysis or an isolated monologue, but a complex, interactional process. Given that this project seeks to explore how racial and linguistic identities are reworked and negotiated in social interaction, a narrative and small story lens provides a useful tool for analysis.

Chapter 4 - Methodology and Data Collection

According to Mohajan (2018:2) "qualitative research is a form of social action that focuses on the way people interpret and make sense of their experiences to understand the social reality of individuals". This is a suitable approach for this research project, as it seeks to understand the lived (racialized) experiences of young South Africans, specifically those who identify as coloured, living in this post-Apartheid context. Additionally, the approach of discourse analysis and the method of focus groups are used as a means to gather data and understand how participants navigate their identities through language.

4.1.   Discourse Analysis

Nokkala and Saarinen (2018:13) emphasise that discourse analysis "is not a clear-cut theory or method, but rather an eclectic body of theoretical and methodological approaches that, broadly defined, analyse language use and its socially constructive nature in society". As previously discussed, this is important for this project which explores how racial ideologies and categories are socially constructed and inscribed and reproduced through language. With this in mind, it can be surmised that discourse analysis can help us explore how speakers use language to navigate these social discourses. As Nokkala and Saarinen argue (2018:14), "we cannot assume that language merely describes reality; it also construes the ways in which we understand and conceptualise that (social) reality." Thus discourse analysis allows us to consider the complexities of not only what is seen (described) but what is created through the speaker's language use and their narratives of lived experience.

More importantly, Yazdannik, Yousefy and Mohammadi (2017:2) highlight that,

> Many of these approaches, especially those influenced by the social sciences, favor a more dynamic study of oral talk-in-interaction. In this view, DA is concerned with how an individual's experience is socially and historically constructed by language and DA assumes that language constructs how we think about and experience ourselves and our relationships with others.

Hence, discourse analysis (DA) is a suitable approach for this research as it explores how language constructs an individual's lived experiences, both socially and historically (i.e. how those who self-identify as coloured navigate Kaaps and perform colouredness). Additionally, Johnstone (2008:3) states that discourse analysts are not centrally focused on language as an

35

abstract system. They tend instead to be interested in what happens when people draw on the knowledge they have about language, knowledge based on their memories of things they have said, heard, seen, or written before, to do things in the world: exchange information, express feelings, make things happen, create beauty, entertain themselves and others, and so on. This tells us that the expectation of DA focus on how the schemata of people influence and determine the way they interact with each other in and through language. Furthermore, Johnstone (2008:3) eloquently states that:

> Discourse is both the source of this knowledge (people's generalizations about language are made on the basis of the discourse they participate in) and the result of it (people apply what they already know in creating and interpreting new discourse).

This highlights the unlimited influence that broader social and historical contexts have on the way language is produced, used, and interpreted in everyday interaction. Additionally, this emphasises how discourse and knowledge are co-dependent, with discourse (language) being both the source and result of people's knowledge. Lastly, Jones (2012) notes four main assumptions that need to be considered when dealing with discourse. Firstly, that language is ambiguous and all communication "involves interpreting what others mean and are trying to achieve" (2012:2). Secondly, language is always 'in the world' – this means language "is always a matter of where and when it is used and what it is used to do" (2012:2). Thirdly, the way we use language is inseparable from who we are and the different social groups to which we belong, i.e., language is used to showcase different social identities and demonstrate which groups we belong to (2012:2). Lastly, language is never used all by itself – it is always in combination with non-verbal mediums as well, such as tone of voice, facial expressions and gestures (2012:2). These assumptions by Jones (2012) demonstrate that when analysing and interpreting any text, we need to recognise that discourses are contextually situated and multidimensional.

Foucault's meaning of discourse is highlighted by Yazdannik, Yousefy and Mohammadi (2017:4), who state that

> Foucault's focus is on questions of how some discourses have shaped and created meaning systems that have gained the status and currency of "truth," and dominate how we define and organize both ourselves and our social world while other alternative discourses are marginalized and subjugated, yet

36

potentially "offer" sites where hegemonic practices can be contested, challenged, and "resisted".

In this research project, this 'status' and 'currency' is the racialization of particular languages, such as the racial category of coloured being 'assigned' to the language or stylized performance of Kaaps. This kind of racial categorization through language can 'define and organize' how individuals see themselves and their social world. Moreover, this type of Foucauldian questioning allows for the investigation of how individuals navigate and reflect on this prescribed definition of their racial and linguistic identities in everyday life. Furthermore, this perspective speaks to the notion of Linguistic Citizenship, which also seeks to understand how everyday interactions can offer spaces for dominant practices to be 'contested, challenged and resisted'. Therefore, for this research, Discourse Analysis is the methodology of choice when exploring the discursively mediated complexities and lived experiences of the participants.

4.2. Data collection

This section will discuss my data collection process, in terms of recording and transcribing the data, the participants, the positionality of the researcher and its ethical stance. My data was collected at two different points – the first discussion was conducted in 2018 as part of my Honours project, while the second was conducted in 2020.

4.3. Focus Group Discussions

The first focus group from my Honours research took place in the Linguistics Boardroom at the University of the Western Cape, on the 15th of May 2018 with five participants. The recording is 73 minutes long and has 485 turns. However, for this project, only the narrative from Lee (pseudonym for one of the participants), titled *'The Niemandsville story'* will be used. See Van Niekerk, Jansen and Bock (ftc 2022) for an analysis of this Honours data.

For this Masters project, the intention was to host a focus group discussion on the premises of the University of the Western Cape (UWC) with students who attend this university. However, COVID-19 and its social distancing restrictions lead to a reconceptualization of my data gathering process towards the online space, as well as the resubmission of my ethics application due to this change in venue and communication medium. Therefore, due to lockdown restrictions and safety precautions, the second focus group was conducted via the video conferencing app, *Zoom*. As a result, on the 9th September 2020, a focus group was held with five participants via *Zoom*; with the discussion centred on colouredness. The recording is 55 minutes long and has 414 turns.

Additionally, during this second focus group, I played two videos by content creator Sherazaan Cummings, where she uses Afrikaans and Kaaps, to provide some prompts regarding their use and view of these languages in relation to their identities. The first video, titled *Pregnancies,* was played 24 minutes into the discussion. This video was published on the 1st of October 2018. It fashions a popular video trend by some South African content creators – namely the performed reactions of various racial groups to a particular life, cultural or social situation. All races are performed solely by the creator of the video. In this video, Sherazaan compares the reaction of whites to that of coloureds. This video portrays a young man's reaction to finding out that his girlfriend is pregnant. The second video is titled '*Soen toe' ('that way' meant as an instruction, e.g. "step aside"!)* which played 30 minutes into the discussion. This video was published on the 13th of June 2020. It sees Sherazaan chide an implied antagonist for treating her unfairly and taking advantage of her. Additionally, she incorporates a video snippet from a speech made in May 2020 by the President of South Africa, Cyril Ramaphosa, and music to emphasise her argument. It is important to note that Sherazaan self-identifies as coloured and her videos predominantly portray a popular, and perhaps even a stereotypical depiction of coloured experiences.

Cameron (2001:20) states that "all talk is shaped by the context in which it is produced, and where talk is being observed and recorded, that becomes part of the context". For this 2020 focus group discussion, the audio data was observed and recorded through the video conferencing app, *Zoom*. Conducting the discussion did provide some challenges. One possible influence of having it via *Zoom* is that it feels more formal, which I would say impacted and prolonged the time it took for everyone to get comfortable and treat the interaction as more of an informal conversation than an interview. However, once everyone became engaged in the discussion and let go of the formalities, it shifted to an engaging discussion between peers. Another challenge that came from having the discussion via *Zoom* is the time limit of 40 minutes that comes from using the free basic package of this app. As the researcher, this added some pressure in attempting to have all of my questions answered within that time limit, as well as not wanting to hinder the natural conversation flow. As a solution, I informed my participants that should the meeting end before our conversation reached its natural end, we would simply restart the meeting. However, *Zoom* gifted us unlimited time once we hit the 40-minute mark, allowing our discussion to continue and conclude naturally. This was needed as most of the narratives chosen for this project were told towards the end of the discussion.

4.4. Participants

The 2018 focus group consisted of five participants (four participants and one researcher). All of the four participants (two females and two males) chosen are friends of the researcher. Ellen was attaining an Honours degree in Linguistics, Shamilah was busy with an undergraduate degree in Arts, and Jason and Lee were attaining their Bachelor of Laws (LLB) degrees at the time of the discussion. However, for this project, we will only be focussing on the narrative provided by Lee. All participants (in both focus groups) are given pseudonyms to allow for anonymity.

The 2020 discussion consisted of five participants in total, four participants and one researcher. There were two males and two females:

- **Ashton** is a 21-year-old student, in the 3rd year of his undergraduate studies of his Bachelor of Arts (BA) degree, with a major in Industrial Psychology. He states that his home language is English and while he understands Afrikaans, he does not speak it.
- **Brandon** is a 22-year-old student, in his 3rd year of undergraduate studies, towards his Bachelor of Laws (LLB) degree. Brandon shares the same sentiments as Ashton – that he understands Afrikaans but chooses not to speak it and his home language is English.
- **Saarah** is a 23-year-old student, in the 2nd year of her undergraduate studies of her Bachelor of Arts (BA) degree. She states that while she gets scolded out in Afrikaans and understands it, her home language is English.
- **Jody** is a 22-year-old student, in the 3rd year of her undergraduate studies, of her Bachelor of Arts (BA) degree. She states that her home language is English, but she does speak Afrikaans sometimes.

Three of the participants (Ashton, Saarah and Jody) have the researcher as their tutor and when asked, volunteered to be part of the focus group. Additionally, because a fourth participant was needed, Ashton was asked if he could bring a friend who would be willing to participate and a student at the University of the Western Cape. As a result, Brandon became the fourth participant of this 2020 focus group.

In terms of how the focus group discussion was conducted, a list of questions (found in Annexure A) was used to provide some prompts for the conversation. Due to the topic of this research, some of the questions centred on language, race and coloured culture, for example: what languages do you speak at home? Or can you tell me about a time when being perceived as 'coloured' has held you back or worked to your advantage or disadvantage? They were also

asked their opinion of Sherazaan's videos. All of these prompts were intended to provoke a discussion regarding their racial and linguistic identities and to explore these constructs through their narratives within the focus group space.

4.5. Transcription

Cameron (2001:36) states that transcribers need to consider what conventions they might need in order to represent spoken language accurately in writing. To ensure that I represent the spoken language of the discussion as accurately as possible, I went through a particular process. Once I downloaded the recording of the focus group discussion from Zoom, I saw to transcribing the entire conversation. For the 2020 discussion, there was some difficulty in staying focused during the transcription process, once I realised that for the first half of the discussion, my voice was the most dominant throughout the conversation. The reason for this will be discussed in the positionality of the researcher section. However, the only way to avoid making careless mistakes that can impact the way the data is understood or interpreted is by listening to the recording numerous times, which was done to ensure as high a level of accuracy as possible.

Once transcribed, I identified and highlighted all the small stories. After some discussion with my supervisors, we selected four small stories from the Masters' data which spoke to my research questions. Additionally, we selected one of Lee's small stories from my Honours research to provide a more comparative and comprehensive analysis. Lastly, with the narratives chosen, I broke each extract into clauses to begin the data analysis process.

Below you will find the transcription key used in the transcription process:

Symbol	Meaning
()	non-verbal information
[]	translation
[[ ]]	overlap
…	short hesitation (less than 3 seconds)
==	latching
-	hedging

underline	emphasis

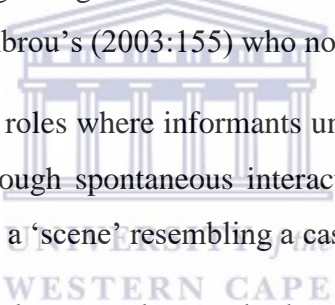## 4.6. Positionality of Researcher

Cameron (2001:20) notes Labov's Observer's Paradox which is concerned with "how the researcher's presence may affect other people's behaviour". This Observer's Paradox can influence the context of the data in terms of what the participants say, how they say it and if what they are saying is for the benefit of the researcher. Thus, in this section, I feel it is important to reflect on the dynamic between the participants and the researcher (myself).

For the 2018 focus group, all of the participants were friends of mine. While everyone from this group had never engaged as a collective before this discussion, everyone got along well. Due to this kind of relationship, the conversation quickly shifted from a formal discussion to an informal conversation amongst friends fairly early. This is noteworthy as it played a prominent role in the focus group discussion in that there was a level of comfort and an already established rapport that lent itself to the conversations at hand. Similarly, for the 2020 discussion, the participants had not engaged as a collective before this conversation. The participants were selected from tutorial groups where the researcher was their tutor. Therefore, the participants of this group did not really know each other, and had a more formal relationship with the researcher, which did impact the conversation, particularly at the beginning at the discussion. Thus, as Holmes (2020:2) notes,

> Reflexivity informs positionality. It requires an explicit self-consciousness and self-assessment by the researcher about their views and positions and how these might, may, or have, directly or indirectly influenced the design, execution, and interpretation of the research data findings (Greenbank, 2003, May & Perry, 2017).

As a self-reflection and criticism of this 2020 focus group discussion, it can be said, as mentioned above, that I allowed this dynamic of tutor and student to play a part in the discussion as I tended to host it as a tutorial (for most of its duration) rather than a conversation amongst relatively new friends. This could be because having it via *Zoom* replicated an online *Zoom* tutorial, which shaped some of the talk, as I defaulted to using some of the formalities that occur in my online tutorials for this focus group discussion. As a result, I was asking questions in a structured manner and with the intent of encouraging a specific response, holding

the floor for most of the discussion and directing the turn-taking. This might have been because I was anxious about attaining a specific type of data content. This could also be due to my own unconscious biases that were illuminated as I transcribed this data. In critiquing and reflecting on this bias, I can note that I went in expecting my participants to hold an essentializing view that their colouredness was directly linked to Afrikaans/Kaaps being their linguistic identity and the struggle that comes with this 'connection' (this is also in part due to the narrative produced by Lee (which will be discussed later). Moreover, this is because I self-identify as coloured and I have seen the shift, especially on social media, within the younger coloured community of viewing coloured as a culture and community rather than a racial category, and this sparked my research interest. Additionally, as an English-L1 speaking and mediocre Kaaps speaker, my struggle, like Lee's, is found in speaking standard Afrikaans, which led to a particular interest in my discussion (i.e. showcasing Sherazaan's videos) to explore whether others share a similar perspective and/or find comfort in Kaaps because of it.[4] Fortunately, the participants did not allow this to discourage them and resisted this influence (particularly closer to the end of the focus group) by ignoring this direction and naturally eliciting prompts through their narratives. This echoes Lambrou's (2003:155) who notes that there can be,

> A reversal in 'participant' roles where informants uncharacteristically come to dominate proceedings through spontaneous interaction may result in a shift away from an interview to a 'scene' resembling a casual conversation.

As mentioned above, this reversal occurred towards the end of the discussion, where my participants were speaking freely among themselves. This is as indicated in the way that they were overlapping, interrupting and building on each other's narratives. In this way, they were able to express and discuss the reality of their own lived experiences without any difficulties or prompting from my influence. This "backgrounded" my role, "resulting in a breakdown in the question-answer format." (Lambrou, 2003:155). Additionally, "with talk becoming freer, the obvious advantage is that the interview becomes less inhibiting for the production of narrative story-telling" (Lambrou, 2003:155) and this freedom allowed them to remain true to themselves and the narratives of their lived experience.

Holmes uses Foote and Bartell (2011:46) to highlight that,

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[4] 4 Thank you to one of my examiners for highlighting that this reflection regarding my biases and motivation for this research was needed.

> The positionality that researchers bring to their work, and the personal experiences through which positionality is shaped, may influence what researchers may bring to research encounters, their choice of processes, and their interpretation of outcomes.

This is important since my own identity (as a coloured) is also the subject of discussion, I have to acknowledge that my own lived experiences and understandings of colouredness provide a lens of having 'insider knowledge' to the data analysis process. However, because all of the participants self-identify as coloured, being "peer group members" (Lambrou, 2003:153) made the participants more comfortable or willing to speak openly about their coloured identities. However, even with this positioning and reflections noted above, my objective was to provide a space (focus group discussion) and platform (data analysis) for my participants to share their lived experiences and express their feelings and opinions in relation to their identities and language practices. Thus, despite of the constraints of having to meet online and hosting it as a tutorial for most of its duration, I am elated with the rich data that was produced by the 2020 (and 2018) focus group as it became data produced by discussion as their contributions were prompted and affected by the engagement with others and not solely from the researcher[5].

4.7. Ethical statement

The research was conducted in line with UWC's Research Ethics Policy and 'Code of Conduct' for research. All participants were informed of the purpose of the study (both orally and via an information sheet) and, when they agreed to participate, signed a consent form. They were assured that all participation was voluntary and that they were free to withdraw from the research at any time without any negative or undesirable consequences to themselves. All data is anonymised to protect the identity of participants. Additionally, should they wish to view the results of the analysis, add or delete any changes to their contributions, they were informed that I would be willing to do so.

Lastly, while the topic of race is potentially very triggering, my impression was that the students (in both focus groups) found it therapeutic and insightful to talk about race in a relatively safe space, particularly in relation to their macro and micro contexts.

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[5] Thank you to one my examiners for highlighting that the focus group discussion cannot be seen as an interview but rather a discussion that guided their focus and lead to their contributions being encouraged and stimulated by the others in the conversation.

Chapter 5 - Data Analysis

5.1. Introduction

This analysis explores how participants perform acts of Linguistic Citizenship to navigate and negotiate their racial and linguistic identities through language practices and narratives. In this section, I will be focussing on five narratives in order to explore: firstly, how participants use language to navigate, resist, align or perform their ethnolinguistic identities; secondly, which racial, social, and discourse identities are constructed or produced by the narrator and their audiences. In doing so, I show how these acts of Linguistic Citizenship challenge the broader social and historical discourses of colouredness, and crafting new emergent identities for themselves and others. Thus, the core argument of this analysis will be to demonstrate how participants reimagine themselves and move beyond racialized anxieties to subjectivities built around loving and caring relationships, in a collective narrative of pride.

5.2. The Niemandsville Story

The first narrative comes from my data collected in 2018 as part of my Honours project. In this analysis, I will focus on the way in which Lee positions himself through language as he describes how the space (the Niemandville bar) feels policed and colour-coded, with Apartheid ideologies and practices still seemingly at play. The narrative also demonstrates the complexities of colouredness and its' lived experiences. For this narrative, it is important to note that the main protagonist, Lee, is a 23-year-old student, who lives in a predominately coloured community, is in his final year of attaining a Bachelor of Law (LLB) degree and while he speaks a considerable amount of Afrikaans, says that English is his main language of communication.

This story is told in response to the researcher's question of 'was there a time when being perceived as coloured has held you back or worked to your advantage or disadvantage?'. This question is answered in the form of a narrative I have called 'the Niemandsville story'. Niemandsville (also a pseudonym) is a small wine growing and farming community located in the Western Cape and this location becomes a key influence within this story. Lee showcases three positionings through this narrative. Firstly, he positions himself as an outsider within the white space of the bar; secondly, he asserts his coloured identity; and lastly, he rejects the stereotypical coloured identity template placed upon him. All of these positions showcase the theme that spaces can feel colour-coded and that identities can feel policed.

1. **Lauren:** Do you have a story Lee?

2. **Lee:** Of being a coloured person

3. **Lauren**: Ja like when - when someone's like okay you're coloured did it work in your favour

4. is there - or was there a point where someone says you coloured no you don't

5. **Lee:** I - I have a story like just maybe it just –

6. it made me shook

7. [Some laugh]

8. **Lauren:** Shook

9. **Lee:** Uhm I was –

10. I was in Niemandsville in Worcester

11. so I was at this bar (1.0)

12. right so I just decided

13. I'm gonna have a drink there at this bar

14. and I went in

15. and I walked in

16. it was just like lots and lots of white men

17. like I was like "okay"

18. and like three Indians sitting there [some laugh]

19. and I proceed to drink

20. and this white guy comes over to me right

21. and he's like uhm "hi" like almost like "wat doen julle hier" [*what are you doing here*]

22. so I'm like "uh ek drink net uhm ja" [*I'm just drinking*]

23. and then my Afrikaans game isn't too strong really

24. it isn't like I can't say I'm coloured

25. I have to speak Afrikaans

26. I am my own coloured uhm

27. and I drink

28. and then he comes over to me

29. and he says uhm "Kom ons speel a game" - its darts - [*Let's play a game*]

30. "Kom ons speel a game coloureds teen blanke" (1.0) [*Let's play a game coloureds against whites*]

31. **Ellen**: Wow

32. **Lee**: and himself so I'm like "okay let's play"
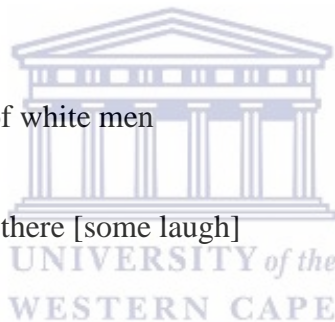
33. so we winning my friend and I

34. we winning

35. and then he basically - I'm starting to speak English now

36. cause my Afrikaans airtime is running up.

37. [Everyone laughs]

38. **Lee**: And then he basically tells me

39. "Nee wat doen jy praat Afrikaans saam met my" [*No what are you doing speak*

Afrikaans with me]

40. So I was like "why must I speak

41. just because you see"

42. "Nee jys van die Kaap [*No you're from the Cape*]

43. jy praat Afrikaans [*you speak Afrikaans*]

44. en jys coloured jy praat Afri…". [*and you are coloured you speak Afri*]

45. I'm like "ha ah ek praat engels." [*No I speak English*]

46. [[Everyone laughs]]

47. **Lee**: [[At that time]] - at that time I knew I had to leave

48. because - and before that he like I saw like his t-shirt

49. so I said

50. "Oh you work there blah blah"

51. I won't mention the company.

52. He's like "oh jy wiet". [oh you know]

53. So I'm like almost like I'm not suppose to know

54. but the reason why his perception of coloured people are like that is

55. because in Niemandsville there's a lot of farmworkers that work there

56. **Lauren:** and they all coloured

57. **Lee:** and they all coloured.

58. Now I'm not saying this

59. I might be wrong but assumptions

60. but the farmworkers they aren't given maybe as many opportunities in terms of education

61. as us coloureds in the urban setting

62. so his setting or his mindset mentality of coloureds is "okay farmworkers this is how we gonna deal with you"

63. and now someone from the urban city comes in

64. and then now his like huh taken aback.

65. So then at that time I knew I had to leave

66. because if I had to open my mouth again

67. and defend my (2.0) (Gestures to himself)

68. it would have been a major problem

69. so it was just the thing

70. of how people see coloured people

71. I mean it just like if you there in their place per se

Kindly note that because Lee refers to the other character in this narrative as 'white guy' - I will also be referring to him as such.

Lee begins the narrative by stating that the story he is about to tell, made him "shook" (line 6), where the colloquial term 'shook' is understood as meaning surprised or shocked by something that has occurred or been spoken. This foreshadows what is to come and immediately intrigues the listener.

Lines 9 – 19 serve as the orientation stage and set the scene for the narrative action. It creates an expectation that the location of the story is important and suggests that because this takes place in a bar, the atmosphere is meant to be relaxed. However, the first positioning created by Lee is that of an outsider. This is seen from lines 16 – 18, in which Lee mentions that there are "lots and lots" of white men and only a few Indians. This implies that he is the only one who identifies as coloured within that space and thus feels uncomfortable and outnumbered. Additionally, the repetition of "lots and lots" suggest that Lee views this as a white space by providing the imagery of there being a majority of white men to those of colour.

> 20. and this white guy comes over to me right

Line 20 is the beginning of the complicating action within Lee's story; however, the 'white guy' coming over does not seem to be an important observation until Lee uses reported speech to present a particular image of him. De Fina and Georgakopoulou (2012:169) state that Labov's model documented that: "reported speech can contribute to the creation of a certain self-image for the teller". Thus, this use of reported speech immediately positions Lee as the protagonist, while 'the white guy' becomes the antagonist.

> 21. and he's like uhm "hi" like almost like "wat doen julle hier" [*what are you doing here*]

22. so I'm like "uh ek drink net uhm ja" [*I'm just drinking*]

Line 21 sees Lee interpreting this greeting of "hi" as a hostile way of questioning his presence within the bar. This portrays him as seeing Lee as a threat and this effect is demonstrated when he interprets this greeting as asking: "wat doen julle hier" (*what are you doing here*). Additionally, this code-switch into Afrikaans sees Lee suggest to the audience that they should perceive the 'white guy' as a potential adversary within this context. It is interesting that after his response to the 'white guy' in line 22, Lee immediately shifts into Labov's (1972: 371) external evaluation; which is when the narrator steps out of the narrative to explain something to the audience or give their thoughts regarding what is occurring, from lines 23 – 26, to explain his difficulty in responding in Afrikaans.

23. and then my Afrikaans game isn't too strong really

24. it isn't like I can't say I'm coloured

25. I have to speak Afrikaans

26. I am my own coloured uhm

This evaluation of Lee explaining his level of Afrikaans proficiency suggests that he is rejecting the stereotype of what is considered a 'qualifying' trait of being 'an authentic coloured', namely, the ability to speak Afrikaans fluently. Lines 24 - 25 suggests that while Lee acknowledges the interconnectivity of colouredness and Afrikaans, he is seemingly rejecting the positioning that states one is required to speak or be proficient in Afrikaans in order to identify as coloured. Lee's statement in line 26 that he is his "own coloured" demonstrates some complexity, as it suggests that he claims membership to 'the coloured identity', while also being aware that because he is not a proficient speaker of Afrikaans (a language typically associated with colouredness), it sets him apart and so he feels the need to highlight his individuality. Here we see Lee attempting to break free from the dominant and 'fixed' template created and enforced (in Apartheid and post-Apartheid) for colouredness, to 'reimagine' himself as something different and beyond this qualifying characteristic. This is an act of Linguistic Citizenships as language is the site where identity juxtapositions are laid bare and where it becomes possible to perceive the sense of the self and other.

27. and I drink

28. and then he comes over to me

29. and he says uhm "Kom ons speel a game" - its darts - [*Let's play a game*]

30. "Kom ons speel a game coloureds teen blanke" (1.0) [*Let's play a game*

coloured against whites]

31. **Ellen**: Wow

Line 27 implies that by Lee stating that "I drink", he is signalling that he is going to stay, which can be seen as Lee rebelling against the interpretation he provides in line 21 (that he does not belong in that space). Moreover, signalling that he is going to stay is perhaps received by the 'white guy' who comes over to Lee in line 28, and requests that they play a game in line 29. Additionally, when he shifts from reporting the 'white guy's' request ("Kom ons speel a game") to providing more context for his audience when he states that "its darts" in English, we see Lee's awareness of those within the discussion space. It is interesting to see that this request to play a game of darts (line 29), is more of a challenge and in using racially-based terms, suggests that the 'white guy' views Lee as a threat (line 30). This is seen when the 'white guy' states "coloureds teen blanke" which means coloureds versus whites. Interestingly, the term 'blanke' is the Apartheid term for people classified and defined as "a white person" (Dictionary of South African English, 2020), which is steeped in Apartheid ideology. Moreover, the use of Afrikaans in line 30, indexes the identity of the 'white guy' as a white Afrikaner, particularly because this language is commonly used by white farmers ('boers'). The astonishment of the 'white guy' using Apartheid discourse within this post-Apartheid context is showcased when Ellen responds in line 31 with "wow". Thus, this statement, in line 30, can be linked back to the broader social discourses of the Apartheid era, where races were positioned against each other. The effect of this phrase, in line 30, is seen in the moment of silence that follows it. Furthermore, Lee uses reported speech to continue to preserve the antagonistic perception and showcase the negative attitude the 'white guy' displays towards him.

32. **Lee**: and himself so I'm like "okay let's play"

33. so we winning my friend and I

34. we winning

Lee's response to the statement in line 30, is to take up the challenge made by the antagonist when he states, "okay let's play" (line 32). Additionally, lines 33 – 34 sees Lee and his companion becoming the victors of the game. However, the repetition of the phrase, "we

winning", in both of these lines can be seen as Lee emphasising their victory as an important feat to his audience. This suggests that he is not only speaking about winning the context of the dart game but also defeating the antagonist and being able to move freely within the space.

35. and then he basically - I'm starting to speak English now

36. cause my Afrikaans airtime is running up.

37. [Everyone laughs]

Moreover, Lee acknowledges that he is starting to speak English now because his "Afrikaans airtime is running up" (lines 35 – 36). This is important because Lee might feel that in taking up this dart challenge, he has become a representative of colouredness, yet highlighting his limited proficiency in Afrikaans showcases a vulnerability within his coloured identity. Stroud (2021) states that "vulnerability in Linguistic Citizenship is thus a consequence of 'opening up' to the life of Others (stepping outside of an identitarian straight jacket)". Hence, line 36 can be related to the dominant ideology and positioning that coloureds are fluent Afrikaans speakers (the straight jacket) and by acknowledging this, he is noting that he does not fit into this positioning. By acknowledging that he is outside of the "identitarian straight jacket", he encompasses a prism of vulnerability, which "refracts the different spectra through which we 'ourselves are 'seen' and othered" (Stroud, 2021). Moreover, Lee uses humour in line 36, to lighten the conflict inherent in his positioning of being a coloured but not a fluent Afrikaans speaker.

38. **Lee**: And then he basically tells me

39. "Nee wat doen jy praat Afrikaans saam met my" [*No what are you doing*
                                                    speak Afrikaans with me]

40. So I was like "why must I speak

41. just because you see"

42. "Nee jys van die Kaap [*No you're from the Cape*]

43. jy praat Afrikaans [*you speak Afrikaans*]

44. en jys coloured jy praat Afri…." [*and you coloured you speak Afri*]

45. I'm like "ha ah ek praat engels." [*No I speak English*]

50

Lines 38 - 45 can be seen as Lee using reported speech to demonstrate the way he feels positioned and policed by the 'white guy' to be a particular kind of coloured. Here Lee notes the 'white guy' feels that because he is from "die Kaap" (*the Cape*), he speaks Afrikaans and he is coloured, he should converse with him in Afrikaans. Through this, Lee demonstrates how the 'white guy' is policing his ethnolinguistic and racial identity because he has already positioned him based on the characteristics listed from lines 42 - 44. This is demonstrated when Lee attempts to question and respond to him in English, however, the 'white guy' questions and rejects this by responding in Afrikaans. This, as Cameron (2001:169) highlights, is 'power in talk' which defines "what counts as acceptable or valuable speech in accordance with your values, interests and preferences". A possible reason for 'the white guy' insisting that Lee converse in Afrikaans could be his (the white man's) need to validate and assert the historical dominance of whites over coloureds in terms of the racial hierarchy of Apartheid.

Additionally, Lee responding in English, in line 41 - "just because you see" showcases the notion of "looking like a language, sounding like a race" (Rosa, 2018:2). In this instance, Lee's statement suggests that he feels the 'white guy' sees him as a language (Afrikaans) and thus wants him to sound like a race (coloured). This clash between Lee and the antagonist regarding what a coloured is brings up some tension, which Lee breaks by stating in Afrikaans that he speaks English ("I'm like "ha ah ek praat engels." – line 45). Here Lee is breaking the tension for the audience, while concurrently illustrating the push and pull transpiring between himself and 'the white guy'. Additionally, line 45 can also be understood as Lee struggling with the complexity of aligning and including himself with the coloured community while asserting that he does not fit the stereotype that 'all coloureds speak Afrikaans'.

46. [[Everyone laughs]]
47. **Lee**: [[At that time]] - at that time I knew I had to leave

Line 47 suggests that because Lee feels that he has to validate his colouredness, the best resolution would be to leave. Additionally, Lee is signalling that perhaps there is an undercurrent of hostility beginning to rise between them because he is resisting the dominant and expected performance of colouredness, placed upon him by the 'white guy'. However, Lee shifts from the main narrative and inserts an embedded story (lines 48 – 64).

48. because - and before that he like I saw like his t-shirt
49. so I said
50. "Oh you work there blah blah"

51. I won't mention the company.

52. He's like "oh jy wiet". [*oh you know*]

53. So I'm like almost like I'm not suppose to know

54. but the reason why his perception of coloured people are like that is

55. because in Niemandsville there's a lot of farmworkers that work there

56. **Lauren**: and they all coloured

57. **Lee:** and they all coloured.

58. Now I'm not saying this

59. I might be wrong but assumptions

60. but the farmworkers they aren't given maybe as many opportunities in terms of education

61. as us coloureds in the urban setting

62. so his setting or his mindset mentality of coloureds is "okay farmworkers this is how we gonna deal with you"

63. and now someone from the urban city comes in

64. and then now his like huh taken aback.

This embedded narrative showcases Lee's attempt in understanding the rationale behind the antagonist's behaviour. In saying that he "might be wrong but assumptions" (line 59), he suggests that while assumptions are precarious territory (as the white guy assumes what kind of coloured Lee should be), through his assumptions, Lee is attempting to understand him. Thus, in lines 62 - 64, Lee positions himself as having the advantage by highlighting that the 'white guy' has a particular mentality when dealing with coloured people in relation to their identities and language practices. Lee is once again linking this to the ideology of Apartheid that is still very prominent within this post-Apartheid context. Furthermore, the 'white guy' is "taken aback" (line 64) because in bringing his broader social context of being an urban coloured into this interaction Lee is performing an act of Linguistic Citizenship, because in challenging the dominant ideology that the 'white guy' holds, he is moving beyond the restrictive practice and understanding being imposed upon him.

65. So then at that time I knew I had to leave

Line 65 sees Lee end his embedded narrative, as he repeats the statement he made in line 41– "[[At that time]] - at that time I knew I had to leave". Furthermore, the repetition of this phrase ("at that time"), after the embedded story, also notifies the audience that he is shifting back into

the main narrative. This also suggests that he feels he has strengthened his point and reasoning for needing to leave, perhaps before the situation becomes hostile.

> 66. because if I had to open my mouth again
>
> 67. and defend my (2.0) (Gestures to himself)
>
> 68. it would have been a major problem

Lines 66 – 68 could be seen as Lee acknowledging the shift in the conversation between him and 'the white guy'. In line 66, Lee suggests that he knew if he responded to the antagonist one more time to defend his physical body (line 67) then things would take a hostile turn (line 68). Interestingly, by gesturing to his body, Lee is perhaps signalling that he is not only defending his linguistic choices and identity but also his physical being (the physical representation of these identities). This, once again, emphasises the strong influence of Apartheid ideologies within this interaction – just as 'white people' policed bodies and spaces, similarly Lee feels the 'white guy' is doing so now.

Lastly, lines 69 – 71 can be seen as the coda for Lee's narrative and sums up the moral or final evaluative point of the story.

> 69. so it was just the thing
>
> 70. of how people see coloured people
>
> 71. I mean it just like if you there in their place per se
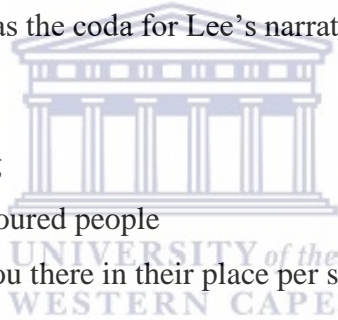
This coda allows Lee to emphasise his position in rejecting the stereotypical template of what a coloured is while emphasising his right to be his "own coloured". Additionally, he asserts his authenticity as a coloured person and evaluates why this particular perception still exists. This demonstrates that Lee is aware of the macro context of Apartheid influencing the antagonist's behaviour. This is seen in his statement from lines 69 – 70 that notes the influence of dominant Apartheid ideologies, which influence "how people see coloured people" and which is the very thing Lee is resisting. Additionally, by rejecting the restrictive Apartheid stereotype of coloureds' as predominantly Afrikaans speakers, he performs his Linguistic Citizenship by highlighting his positionality and challenging this historical template while also emphasising his individuality and subjectivity.

This resistance of "how people see coloured people" and the desire to break this perception and move beyond it, is a key theme that showcases itself throughout all of these narratives. That is why Lee's narrative can be seen as an appropriate starting point for the arguments I develop in

this chapter. The next four narratives come from my 2020 focus group. Discussions centre on how these participants discursively navigate their racial and linguistic identities, their positionings towards Kaaps and the shift from racial anxiety (as seen in Lee's narrative) towards a collective narrative of racial (identity) pride.

5.3. "You speak well for a coloured lady" (264 - 283)

This narrative was inspired in response to the discussion surrounding two comedic videos by content creator Sherazaan Cummings who uses Kaaps as one of her key comedic tools. She produces a variety of content. However, because Sherazaan self-identifies as coloured, her videos are predominantly but not limited to, coloured culture and her own lived experiences. She adds in her *Instagram* bio that "I'll take you on a journey through life experiences & k**k praat (crap talk)".

The first video I showed to my participants (& the one I will be focusing on for this discussion), titled *Pregnancies,* compares the reaction of a white guy when finding out that his girlfriend is pregnant to a coloured guy's reaction. We see that when the white girl tells her boyfriend she is pregnant, he states that it is "great news and now we can grow old together". For the 'coloured' reaction, the girl seems unsure how to tell her boyfriend she is pregnant. When she does tell him, he asks her if she is joking or if she took the pregnancy tests correctly. Once the realization sets in, he declares that his mother is going to beat him up once she finds out the news and asks his girlfriend if she can't throw the baby out of the pregnancy test. The girlfriend responds by saying that the baby does not lie in the f***ing pregnancy test, it lies in her f***ing stomach. He responds that she knows he is not working and that if that was his baby, it would not be in the pregnancy test so the baby does not belong to him. While this video might be hilarious, it made the participants feel that her performance of colouredness through Kaaps was very stereotypical. Thus, the main theme throughout the analysis of this narrative is the stance the participants take concerning the way they feel the racial and linguistic identity of colouredness is performed through this video and in relation to the understandings of their own linguistic and racial identities.

264. **Lauren:** so you so you guys feel like you watching it
    a. that she's sort of only representing one side
265. **Ashton:** I [[definitely]]
266. **Brandon:** [[hums in agreement]]
267. **Ashton:** think she's onto something definitely onto something

a. but ja she's representing maybe a very small group of people that would==

268. **Saarah:** ~very small group ja very small *gham* group (laughs)

269. **(everyone laughs)**

270. **Ashton:** ja

271. **Saarah:** we not all like that

   a. its actually okay

   b. its funny nuh

   c. because we know we not all like that

   d. but nooow some people who are not coloured are like starting to associate allll of us

   e. maybe now with seeing this video

   f. "oh you all like that

   g. you all go on like that"

   h. no we don't all go on like that

   i. [[you know what I mean]]

272. **Brandon:** [[ya you know]]

273. **Saarah:** so sometimes it can be funny

   a. but it can also have detrimental uhm factors for us that don't act like that

274. **Brandon:** ja [[do you]]

275. **Saarah:** [[you]] know what I mean

276. **Brandon:** know nuh my mother actually had this experience with so many people

   a. because she's worked in insurance for all the years

   b. and so she's comes around a lot of white clients

   c. and the thing that I've heard being said to her so many times is

   d. "you speak really well for a coloured lady".

   e. And [[that's like]]

277. **Saarah:** [[huh]]

278. **Brandon:** and my mother is a she's an she's an academic

   a. she's been to she also studied at Udubs and all of that stuff

   b. and it's just like the the the amount of like ignorance you get from people sometimes

   c. because people really think coloured peoples all about "*yeah*" and "*ja*" "*ma se kind*" "*awe*" all of that

279. **Saarah:** (giggles)

280. **Brandon:** but we not man

55

a. so like ja I-I-I-I-I see like I understand what Ashton's saying is that uhm

    b. it's just a very small very very tiny group of coloured people that actually speak like that

    c. and I think that's mainly dependent on where you went to school

    d. and what area you live in

    e. and where you've lived for all for all of your life

    f. that's the only factor that go into that

    g. it's not about being coloured

    h. that's just what I think==

281. **Ashton:** ==ja== I mean I spoke to a few white guys and black guys that speaks a bit more coloured than I do==

282. **Brandon:** [snickers] ==ja

283. **Ashton:** and I-I get a shock

    a. and I'm like wow okay

    b. I could learn a thing or two from you so

This narrative follows after the participants have discussed how they feel about Sherazaan's videos and her performance of colouredness. We see from turn 264 – 266 that the participants agree that they feel her performance only represents one perspective of colouredness. However, Ashton elaborates and further evaluates this assessment in turn 267 by stating that he understands why her videos are popular, as he mentions earlier in the discussion that while her videos are stereotypical, many can relate. Furthermore, both Ashton (turn 267) and Saarah (turn 268) declare that Sherazaan's performance only showcases a "very small *gham* group" (turn 268), who use this kind of linguistic style of Kaaps. Williams (2016) notes that

> Multilingual speakers of Kaaps remain burdened by the negative colonial and
> apartheid image of Gamtaal in South Africa. Gam, referring to one of the sons
> of Noah, carries a sense of deep shame and being cursed. In the very real biblical
> sense, it continues to plague those speakers.

Additionally, Becker (2017:255), adds that "in the 1990s, Shaheen Ariefdien made a strong point about gamtaal as the language of township 'ghetto' youth." Moreover, the spelling of this 'title' has evolved to stress "the voiceless velar fricative consonant [x]", which is "produced at the back of the tongue against the velum" and can be found in Afrikaans, with words like *gaan*

-'go' (Simon and Kunkeyani, 2014:92) or in this case, *'gham'.* Due to these connotations highlighted by Williams (2016) and Becker (2017), gamtaal or '*gham*' can be understood as meaning ghetto, uneducated and uncivilized. Thus, Saarah using this phrase, suggests that she feels that Sherazaan's exaggerated stylistic performance of Kaaps, only represents one popularised and comedic performance of colouredness that is stereotyped as being '*gham*' – which is blanketed over the entire 'racial' demographic.

271. **Saarah:** we not all like that

    a. its actually okay

    b. its funny nuh

    c. because we know we not all like that

    d. but nooow some people who are not coloured are like starting to associate all of us

    e. maybe now with seeing this video

    f. "oh you all like that

    g. you all go on like that"

    h. no we don't all go on like that

    i. [[you know what I mean]]

Turn 271 can be seen as Saarah attempting to disassociate herself from this positioning portrayed in Sherazaan's performance and prepares the foundation for Brandon's small story that is to follow. We see her acknowledge that many within the coloured community know that these stylistic and humorous performances are exaggerated and thus can find it humorous. However, she also notes that those outside of this racial group do not have this 'insider' knowledge and assume that this performance encapsulates all who identify as coloured. Moreover, she resists this perception and positioning by constantly emphasising and repeating the sentiment throughout her turn that "we are not all like that"[6], simultaneously creating and emphasising a divide between herself and this positioning of colouredness as '*gham*'. Saarah stressing her stance, not only for herself but for many others, that 'no we don't all go on like that' (turn 271h), showcases that by speaking on behalf of those outside of this "small group", she demonstrates that many do not wish to be constrained by these dominant narratives and

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[6] One of my examiners kindly noted that this phrasing can be connected to Jeanne Goosen's (1990) novel "Ons is nie almal so nie"

that their lived experiences do not conform to these stereotypes and dominant perceptions. It is this juxtaposition that Linguistic Citizenship explores, as we see Saarah acknowledge this small but dominant group and its influence on coloured identities, yet moves beyond this by acknowledging those who move and live outside of it. Furthermore, Saarah stating "you know what I mean" (271i) can be viewed as an implied question asked towards her peers in the focus group, as she looks to them to affirm her stance and solidify the 'in-group' community they have created within this focus group context.

272. **Brandon:** [[ya you know]]

273. **Saarah:** so sometimes it can be funny

      a.   but it can also have detrimental uhm factors for us that don't act like that

274. **Brandon:** ja [[do you]]

275. **Saarah:** [[you]] know what I mean

Saarah's comment seems to prompt Brandon to tell a small story, when he signals that he would like the floor to speak and attempts to begin his narrative in turn 272. However, in turn 273, Saarah feels the need to emphasize the point that while such performances are humorous, they can also be detrimental because this stereotypical and assumed dominant positioning becomes restrictive for those who do not "act like that". This can be seen as her way of rejecting this essentialized assumption and highlighting a diversity of identities for this community. More importantly, she once again seeks affirmation through in-grouping by repeating her phrase "you know what I mean" as she suggests that her statement regarding this stereotype is common knowledge. In turn 276, Brandon takes the floor to tell his story:

276. **Brandon:** know nuh my mother actually had this experience with so many

   people

      a. because she's worked in insurance for all the years

      b.   and so she's comes around a lot of white clients

      c.   and the thing that I've heard being said to her so many times is

      d.   "you speak really well for a coloured lady"

      e.   And [[that's like]]

277. **Saarah:** [[huh]]

Brandon's narrative is a prime example of Bamberg and Georgakopoulou's (2008) small stories, as while they are seen as not fully developed stories, they often serve to provide

evidence for an argument or stance the speaker is taking within a conversation. In this case, this narrative is set to align with Saarah's stance regarding the stereotypical stylized performance of colouredness and its dominant ethnolinguistic identity. In turn 276, we see Brandon providing the orientation of this narrative by discussing his mother's experience in the workplace. By using the phrase "many people", Brandon alludes to the fact that this experience is a recurring interaction his mother encounters.

Moreover, in his turn, he states that his mother works within the corporate world which allows the rest of the participants (his audience) to see his mother as a working professional. Likewise, Brandon notes that his mother "comes around a lot of white clients" (line 276b), which suggests that it is these 'white clients' who state "you speak well for a coloured lady". This engages with the assumption that 'coloureds speak Afrikaans or do not speak good English'. It is important to note that under Apartheid, the link between language, race and class was firmly entrenched as part of the project of racial segregation: If you were coloured, you spoke Afrikaans – but not necessarily the standard version that was spoken by 'white' people and you were probably also working or lower middle class. This intersection of race and class is particularly highlighted by this 'you speak well' statement. The implication is that because she is identified as coloured within this context, her proficiency in the English language is highlighted due to the stereotype suggesting that this should not be the case. The frustration and even more so the limitation of this can be seen when Brandon says, "and that's like" (line 276e), implying that this perception is incorrect and restricting. Consequently, in a context where knowledge of English by coloured people is also associated with a higher educational status, the fact that coloureds speak 'good English' is also an echo of Apartheid and the essentialized assumption that coloureds are not generally well educated, or from a lower social class. Saarah's response in line 277 ("huh"), co-constructs the shock and perhaps the ignorance in still having to engage with these Apartheid ideologies within post-Apartheid contexts.

278. **Brandon:** and my mother is a she's an she's an academic
   a. she's been to she also studied at Udubs and all of that stuff
   b. and it's just like the the the amount of like ignorance you get from people sometimes
   c. because people really think coloured peoples all about "*yeah*" and "*ja*" "*ma se kind*" "*awe*" all of that

279.   **Saarah:** (giggles)

In turn 278, we see that Brandon feels the need to justify why this statement made towards his mother is invalid. He feels the need to explain that since she is well-educated (went to uDubs – University of the Western Cape), they should not be surprised that she speaks well. As Brandon declares, "people really think coloured peoples all about "*yeah*" and "*ja" "ma se kind" "awe*" all of that" (turn 278c), which are stereotypically associated with lower socio-economic coloured people (discussed and implied in relation to Sherazaan's stylised performance earlier). However, in recent years there has been a demographical shift towards English within the Afrikaans speaking community as more and more parents have opted to send their children to English instructed schools for "social mobility and employment opportunities" (Anthonissen, 2013: 31), with Brandon and even his mother a prime example of this.

Here, Kaaps, while a choice and norm for some, is not the case for everyone who is associated with colouredness, a fact that Brandon seems to be emphasising. Additionally, in noting the "amount of like ignorance you get from people sometimes" (278b), Brandon suggests that continuing to hold onto this dominant perception showcases ignorance when dealing with the perceived speakers or those who do not conform to this expected practice. This showcases his need to challenge this perception and ultimately how we engage with each other – a key goal of Linguistic Citizenship. Additionally, in response to the stylistic examples given by Brandon in his turn, we see Saarah's giggling in line 279, highlighting the perception of Kaaps as being inherently humorous and perhaps why Sherazaan taps into this linguist style to perform her narratives.
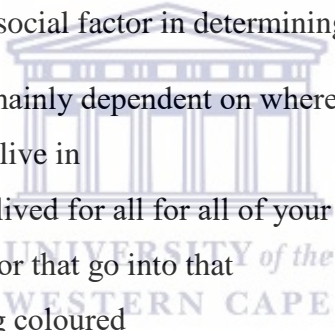
280.   **Brandon:** but we not man
    a. so like ja I-I-I-I-I see like I understand what Ashton's saying is that uhm
    b. it's just a very small very very tiny group of coloured people that actually speak like that

At the beginning of this turn (280), Brandon declares "but we not man", which is him explicitly rejecting this dominant narrative and challenging the broader historical and class discourses that this identity of Kaaps is assumed to represent. Additionally, this critic and declaration sees Brandon   perform an act of Linguistic Citizenship as he positions himself agentively to

highlight and represent those who do not conform to this expected ideology – as he and his mother (and presumably his family), have chosen English as their first language.

Furthermore, the repetitive use of "very" and "tiny" when describing the group, who, Ashton and Saarah have mentioned earlier, use easily identifiable Kaaps expressions to mark their speech as coloured within their stylised performances and linguistic expressions (i.e., Sherzaan's videos), highlights a key moment in this narrative. Firstly, that only a very small percentage use this linguistic style of Kaaps frequently and that not all coloureds are to be grouped into this practice and perception. Secondly, by decreasing the segment of the broader coloured demographic who speak this way, Brandon is perhaps decreasing their influence and the impact of this essentialized view, thus nullifying this dominant perception. Furthermore, the complexity and ambivalence here are perhaps that Brandon, when speaking on behalf of "we" (280), still aligns himself with colouredness when he speaks for those who do not use Kaaps, in the way that perhaps Sherazaan speaks for those who do. Brandon further challenges this essentialization by referring to a place of residence and schooling, perhaps a code for class, rather than race, as the important social factor in determining how you speak.

c. and I think that's mainly dependent on where you went to school

d. and what area you live in

e. and where you've lived for all for all of your life

f. that's the only factor that go into that

g. it's not about being coloured

h. that's just what I think==

This kind of perspective signals the importance of socio-economic status and class and its influence on one's linguistic repertoire, and as mentioned above, resists the notion that one race determines one's linguistic identity. Moreover, stating that "it's not about being coloured", is a powerful statement within this narrative in that it highlights a valuable point – that frequently using a particular linguistic style, such as '*awe*' and '*ma se kind*', from your repertoire is not limited to or qualifies you as being a particular kind of coloured. Additionally, in pinpointing what we need to consider regarding one's linguistic identities, Brandon is stepping out and away from this essentializing perspective and through the act of Linguistic Citizenship (considering the socio-economic status and location), challenges the dominant ideology brought on by race and language.

281.   **Ashton:** ==ja== I mean I spoke to a few white guys and black guys that speaks a bit more coloured than I do==

282.   **Brandon:** [snickers] ==ja

However, Ashton's next statement (turn 281) is significant within this narrative as he co-constructs and aids Brandon's narrative and stance. Stating that he has encountered white and black guys that speak more coloured than he does, indicates the complex intertwining of dominant narratives and lived experiences. By mentioning people from 'other racial groups' who "speak more coloured" than he does, he validates Brandon's point that it is your geographical location and education which influences your speech style rather than your racial group. This provides a counter positioning to the stereotypical expectation that all coloureds speak in a '*gham*' like speech style or use Kaaps. Interestingly, though, here Ashton expands the use of this linguistic identity/stylized performance to describe 'coloured-like' speech styles by stating that they speak "a bit more coloured than I do", thereby reaffirming that speaking Kaaps is firmly rooted in colouredness as its ethnolinguistic identity. This brings about the complex action of him attempting to move away from what it means to be coloured (the characteristic expectations) and trying to create one's own meaning of colouredness (not being confined) while still claiming this characteristic as quintessential to the identity. Thus, the movement between wanting to be an individual (unrestricted) while remaining part of a culture and group becomes multifaceted and intricate, as well as a key theme within these narratives.

283.   **Ashton:** and I-I get a shock

    a.   and I'm like wow okay

    b.   I could learn a thing or two from you so

The shock that Ashton experiences, in turn 283, highlights how deeply rooted the construct of Kaaps equating to colouredness is and vice versa. This surprise perhaps comes from the fact that it is expected that the performance of colouredness is through Kaaps and to see people, who do not self-identify as coloured, express themselves this way, challenges this notion. However, Ashton's emotion and reaction to this is significant, as he emphasises his shock with the phrase "wow" suggesting that this is something that he grapples with. Like Lee, he perhaps feels that he somehow lacks a quintessential aspect of colouredness – fluency in Kaaps. Additionally, while Ashton may have declared at the beginning of the discussion that he is English dominant and understands but does not speak Afrikaans/Kaaps, here, he states his need

62

to learn from others how to speak "coloured". This once again highlights the complexity and ambivalence between belonging to colouredness and Kaaps, along with not belonging and establishing an individual stance as an English speaker. So while he, Brandon and Saarah may feel that Sherazaan represents a very small group of coloured people, essentially disassociating themselves from this group or more importantly this speech style, Ashton still feels that he needs to "learn a thing or two" from those who speak it, to align with this group and colouredness.

This discussion has demonstrated the constant negotiation between what being a coloured is, how it is seen and what it sounds like, particularly through the linguistic stylized performances of Kaaps and the perception thereof. However, the constant shifts between both old and new perspectives (Apartheid and post-Apartheid, dominant and counter positionings) demonstrate some of the complexities and ambivalences found within these identities and its perceived linguistic identity as Afrikaans/Kaaps, which becomes significant to keep in mind as we continue to explore this in the next set of stories. Moreover, we need to understand the impact these ideologies and discourses have on participants' identity work, as this would aid in "pinpointing the structural, institutional, affective and representational conditions necessary for change" (Stroud, 2021), which will be explored in the next narrative.

5.4.   "If I say *awe* I'm probably a coloured" (303 – 309)

This story follows a statement by Brandon in which he expresses the view that he identifies as coloured because he cannot deny his multicultural ancestry, adding that this diversity is something that he is proud of. This next narrative then showcases the influence of the historical discourses and practices of Apartheid in this post-Apartheid context, as Ashton explains why he identifies and what he feels are the key markers that signal (his) colouredness.

303. **Ashton:** ja I'm almost in line with that uhm

       a.   its just like (laugh) say for example

       b.   I look at the colour of my skin

       c.   its brown

       d.   its coloured

304. **Brandon:** (hums in agreement)

305. **Ashton:** uhm my family coloured

       a.   I grew up knowing that uhm it's a fact

       b.   its more to me it's more like fact than anything else uhm

  c. so its also no no deep explanations and stuff

  d. but I mean if you look at that

  e. if-if coloured culture didn't exist uhm

  f. all the examples that they give on those memes

  g. it its kinda relatable like I said earlier

  h. and I do conform to a lot of those uhm stuff that's in the memes and whatever so ja

  i. that's why I self-identify as coloured uhm

  j. and ja even some stereotypes that go with coloureds

  k. like I will be like *awe* [(laughs)==

306. **Brandon:** ==ja

307. **Ashton:** it's a coloured thing to do

  a. so if I say *awe*

  b. I'm probably a coloured then

  c. I'm right.

308. **Brandon:** hums in agreement

309. **(everyone has a small laugh)**

In turn 303 we see Ashton begin to provide a checklist to demonstrate why he identifies as coloured. In this turn, the phrase "almost" is important here as he is declaring that while he does essentially agree with Brandon, his perspective and reasoning are a little bit different. This begins the process of Ashton demonstrating his individuality and unique, subjective experiences of colouredness. Long and Graesser (1988:36) note that humour and laughter are often used to break the tension, which is why his laughter in this turn could be to ease the tension and discomfort that comes with discussing race and even more so, claiming one's own (contested) racial identity. Ashton's lived experience, or rather his example begins with a physical description. Here he uses his skin colour as a marker of his race – not white, or black, but brown. This classification of skin colour as determining which racial group a person belongs to can be traced back to Apartheid and the Population Registration Act of 1950. Here this arbitrary trait still functions with the power of racial classification. This can also be linked back to the historical discourse of Apartheid, as "the equation of coloured people with the colour brown is entrenched in the Afrikaans language, in which words such as 'bruinman' (brown man) and 'bruinmens' (brown person) are translated as '(Cape) Coloured man' and '(Cape) Coloured person' "(Adhikari, 2006: 478).

In turn 305, Ashton expands on why he identifies as coloured. Significantly, Ashton states that he grew up knowing he and his family are coloured – that ["it's a fact"]. In doing this, he once again, emphasises how deeply entrenched the constructs of Apartheid are regarding race and identity, as it is for many South Africans within this post-Apartheid context. Stating that "it's more to me" (305b) showcases the importance of growing up knowing this fact, knowing that he and his family are coloured, as it is all he has ever known. Furthermore, stating that is a "fact more than anything else" (305b) showcases his need to validate his lived experiences as a coloured in front of his audience. This also highlights the fundamental need for those who self-identify as coloured to belong, and in Ashton's case, to speak about colouredness as a 'fact' – a lived reality.

Ashton's statement in line 305c is in response to a statement Lauren made earlier when she asked why participants identify as coloured, to which she added that she knows it is a "deep question" with Ashton here stating that his explanation is not that "deep". However, refuting the complexities and multifaceted aspects of his answer can be seen as Ashton downplaying the complexities as he seeks to establish it as 'normal'. This is an issue that is in constant flux by those who self-identify as coloured. It results in continuously needing to authenticate the validity of this community, identity and culture as well as downplaying one's membership in this group. Furthermore, he provides another characteristic within his checklist of colouredness, when he refers to the hashtag #ifcolouredculturedoesntexist (305f) which saw a surge of many who identify as coloured provide reasons as to why coloured culture does exist, in the face of opinions that state it does not, this reason being that if coloured culture did not exist, then many lived experiences, shared histories and understandings within this community would not exist. This campaign created a sense of community and belonging from and for those who created, liked, shared these memes, and used this hashtag. This movement could also be seen as the enactment or /performance of Linguistic Citizenship as those who engage with it are all attempting to claim a positive identification with and ownership of 'coloured' as an identity option, thereby challenging the negative perception and denial of this identification. This is affirmed by Ashton when he notes that the examples given within those memes are relatable to him (305f-g), which demonstrates that he is part of this community and thus it can be added to his checklist, as he actively marks why he identifies as coloured.

h. and I do conform to a lot of those uhm stuff that's in the memes

<ol type="i" start="9">
and whatever so ja
that's why I self-identify as coloured uhm

Furthermore, the constant flux between wanting to belong and opposing the limitations of this notion is seen in lines i - j. Line i ("and whatever so ja") is dismissive of these 'qualifying' characteristics, yet contrasted with the strong affirmation in the next line when he states that he identifies as coloured. This contradiction showcases how Ashton navigates the old and new racial discourses, in order to position himself as coloured in a way that enables him to be distinctly himself and not confined to a labelled social category.

<ol type="k" start="11">
and ja even some stereotypes that go with coloureds
like I will be like *awe* [(laughs)==

It is important to remember that in the preceding narrative ("*You speak well for a coloured lady*"), Ashton describes other races speaking "more coloured" than he does, which describes the speech style of Kaaps as coloured and this perception is reiterated when he states that saying '*awe*' is stereotypically coloured (line 305k-l). Moreover, this linguistic (and qualifying) example establishes another box that needs to be checked off that determines why he self-identifies as coloured. Also, using the popular and colloquial phrase of '*awe*' followed by a laugh clearly defines the use and perception of Kaaps as being humorous and predominantly part of coloured linguistic and stylized performances.

306. **Brandon:** ==ja
307. **Ashton:** it's a coloured thing to do
<ol type="a">
so if I say *awe*
I'm probably a coloured then
I'm right.

308. **Brandon:** hums in agreement
309. **(everyone has a small laugh)**

Because Ashton and Brandon are best friends and their bond with each other is stronger than with the other participants (they are also sharing the same *Zoom* screen), they give each other

a level of support and validation, even when they might not fully agree with each other's sentiments (cf. turns 304, 306 & 308). Thus, Brandon provides support and validates Ashton's statement regarding the stylistic use of Kaaps and its colouredness in turn 306. Alternatively, this could signal that Brandon also uses '*awe*'. Therefore, even though they might have demonstrated that they resist this kind of stereotypical association to this speech, by conforming they are essentially demonstrating that they do tap into these stylized performances of Kaaps and colouredness. This then allows them to "negotiate co-existence/co-habitation outside of common ground in recognition of equivocation" (Stroud, 2021) and it is living in this ambivalence that can be seen as acts or practices of Linguistic Citizenship. Hence, it is in exploring and accepting the complexities and ambiguities of lived experiences that we can begin to challenge the essentializing practices of society.

Moreover, by saying "so if I say awe"/ "I'm probably a coloured then" (line 307a - b), Ashton firmly places this speech style of Kaaps into the racial group, identity, and culture of colouredness. More importantly, Ashton underscores that the language you use, the way it is used and by whom, inherently positions and performs a particular group or category. This is emphasized in line 307c, where he emphatically states he is right in this assessment. His tone in the phrase "I'm right" also suggests that it is a silent question - Ashton is daring the other participants to contradict, as he believes that the evidence he has given proves this statement to be true. This silent question could also be seen as an act of Linguistic Citizenship as he seeks for his voice to be heard. Thus, seeking this validation through line 307c could be seen as a prerequisite for agency, which philosopher Hanna Arendt, notes is "to be heard, seen, and to have one's voice counted by others" (Stroud, 2021) and the awkward laughter in line 309 and Brandon's hum of support (line 308) could perhaps be this acknowledgement that they see, hear and count his voice.

This narrative, then, has given further complex layers to the relationship between Kaaps and colouredness, and further demonstrates how my participants are navigating this terrain through their narratives of belonging and not belonging. Additionally, in this data, we see how the participants reject the narrow ethnolinguistic identities imposed on them as a result of the Apartheid ideologies, and point to more diverse and heterogeneous options for colouredness, especially as the sociolinguistic and geographic boundaries of Apartheid break down and blur post-Apartheid. What I think is interesting, and pervasive so far in my data, is the desire expressed by all of the participants to step out of these constricting 'boxes', whether they be

67

racial categories or linguistic identities, and break free from these very strong associations between race, language and class. However, this becomes more complex in that, in their desire to break free, they are also taking part in a kind of internal othering, positioning themselves as 'better than' those coloureds whom they have labelled as "gham" and "farmworkers" because they have more education or grew up in an area with a higher socio-economic status, or because they have English as L1 to demonstrate this divide and rebellion.[7]

In this next narrative, we see how the participants' move beyond this notion of belonging and not belonging to bring forth new subjectivities and counter positionings of and for colouredness.

5.5.   'We chameleons' (310 – 325)

This narrative continues to build on the themes developed by the preceding ones by showcasing the fluidity and adaptability of colouredness, which the participants claim is unique to this identity.

The macro context of social media comes into play within the local context of the focus group as participants discuss the essence and community of coloured culture. This is seen when one of the participants refer to a joke made by Trevor Noah. This joke was performed during Trevor Noah's 2013 comedy tour - *African American*. In this joke, Noah explains that because he was going to America, he was willing to put in the work to becoming black. This led to him spending every moment of that 18-hour flight from South Africa to America practising 'being black', as he was not going to let this "blackatunity" pass him by. He watched every black movie and TV show he could, as well as practising popular African American phrases. Proud of his progress and fluency in 'black' American, when he arrived at the airport he talked like them, walked like them, and felt 'super black'. However, while at the airport a man (implied to be of Latino descent once he spoke) came up and started speaking Spanish to him, as well as stating that "their kind have to stick together". This results in Noah realising that while he thought he would be black in America; he was seen as Puerto Rican. This incident where Trevor was perceived as Puerto Rican instead of black is a similar perception that occurs in South Africa, where he is viewed as 'coloured' even though he identifies as black. This is because many in the coloured community see him as coloured. After all, his mother is black, and his father is white, making him mixed-race (which is the popular and essentialized definition of

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[7] Thank you to one of my examiner's for this insightful perspective and observation.

coloured identity). This showcases a key moment of macro and micro contexts interweaving to validate a stance discussed by the participants throughout this narrative.

310. **Saarah:** ja I agree uhm for me
    a. I look at the-the white side and the black side and I don't fit in either of those
    b. okay maybe some aspects of it I can
    c. but I'm I relate more to the coloured community
    d. so that's why I associate myself as coloured (laughs)
    e. so yes I have uhm ancestors that were white and whatever
    f. but I'm not white
    g. so I'm an in-between
    h. so then I would have to be coloured
    i. and I don't think there's anything wrong with being coloured
    j. I just think that people have made it seem negative to be a coloured
    k. but we can still change that
    l. and show them that its nothing wrong with being a coloured
    m. it's actually a great honour to be a coloured (laughs)
    n. I'm proud to be coloured

311. **Ashton:** I agree I agree
    a. damn I mean we can also just go around making another race
    b. maybe a bit off topic
    c. but we can also go around making another race look bad you know
    d. like when people stereotype with coloureds and stuff
    e. uhm we can do the same
    f. and be like ja==

312. **Jody:** ==but we don't

313. **Saarah:** ==but we don't
    a. [[we don't we make memes]]

314. **Ashton:** [[(untranscribable)=

315. **Saarah:** about you

316. **(everyone laughs)**

317. **Brandon:** but you know what [[I]]

318. **Ashton:** [[we talk crap=

319. **Brandon:** I do think

      a.   uhm I think that that's also the beauty of being a coloured is

      b.   because we can fit in with any group of people in this country

      c.   like a if we have to go to a white group of people we can just be like we belong there

      d.   we go to a black group of people we can act we belong there

      e.   because of who-who we are and where we come from so==

320.   **Ashton:** ==hmm

321.   **Saarah:** ==we chameleons

322.   **Brandon:** ja that's why it so good to be coloured in this country

      a.   and even around the world

      b.   people don't like if I have to go to Europe people think I'm from Asia

      c.   if I have to go to America people won't think I'm black if I have to go to==

323.   **Saarah:** ==they think you Mexican (laughs)

324.   **Brandon:** ja they'll think I'm from like South America or something

      a.   or they'll think I'm Indian or whatever

      b.   but I mean the beauty of being coloured is that can fit in anywhere and-and

325.   **(everyone hums in agreement)**

Saarah's turn follows Ashton's and delves into why she identifies as coloured. In Saarah's turn, she refers to the 'elementary' or historical understanding and perception of colouredness. She explains that when she looks at the white side and black side (310a), she does not fit into these two categories, and thus relates more to the coloured community (310c). This allows us to see that Saarah identifies as coloured through a process of elimination, meaning that through this process she has eliminated herself from these two categories (perhaps because she does not fulfil certain qualifiers), therefore because she is in the middle, she must be coloured. Moreover, this process of elimination (which has been imposed upon her and many others) highlights and showcases the historical Apartheid context which used this kind of process (Population Registration Act of 1950) to allocate the population into different racial groups[8]. Thus, a key aspect to explore within her small story are the complexities found within her lived

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[8] One of my examiners kindly noted that this can be linked back to the period of transition in South Africa when people were confronted with decisions as to which side [white, black, coloured] they would represent, and how essentializing terminology could be challenged. The participants touch on this in referring to their skin or to using words like "awe"

experience, in which she projects the historical Apartheid context into this post-Apartheid context, yet still feels it is a great honour to be coloured.

310. **Saarah:** ja I agree uhm for me

    a. I look at the-the white side and the black side and I don't fit in either of those

    b. okay maybe some aspects of it I can

    c. but I'm I relate more to the coloured community

    d. so that's why I associate myself as coloured (laughs)

From lines 310 – d, Saarah's demonstrates, as Ashton has in the previous narrative, the age-old Apartheid practice which used arbitrary 'qualifying' traits to allocate someone into a racial category, "which then become binding in respect of all spheres of experience from then on" (Posel, 2001:58). Moreover, this suggests that her experiences are 'bound' in colouredness, making the complexity of her ambivalence seen when she states she does not "fit in either of those" (black or white), yet in some 'aspect' she can fit it in (line 310b). This demonstrates that while she seems more comfortable with colouredness, she does not reject some of the familiarity that comes from the other racial groups. Moreover, using the word "associate" in line 310d, suggests that it is her choice to identify as coloured, compared to the Apartheid era where this label and construct was given to you without the freedom of choice.

    e. so yes I have uhm ancestors that were white and whatever

    f. but I'm not white

    g. so I'm an in-between

    h. so then I would have to be coloured

In lines 310e – h, Saarah negotiates with the historical narrative of mixed race being understood as being half black and white making the racial group known as coloured. This historical reference to her "white ancestors" can be linked to two things, the first being a reference to "the nineteenth-century European eugenicist concept referring to 'race mixture' specifically between white masters and black female slaves" (Erasmus, 2001: 17); or to the practice where some coloureds could 'pass' as white and move up the racial hierarchy to improve their social and economic class – linking this to the aspirations of whiteness (Milner-Thornton, 2009: 201). However, Saarah plays this off by adding "whatever", when she states that she has white ancestors. By adding this phrase, she is diminishing her preceding statements, and plays it off

as if it might be an influence on her heritage and identity but does not define the entirety of who she is. Moreover, by stating what she is not, yet also noting that she is "in-between" performs an act of Linguistic Citizenship by agentively giving voice to her positionality and othering/ambivalences through this process. This declaration of being in-between allows for us to see how rather than just stating what it means to be coloured (i.e. defining it), she is freely living in this 'border zone' of racial classifications.

i. and I don't think there's anything wrong with being coloured

j. I just think that people have made it seem negative to be a coloured

k. but we can still change that

l. and show them that its nothing wrong with being a coloured

m. it's actually a great honour to be a coloured (laughs)

n. I'm proud to be coloured

While Saarah highlights the freedom in being coloured in the previous lines, here she acknowledges the negative connotations that come with this middle status and the label of coloured. She creates this us-versus-them context when she surmises that people have seen being coloured as negative, yet counteracts this by stating that there is "nothing wrong with being coloured". This justifies her stance towards colouredness as she evaluates the perception that she and others have of this identity. Moreover, by stating "we can still change that", she uses "we" to create an in-group with her audience (the participants of the focus group), as she advocates that those 'within' colouredness have the responsibility to change the negative perception of those outside of it. This can also be seen as Saarah enacting her Linguistic Citizenship as she uses language to give agency and voice to her stance and to challenge the way colouredness is seen and heard. Moreover, this advocacy is reiterated when she emphasises "great honour" in being coloured which firmly establishes her stance in this campaign.

Additionally, stating that "there is nothing wrong with being a coloured" highlights one of the main conflicts that many have to navigate constantly, which is having to justify and validate the coloured culture, its identities and its continued existence. She is also perhaps highlighting the counter-narrative which has taken place in recent years, particularly on social media, of being proudly coloured and seeing it as a "great honour". One frequent example of this comes from a popular social media group called *VannieKaap,* who celebrate coloured culture and once famously posted, "When it comes to my culture, my first purpose is not defending it … it's just living it" (*vannie.kaap,* 2020). Additionally, one social media user, who received

backlash for her Twitter thread titled "*So what is coloured culture??*" – saw her responding on Instagram, with a snippet of that statement stating:

> For far too long, coloured people have been shunned, seen as lesser than, and had our existence reduced to nothing but a mere reminder of the Apartheid regime.
>
> To all my coloured people who resonated with what I said - thank you. Be loud and proud to be part of a MULTI-cultural racial group that is blessed enough to be the product of struggle and perseverance from our ancestors who paved the way for us to do and accomplish great things. We are worthy & We are relevant." (Colbert, 2020)

These kinds of discussions taking place can be seen as acts of Linguistic Citizenship as they attempt to deconstruct/challenge the dominant essentialized ideology of colouredness. More importantly, we can see that all of these participants (i.e. Ashton and the coloured culture memes) are engaging with social discourses circulating online, which highlights the intersection of macro and micro contexts. Moreover, the macro influence of these discourses is seen within the micro context of this focus group when Saarah uses this kind of advocacy in her turn, which further solidifies her perspective and campaign by creating a macro sense of belonging beyond the micro setting of this gathering.

311. **Ashton:** I agree I agree
    a. damn I mean we can also just go around making another race
    b. maybe a bit off topic
    c. but we can also go around making another race <u>look bad</u> you know
    d. like when people stereotype with coloureds and stuff
    e. uhm we can do the same
    f. and be like ja==
312. **Jody:** ==but we don't
313. **Saarah:** ==but we <u>don't</u>
    a. [[we don't we make memes]]
314. **Ashton:** [[(untranscribable)=
315. **Saarah:** about you
316. **(everyone laughs)**

In turn 311, Ashton seems to heed Saarah's call to action, as he co-constructs and validates Saarah's campaign to show that it is "a great honour to a coloured" (310m) when he states "we" (meaning coloureds) can also make another race look bad. He is referring to the current tensions that have arisen due to "other races" demeaning and critiquing colouredness, particularly on social media, as mentioned above, or as Ashton elaborates, using stereotypes to make coloureds "look bad" (lines 311c-d). Furthermore, these two lines support and imply that there is evidence that strengthens Saarah's stance regarding how people perceive and engage with colouredness. This demonstrates how coloured identities are still being positioned within its historical narrative and how these participants are beginning to showcase how many (outside and inside of colouredness) are engaging with this construct because of it.

Additionally, Ashton's statement here about how "people stereotype coloureds" (311d), could be because stereotypical opinions and prejudices are still very much in place regardless of the 'taking back the power' movement that has been in circulation on social media. Likewise, it highlights this deep sense of hurt, where this generational undercurrent still allows the continued utilization of these stereotypes and prejudices to perpetuate and make it seem as if one race is inferior to the other. Yet, his tone when saying "we can do the same" suggests that even though they have this choice, they are more powerful because they choose not to follow this stereotypical path. As Ashton begins to provide examples of how they can make other races look bad, he is interrupted when Jody and Saarah both say: "but we don't" (lines 312 - 313) – emphasising Ashton's sentiment of restraint and demonstrating the solidarity and belonging they have formed within this context. Moreover, this assertive statement made by the participants (turns 311 – 313) could also be seen as them berating those who use these tactics of stereotyping and making other "races look bad", which, once again, shifts the power back to colouredness, in relation to these stereotypes and prejudices attempting to take it away from them.

In addition, Saarah brings the aspect of humour into this discussion by stating that 'we make memes' (line 313a) which demonstrates that they prefer not to behave as "other races" but rather to use humour. . This kind of resistance and weapon of choice can also be seen as them rejecting the dominant/favoured practice of stereotyping and defamation as they take a more strategic approach through humour. It is as Purdie (1993:82) cited in Fransman (2005:49) notes, "comedy allows the boundary to be crossed, marked by laughter, while still maintaining that the taboo has been recognised". This kind of 'recognition' is seen when Saarah says "about

74

you" (turn 315), which confirms that humour is how this community engages with others, especially those with the intent of causing harm or mocking certain 'stereotypical' characteristics. This is a sentiment that everyone seems to agree with and reinforces through their laughter in line 316.

> 317. **Brandon:** but you know what [[I]]
> 318. **Ashton:** [[we talk crap=

Here Ashton echoes Saarah's statement ("we don't we make memes" – line 313a) about coloured culture when he states "we talk crap (*nonsense*)" once again alluding to the humorous side of colouredness. This refers to not taking things so seriously and joking around, which creates another sense of understanding and belonging. Additionally, the use of humour in this strategic way through memes and 'talking crap' could be seen as acts of Linguistic Citizenship, as these participants are highlighting that through humour, they can create agency and voice for themselves and colouredness as a way of taking back control from dominant ideologies and stereotypes surrounding this community.

> 319. **Brandon:** I do think
>> a. uhm I think that that's also the beauty of being a coloured is
>> b. because we can fit in with any group of people in this country
>> c. like a if we have to go to a white group of people we can just be like we belong there
>> d. we go to a black group of people we can act we belong there
>> e. because of who-who we are and where we come from so==

As Saarah before him, Brandon expands on this with his evaluation in turn 319 on what colouredness means to him. In turn 317, he says "but you know what" which could be Brandon requesting the floor to speak, as everyone seems to be latching on or interrupting each other at this point in the discussion, perhaps due to their excitement regarding this discussion. As his turn begins again in line 319 we see him support and co-construct the declarations made by the other participants by declaring that the beauty of colouredness is the 'in-betweeness'. With beauty being understood as something pleasing to the eye, we can suggest that Brandon is providing a counter positioning as to how colouredness is seen by the participants, in relation to its dominant positioning which might hold more negative connotations (cf. turn 310 and

311). Additionally, while Saarah limited her spectrum to black and white (310a) Brandon expands this to "any group in this country" (319b), highlighting that being an 'in-between' provides freedom and fluidity that they enjoy under the construct of colouredness. Likewise, while Saarah creates an imagery of colouredness on a linear spectrum between white and black, Brandon reworks this spectrum and views it as having the freedom to move in any direction he deems the context or space requires. This is confirmed when he notes that they can do this because of "who they are and where they come from" (319e) – which implies a diverse and generational tradition that has been passed down and produces a sense of belonging.

320.   **Ashton:** ==hmm
321.   **Saarah:** ==we chameleons

Saarah aptly states "we chameleons" when referring to this practice of fitting in with anyone and anywhere. When one thinks of a chameleon, one thinks about the creature's ability to change and blend, dependent upon its environment. Here we see Saarah refer to colouredness as this ability to change and blend as chameleons do, to belong and to generate a sense of community. This allows the participants to enact their Linguistic Citizenship as this chameleon ability provides an agency of flexibility and fluidity, which moves them away from the limitations, historical and dominant ideologies placed on this 'racial' community and showcases the freedom to move across boundaries, something that has been denied to them for a very long time.

322. **Brandon:** ja that's why it so good to be coloured in this country
            a.   and even around the world
            b.   people don't like if I have to go to Europe people think I'm from Asia
            c.   if I have to go to America people won't think I'm black if I have to go to==
323. **Saarah:** ==they think you Mexican (laughs)

Turns 322 – 324 sees Brandon boast that the ability to be a chameleon and fit in anywhere is "why it so good to be coloured in this country". This takes away the stigma of colouredness being weighed down by the negative connotations of Apartheid and gives it a kind of adaptability and flexibility that has perhaps been overlooked. Furthermore, even though the construct of colouredness only exists in South Africa, he expands this 'chameleon' ability beyond South Africa (line 322a– 324b). It is this need to move beyond the limits or boundaries,

placed upon him and this category, which can be seen as Brandon enacting his Linguistic Citizenship as he expands this ability and flexibility of colouredness, outside of its creation (i.e. South Africa) and what it means to be a coloured. Moreover, it can be said that this is not limited to members who self-identify as coloured, but any individual who wishes to not have any racial or cultural limitation placed upon them. They want the freedom to be whoever they want and not be limited by race, language, identity, class, etc.

Additionally, in turn 322 we see Brandon refer to the Asian genealogy (heritage) that can be linked to the heritage of some who identify as coloured and due to the slave trade which occurred at the Cape (Rassool, 2019:3). Moreover, Brandon stating that if he goes to America, "people won't think I'm black" can be linked to two things. Firstly, saying he will not be identified as black could be commenting on the current notion in South Africa, that while coloureds fall under the umbrella of People of Colour (POC) and are also labelled as black, many coloureds do not identify as black and feel as if it is a separate category. Secondly, in conjunction with Saarah's co-construction in line 323 – "they think you are Mexican" – refers to the joke performed by Trevor Noah (as described in the introduction of this narrative). This suggests that Brandon's and Saarah's reference to this joke means that this lived experience told by Noah could be representative of a foreshadowing for them, as they feel that they would have a similar lived experience if they went to America, as people would not assume that they are black but rather Mexican/Puerto Rican. This moment sees the intersection of macro and micro contexts, which demonstrates how these discourses used on social media platforms could come into play within local and global interactional contexts, to shape and support positionalities.

324. **Brandon:** ja they'll think I'm from like South America or something

    a. or they'll think I'm Indian or whatever

    b. but I mean the beauty of being coloured is that can fit in anywhere and-and

325. **(everyone hums in agreement)**

Additionally, line 324a, sees Brandon continue to proclaim ancestral heritage to perhaps highlight the multicultural aspects of colouredness. Moreover, this perception shifts from the historical positioning that coloureds are stuck within a linear state of belonging and not belonging and provides a new positioning that shows how they are able to create their own sense of belonging, with whomever and wherever. Line 324b sees Brandon sum up this point by repeating his statements from lines 319a – b ("uhm I think that that's also the beauty of

being a coloured is/because we can fit in with any group of people in this country") which is the key point of his narrative and creates an appeal and pride, to and for this diverse and multi-faceted identity.

5.6. 'They just want to be coloured' (326 - 330)

In this extract, the participants take the re-imagining of colouredness a step further as they recount how 'non-coloured' people actually desire to be more like them. Thus, in this last extract, we see how the participants' stances have shifted from the anxiety of Lee and Brandon, to the pride of Saarah, and here to the desirability of being coloured, such that 'other races' wish to emulate and become more 'coloured'.

The macro context of social media and pop culture is once again influential in this narrative, due to the increase of Kaaps within South African hip hop in recent years. Williams notes in his 2016 article posted in the *Mail & Guardian* titled '*Afrikaaps is an act of reclamation'* that during the 1980s and 1990s,

> Hip-hop artists felt it necessary to recover the positive images that were connected in the minds of multilingual speakers about the style and speech practices of Kaaps. By doing so, they actively worked to empower young coloured and black speakers of Kaaps linguistically on the Cape Flats and beyond (Williams, 2016).

These kinds of performances by popular artists have resulted in many emulating what they see from these celebrities in order to be just like them. Furthermore, while "this music legacy goes unnoticed by mainstream media …it's given a lot of attention on social media" (Williams, 2018), which has seen this linguistic style of Kaaps and ethnic representation gain traction and popularity, particularly through artists such as Youngsta CPT, who, on his website, describes his sound as 'Kaapstad' [Cape Town] (2017) and is known for using Kaaps to illustrate, describe and empower the coloured narrative and lifestyle. It can be said that this use of Kaaps has increased its popularity beyond those who identify with colouredness.

326.　　**Jody:** and I also know
   a. like I know a lot of people that also wants to be coloured
   b. like I went to a uhm private white school
   c. and I can tell you that there is a lot of children like white children that wants to be coloured

327. **Saarah:** yes

328. **Jody:** like even the way they talk

    a.   the way they dress

    b.   the people that they hang out with

    c.   they just want to be coloured

    d.   and I've also got like uhm psychologist

    e.   she is from Europe as well

    f.   so she tells me

    g.   like sometimes she literally just goes to a train station to hear how coloured people talk

    h.   because she just loves the humour that's amongst us

    i.   and she just likes everything about it

329. **Saarah:** there is no like us

330. **Brandon and Ashton:** ja

In this narrative we see Jody move away from the aspirations of whiteness (Milner-Thornton, 2009) and blackness towards the aspiration of colouredness. This follows and builds on the narrative discussed above (*We Chameleons*). All the participants, together, are building a counter-narrative and positioning of colouredness, which can be seen as the enactment of Linguistic Citizenship as they resist and challenge the negative and dominant narrative, particularly portrayed in some social media – and one that was entrenched as a narrative of inferiority during the Apartheid era. In line 326, Jody states "and I also know" requesting her turn to have the floor and informing her audience that she has something to add to this discussion. It is important to note that for a large part of the discussion, Jody spoke the least out of all of the participants. However, at this point in the conversation, we see her engage and offer her own story. Moreover, when she states that she "knows a lot of people who want to be coloured" – I believe she is referring to broader social aspirations of colouredness. Rather than depicted as caught in a struggle between belonging and not belonging, colouredness is now seen as a group that has racially diverse people wanting, if not wishing, to belong. This shift creates a new subjectivity and positionality for colouredness and rewrites the dominant narrative, thereby demonstrating how the participants are using these kinds of narratives to navigate and challenge the broader macro discourses that circulate in the media and society.

In line 326b, Jody states "like I went to a uhm private white school", an indicator of the level of socio-economic class that Jody is from. And the "uhm" (line 326b) could demonstrate how uncomfortable she might be with sharing this privilege of going to a private ('white') school. It also demonstrates how the socio-economic shift from working class to middle class within the coloured community has increased diversity in what is perceived as a white space within post-Apartheid contexts. Additionally, we see Jody tap into her lived experiences and provide an insight into the aspirations of colouredness, when she notes that "a lot of children" want to be coloured, which broadens the scope of this aspiration. However, she further specifies that it is "white children" who want to be coloured, linking this to her previous statement about going to a private white school. Additionally, comparing this statement to an Apartheid practice, we see the shift from coloureds aspiring to whiteness during Apartheid to move up in social and economic class, to now "white children" aspiring to colouredness due to its 'pop culture' appeal.

327.   **Saarah:** yes

328.   **Jody:** like even the way they talk

       a.   the way they dress

       b.   the people that they hang out with

       c.   they just want to be coloured

Here Saarah validates Jody's claims in turn 327 which motivates Jody to explain the attributes that are being aspired to. This is seen in turn 328 where she lists how these children have changed and fashioned their mannerisms and speech styles (Kaaps) to be coloured. This demonstrates and perhaps even validates Brandon's point regarding "the beauty of being coloured" (line 319a) and Saarah's statement of being coloured as "a great honour" (line 310m). Moreover, a possible reason for this aspiration and the popularity of this kind of stylized performance of colouredness can be attributed to hip hop culture which has always had a big influence on the youth and determining what is popular culture. Furthermore, by saying "they" in turn 328, she creates a clear distinction between those that are coloured and those that try to be, presenting a different positioning of colouredness that seems more appealing and exclusive through this differentiation between her and "they" for us to view. Moreover, it shifts away from the dominant narrative of there being something wrong with colouredness, as mentioned by Saarah, towards a symbol of esteem.

In turns 326 and 328 we see Jody provide an insider's perspective of people wanting to be coloured within the context of South Africa and its citizens. However, Jody expands on this aspiration, just as Brandon does, to people from outside of these borders, namely her psychologist from Europe:

d. and I've also got like uhm psychologist

e. she is from Europe as well

f. so she tells me

g. like sometimes she literally just goes to a train station to hear how coloured people talk

h. because she just loves the humour that's amongst us

By opening up this turn with the marker, "uhm", we see that Jody may be once again a bit uncomfortable mentioning that she has a psychologist (as that might hold some stigmas) but uses it to validate her point. Secondly, by stating that the psychologist is from Europe, she is giving her audience a third-party perspective to further validate her claims and explain why colouredness has its appeal. Additionally, she could be using her psychologist as a voice of authority to endorse her claim. The psychologist is not only highly educated but also European (not South African) – so this admiration of colouredness comes from a legitimate, well-educated and 'powerful' outside perspective. Additionally, the appeal is further demonstrated by explaining that the psychologist would go to the train station to hear how coloured people talk (turn 328g). This context of the train station is because many from the working class depend on the train service to take them to their relevant places of work. This makes the train station a place to congregate and converse while waiting for the train, which allows this space to become an inspired and resourceful spot to observe and become a part of this interaction, a sort of ethnography if you will. This suggests, even more so, the appeal of Kaaps and its stylizations. Additionally, the humorous aspect of Kaaps is seen here and validated once again when Jody states that not only does the psychologist like to hear them speak, she also "loves the humour amongst us" (line 328h). The shift from "they" to "us" demonstrates which group Jody feels she belongs to, as well as which aspects of colouredness she is proud to associate herself with. In this case, it solidifies how deeply entrenched humour is in the performance, understanding and community of colouredness. Furthermore, it highlights how humour and colouredness are something the participants are proud to be associated with and openly

advertises their relation to it (cf. line 328h of this narrative & lines 313a, 318 & 321 of the previous narrative).

i. and she just likes everything about it

In line 328i, Jody states that the psychologist just likes everything about "it". This 'it' could be referring to colouredness and reiterating her claims regarding the appeal of colouredness, particularly because an outside source has legitimised the culture and identity.

329.   **Saarah:** there is no like us
330.   **Brandon and Ashton:** ja

This is reaffirmed by Saarah who states in turn 329 that "there is no one like us" creating an unequivocal uniqueness about colouredness and validating all the points made within the previous narrative and this one. Additionally, Brandon and Ashton agree with Saarah's declaration and affirm this uniqueness and honour in holding membership to the community of colouredness, with all its diverse, complex and ambivalent lived experiences and multiple perspectives.

5.7.   Conclusion

It is interesting to note how the participants' shared construction of colouredness moved from anxiety to pride within the space of the focus group. This shift allowed them to re-connect with the positive re-imagined notion of colouredness as flexible and hybrid – even more so, admired, desirable and aspirational. Moreover, this kind of focus group space and storytelling moved beyond simply being a 'formal discussion' and became a conversation, which I would argue had a positive, almost 'therapeutic' effect on the participants. One could argue that the focus group created a space for the participants to enact their Linguistic Citizenship, as it enabled a positive reconnect for the participants in the reimagining of their racial identities

Chapter 6 – Discussion and Conclusions

In this thesis, I have discussed how different scholars (Erasmus & Pieterse, 1999; Posel, 2001; Erasmus et al., 2001; Adhikari, 2004; Petrus & Isaacs-Martin, 2012; Nilsson, 2016) explore contemporary coloured identities and the ways in which they are described as still restricted by Apartheid's racial designations and criteria. This suggests that colouredness is an example of a bigger post-Apartheid transformation dilemma, particularly because of its intermediate status within the active hierarchy of races. As Fransman (2005:133) eloquently states, "the motto that diversity should continually be reflected in South Africa holds promise for the future, but this call should acknowledge the negotiations of identities still in-process". This statement describes what this thesis is all about, the negotiation of identities still in process. We have seen through my data, an exploration of coloured identities and the many complexities and ambivalences found within and around them. This thesis has also argued that Linguistic Citizenship is a pertinent theoretical framework for this exploration of identities as it draws attention to the ways in which they are negotiated through language in everyday interactions. Therefore, to answer my research questions, which firstly asks, how participants use language to navigate, resist, align or perform the ethnolinguistic identities; secondly, which racial, social, and discourse identities are constructed or produced by the narrator and their audiences. And lastly, to investigate how they enact their Linguistic Citizenship by challenging the broader social and historical discourses about colouredness and crafting new emergent identities for themselves and others. I will be using Bamberg and Georgakopolou's (2008) three levels of positioning to explore the positionings, complexities and ambivalences produced and showcased by the participants through their narratives.

Stroud (2021) states that "Linguistic Citizenship seeks to provide a framework for critically interrogating the historical, socio-political and economic determinants of how languages and subjectivities are constructed, ideologized and practised, at the same time as pinpointing the structural, institutional, affective and representational conditions necessary for change." I feel that this thesis has critically explored how Apartheid ideologies and master narratives are still in play and functioning in relation to identity work and language expression among coloured youth. This is particularly seen through the participants being aware of the ethnolinguistic identity of colouredness being constructed in and through Kaaps, as well as, for some of them, the understanding of their colouredness through the lens of Apartheid ideologies. However, what is prevalent is that while they may tap into these dominant, racialized and historical

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ideologies, they implore many different strategies to resist this and create their own kind of colouredness. This is seen through their language practices, stylized performances, the strategic tool of humour and their own lived experiences.

Moreover, Stroud (2021) states that "acts of Linguistic Citizenship instantiate acts of languaging as 'going beyond'. Re-articulating linguistic with citizenship opens our eyes to the possibility of radically reimagining ourselves through language rather than language using us to affirm the inevitable of the status quo". This leads us to Bamberg and Georgakopoulou's (2008:385) level 3 positioning which looks at how the speaker/narrator positions a sense of self/identity with regard to dominant discourses or master narratives. Using this level, we see how participants have demonstrated through these narratives how they navigate and engage with the historical perceptions and discourses surrounding colouredness and Afrikaans/Kaaps. This introduces the dominant or master narrative of Kaaps being the ethnolinguistic identity of colouredness, which most of the participants were not entirely opposed to using, in certain communicative interactions. However, we see them simultaneously attempting to resist and ultimately change this overarching identity narrative (racial and linguistic) by rejecting the stereotypical connections (of its speaker being seen as ghetto and uneducated) and ideologies (being intrinsically and solely coloured) attached to this language. Thus, this intersection between both old and new perspectives (Apartheid and post-Apartheid), dominant and counter-narratives, is demonstrative of the complexities found within this 'identity' and its perceived linguistic one. Moreover, the constant negotiation between what colouredness is and how it is seen, particularly through its ethnolinguistic expression, highlights Linguistic Citizenship in that, the language practices of Kaaps/Afrikaans are constructed as the expression and performance of colouredness, providing a macro context that has framed colouredness in and through Kaaps. Yet, the sporadic use of this linguistic variety and dominant use of English by the participants showcases the constant movement between the dominant discourses, counter-narratives and lived experiences. Additionally, it can be noted that this translanguaging/code-mixing between Afrikaans/Kaaps and English that is used by the participants, testifies to their bilingual repertoires[9]. Moreover, in having the freedom of choice regarding their linguistic identity, these participants are able to imagine themselves differently, rather than affirming the status quo that Kaaps equals colouredness and vice versa.

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[9] Thank you to one my examiners for this insightful observation and feedback and that "while contesting fluency in Afrikaans and claiming English-L1 identity and preference, their receptive and 'actually not poor' spoken proficiency in Afrikaans could be noted".

As this project evolved in its exploration of colouredness, the common themes found between Lee (2018) and Brandon's (2020) narratives became abundantly clear. Interestingly, both of their narratives showcase a rejection of the assumed and stereotypical ideologies of colouredness, despite them coming from two different social and economic classes.

In Lee's story we can recount how the antagonist states that Lee needs to speak to him in Afrikaans, because *"Nee jys van die Kaap [No you're from the Cape]/ jy praat Afrikaans [you speak Afrikaans]/ en jys coloured jy praat Afri…."* [and you coloured you speak Afri] (Lines 42 – 44). These utterances from the 'white guy' can be seen as him reiterating and ascribing a very essentialized ethnolinguistic identity – one which stems from the Apartheid era in which people were racially classified by their appearance, language and where they lived – with 'die Kaap' (the Cape) being the region where a majority of coloured people still live today. However, Lee rejects this positioning, by responding with: "*ha ah ek praat engels*" (No I speak English). This also highlights the complexities and ambivalences found within language, particularly because while Lee is essentially challenging this restrictive positioning and ideology by stating that he speaks English, in using Afrikaans (which is used to restrict him here) to establish this stance, he is still conforming to this dominant ideology. Moreover, in Brandon's narrative, we see him also explicitly reject this stereotype of colouredness when he declares, that 'being coloured' does not automatically mean that you use the Afrikaans or Kaaps stylisations (such as "*awe*" or "*ma se kind*") or have a high level of proficiency in this variety (Lee), but that it is more than just your racial identity which determines your linguistic one.

It is important to note that neither Brandon nor Lee are rejecting coloured identities or their communities, rather they are rejecting the restriction that comes from the expected and essentialized ethnolinguistic ideology that all coloureds only speak Afrikaans/Kaaps proficiently. Thus by enacting their Linguistic Citizenship in declaring that they (Lee, Brandon and his mother) are English dominant, they are agentively positioning themselves within their narratives. Additionally, this agency allows them to voice and showcase the lived complexities and ambivalences that enable them to align themselves with those who identify as part of this group or community - while also being able to reject the dominant linguistic identity of Kaaps for English. This reflects a new positioning and subjectivity in that it gives them the freedom and fluidity to voice their identities through any linguistic or stylized performance of their choice. Thus, this counter positioning allows us to break down the notion that the ethnolinguistic identity of colouredness is solely Kaaps (Afrikaans) and to appreciate the hybridity and ambivalences showcased by these participants in this post-Apartheid context

Additionally, another key theme found in both Brandon and Lee's narratives is the influence of class on one's linguistic identity and proficiency. This is first demonstrated through Lee's embedded narrative which sees him assess that the 'white guy' probably only engages with coloured farmworkers, which he feels means that because they are rural (working class), they are more proficient in Afrikaans than he is because he comes from an urban (middle class) community and upbringing. This suggests that Lee believes that because the white guy's only context of coloureds are proficient Afrikaans speakers and working class, Lee being an 'urban' (middle class) coloured, breaks this positioning and ideology. This is echoed by Anthonissen (2013:31) study, whose

> Respondents pointed out that parents whose own L1 was Afrikaans were opting for English as the L1 of their children, especially in middle class, upwardly mobile communities and considerably less so among Afrikaans working class families. A 2012 survey in two such Coloured working class communities confirmed the respondents' suggestion that Afrikaans has remained the L1 of those of lower socio-economic status.

This resonates further in Brandon's narrative when he states that his mother has a degree and works in a corporate environment, alluding to the fact that she is proficient in English and speaks well. Moreover, this also indexes that if his mother is educated, she must be middle class, making him a member of this economic group as well and could account for why he declared he is English dominant and studying at a tertiary institution. Thus, we can say that because he states speaking Kaaps is "not just about being coloured" (turn 280g) but it is "mainly dependent on where you went to school"/ "and what area you live in" (turn 280c-d), he is linking Kaaps and its linguistic practice to class – with Lee being a prime example of this. As he (Lee) grew up in a working class neighbourhood, he feels the need to justify why he is not fluent in Afrikaans – a reflection of his anxiety that he should not be rejected because of this. Brandon, on the other hand, comes from a middle-class family where English is a more prominent linguistic choice and practice. Subsequently, he (Brandon) seems to feel the need to justify his and his mother's proficiency in English, hence underscoring the complex nexus of language, class and racial belonging in this study.

This speaks to a statement made by Bucholtz (2004:127) who notes that in studies of the acquisition of English by the immigrant generation, what "these studies often leave out is a careful consideration of language and identity, and particularly how English may become a

semiotic resource for establishing new forms of identity within the racial landscape". While the participants of this research are not immigrants, the practice of English becoming a semiotic resource is prevalent and demonstrated by Brandon and Lee, in that they establish new forms of their identity within the racial landscape of South Africa and Apartheid ideologies, by demonstrating a resistance towards popular discourses of what colouredness should sound like, i.e., speaking Afrikaans/Kaaps as a key qualifier and performance of colouredness. In this way, they are exercising their Linguistic Citizenship by crafting a new subjectivity of this identity, in declaring they are first English speakers, as a means of resistance to this restrictive ideology of 'looking like a language and sounding like a race' (Rosa, 2018). Moreover, this shift allows "for other subjectivities to appear and be heard, and for those already 'recognized' to be seen differently" (Stroud, 2021), and for them, to be recognized and seen differently in the face of the dominant ideology as 'my own coloured'.

Moreover, the third and fourth narratives, '*If I say 'awe' I'm probably coloured*' and '*We Chameleons*' by Ashton and Saarah engage with and highlight the historical discourse, positioning, and influence of Apartheid ideologies. It highlights the reproduction and impact of the historical discourses and dominant ideologies of Apartheid on participants' understanding of their colouredness and its construction. Both Ashton, through his list of qualifying traits of what makes him coloured, and Saarah through her process of elimination, shows how the historical discourses and ideologies of Apartheid are still, in part, a lens that is being used to view and understand colouredness - a master narrative that is yet to be challenged and changed.

Stroud (2021) notes the "importance of linguistic, more generally semiotic, practices that engage with a plurality or fellowship of broad affinity with *others*, rather than communities or constituencies *of like-selves*", which can particularly be seen through the acts of storytelling. This brings us to the second level of positioning, which looks at how the speaker/narrator positions himself (and is positioned) within the interactive situation (Bamberg and Georgakopolou, 2008:385). Through this lens, we see that the participants through their interactions with each other and their narratives have created a fellowship and belonging within these spaces. This has led to participants seeking and finding, through their linguistic practices, stances, styles and humour, support and understanding. This sees them exercising their Linguistic Citizenship through these semiotic means, in order to create and perform new emergent subjectivities, in relation to their racial, linguistic and social identities through their narratives and interactions. Additionally, these new subjectivities have seen the understanding

of colouredness constantly fluctuating between essentialized and social constructivist constructions, with one being boxed as a "restricted meaning of a mixed, creole, mainly Afrikaans-speaking population" (Rassool, 2019:6), while the other is constantly evolving and changing with no set meaning, providing freedom and fluidity influenced by ones lived experiences, subjectivities and interactions.

Moreover, this is where we see Linguistic Citizenship in action, as it is through these interactions and narratives, that we see the emergence of many ambivalences, such as finding and creating a sense of community, while still providing their own understanding and meaning to what it means to be a coloured. This is demonstrated in the third and fourth narratives through the examples of the participants asking for affirmation or support through i.e., "you know what I mean" or highlighting the beauty of colouredness to blend in (being chameleons) with whomever (any culture), within and outside our borders. Thus, through these interactions, they co-construct counter positionings of colouredness, which creates its own sense of belonging and challenges this notion that this identity is caught between belonging and not belonging (Petrus & Isaacs-Martin, 2012). Furthermore, this space of support and community created within and by the focus group space produced a therapeutic space for the participants. As the process of sharing and re-imagining, which can also be seen as a form of Linguistic Citizenship, created a shift from identity (and racial) anxiety towards a collective identity (and community) of pride. This makes the methodology of focus groups , a beneficial and enriching process, as this safe space allows an exploration and 're-imagining' of sensitive topics, such as racial identities and belonging, beyond the 'fixed' structures of society.

Lastly, level 1, looks at how characters are positioned within the story (Bamberg and Georgakopoulou, 2008:385). This level highlights participants showcasing constant ambivalences when discussing their identities, in that they are constantly shifting between acknowledging and wanting membership to colouredness while also wanting to maintain their individuality. It is important to note, that while I may have dissected key points of this data for each level of positioning (level 2 and 3), they are constantly filtering into each other. Thus, we cannot look at how the characters are positioned in the story without including the macro context of dominant discourses or master narratives and the interactions taking place in the (focus group) context and their narratives. As a result, all of these participants have positioned their characters and ultimately themselves in relation to these dominant narratives and the interactions taking place. In all the participants' stories, we see them positioning themselves in answer to how they view and navigate their racial and linguistic identities. Additionally, we

see them position the antagonists or supporting characters within their narratives as either embodying dominant, essentializing and racializing ideologies or providing evidence for the beauty, appeal, flexibility and hybridity of colouredness. This allows the participants to freely resist or align with these supporting characters as they see fit within their narratives. However, just as lived experiences are complex, messy and multi-faceted, so is the negotiation of their stance and positionings which through their narratives, demonstrate the ambivalence, spontaneity and innovation of their self-identifications as they live and explore the in-betweeness of the old and new – the living embodiment of Linguistic Citizenship at work.

Therefore, in pinpointing what needs to change, it would be easy to suggest that we need to deconstruct all structural and institutional frameworks that have been around for decades and which continues to be restrictive for many in this post-Apartheid context. However, as Greene, 2010:4) highlights, "any race [or identity] is a product of a particular kind of knowledge production that suited particular interests; race thus is a man-made creation and as such, it has the potential to continue evolving". As we have seen through this research, participants are continuously finding and using different ways of negotiating and working through this ever-evolving process. Additionally, the narratives of this study's participants seem to have developed beyond some of the past contestations. They challenge perpetuated stereotypes and "boxing in" by invoking differences of urban vs rural, locality, also of education and social class as more significant than race or using Afrikaans/Kaaps. This is an important insight – also in terminological history, which this study puts in the spotlight[10]. Moreover, as it is with any historical construct, "we must engage and challenge it, in order to understand it in its present form" (Greene, 2010: 4). Hopefully, in exploring and celebrating the evolving, ambivalent, complex and multi-faceted lived experiences of these participants, engaged in this negotiation process, we are challenging these constructs and providing agency and voice, not only for these identities but for deconstructing the historical boxes into which society (and we) have put ourselves. Hopefully, in this way, this exploration could provide a step towards destabilising these regimented racial and social boundaries and enable more fluid, dynamic spaces of social identification to emerge.

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[10] Thank you to one of my examiners for this eloquent explanation regarding this constantly evolving and negotiative process that these narratives demonstrate of my participants lived experience and the documentation thereof.

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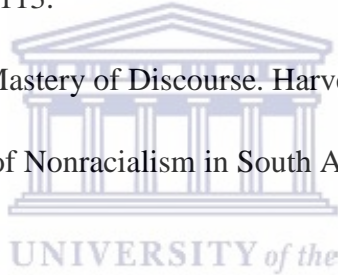
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2020 Focus Group Interview Questions:

1. When did you come to UWC (or are you at UWC) and if so, what are you studying?
2. Where do you live, what languages do you speak at home?
3. Do you switch languages when you dream, get angry, feel sad, want to impress, etc?
4. Can you tell me about a time when being perceived as 'coloured' has held you back or worked to your advantage or disadvantage?
5. What do you think about the recent hashtag #colouredculture" (gives examples of how coloured culture exist in response to a statement made on social media that coloured culture does not exist)?
6. How do you feel when watching Sherazaan's video?
7. How do you feel about Afrikaans or Kaaps?
   - Do you speak Afrikaans or Kaaps?
   - How do you feel about these varieties?
   - Can you tell me about a moment when speaking either of these languages have worked to your benefit or held you back?
8. Do you think we can ever reach a situation in South Africa where race doesn't matter?
   - Do you think the issue of race will affect your children one day?
   - What do you think we should do, as South Africans, to address the problems associated with race in this country?