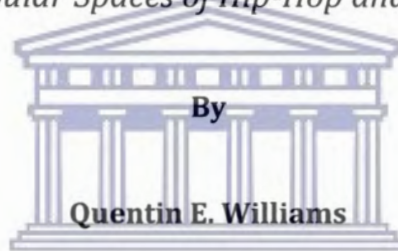# Multilingualism in late-modern Cape Town

A focus on Popular Spaces of Hip-Hop and Tshisa-Nyama
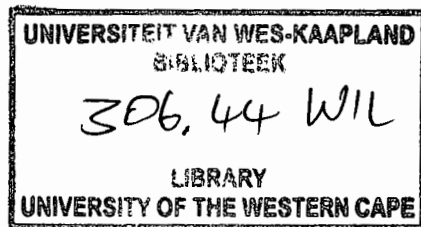
By

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A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree Doctor Philosophiae in the Department of Linguistics, University of the Western Cape

Supervisor: Professor Christopher Stroud

KEY WORDS

Multilingualism

Space

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Tshisa-Nyama

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Citizenship

Stylization

Entextualization

Enregisterment

Scale

ABSTRACT

Multilingualism in late-modern Cape Town: a focus on popular spaces of Hip-Hop and Tshisa-Nyama
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PhD Thesis, Department of Linguistics, University of the Western Cape

In highly mobile societies, the voice and agency of speakers will differ across contexts depending on the linking of forms and functions. This thesis is thus about the complexities introduced to the notion of (form-function linkages) multilingualism in late-modern globalizing and mobile Cape Town in transition. Essentially, it takes its point of departure in the idea that multilingualism is a 'spatial concept', i.e. the form that interacting languages take, how they are practiced by speakers and how multilingualism is perceived, is determined to a large extent by the *affordances* of particular 'places'. In order to research this, I postulate that a major parameter in the organization and differentiation of places is that of scale. The thesis studies two research sites that can be considered as diametrical opposites on a scale from local (descaled) to translocal (upscaled), namely Hip-Hop performances at Stones, Kuilsriver, and Mzoli's Meat at Gugulethu. Although both sites are found in local townships, they differ in terms of their basic semiotics. That is to say, to what extent the interactions, physical spaces, and activities, are infused with local meaning and local values (downscaled in the case of Hip-Hop) – granted this may be a problematic concept – and to what extent the semiotics of place are oriented towards upscaling or transnational values and practices (upscaled in the case of Mzoli's Meat). Each of these sites is characterized in terms of the assemblage of transmodal semiotics that contribute to defining it as a place of descaling and upscaling (buildings, linguistic landscapes, patterns of interaction and movement and posture, stylizations of selves, artifactual identities (car makes, et cetera). We find that the Hip-Hop site is 'predominantly' local in branding, in who participates,

and in the linguistic landscape and the aesthetics of photographic embroidery. Mzoli's Meat, on the other hand, with its ATMs, sit-down-for-tourist-spaces, and international website, is very much more upscaled.

A discussion of 'normative orders of multilingualism' pertinent or dominant in each site is also provided. Thus in the local or descaled site of Hip-Hop, a core ordering of multiple languages is in terms of economic value (consumption) with respect to what each language, or variety of language, contributes to 'keeping it real', that is, creating 'extreme locality'. Repertoires are 'ordered' – discussed – and seen to evolve and gain value in terms of a particular social trajectory of speakers, namely their trajectory and history – as temporally narrated – towards becoming a Hip-Hop head and a key actor in 'keeping it real'. In the context of Mzoli's Meat, the semiotics of the upscaled market generate talk about and perceptions of multilingualism in terms of the translocal encounter – linguistic/multilingual repertoires are seen as relevant to, or organized along the lines, of the temporary encounter, and in respect to the value of the languages in facilitating translocal engagements (Dutch, English). Thus, we note how the notion of repertoire is a fluid concept that can be organized and talked about in relation to different standards, trajectories, determined by normative orders of different scaled spaces.

Returning to the key question addressed of how these spaces are semiotically constituted and how they constrain or 'prototypically' facilitate particular kinds of voice and agency in more detail, the thesis introduces key concepts of performance, stylization, entextualization and enregisterment. A key feature of doing or constituting places from spaces is the kind of interactions, participants and linguistic construals/productions that take place there. In a highly multilingual society, places/spaces are often normatively contested or contestable. The theoretical concepts provide the framework for charting how different personae are *voiced through*, that is, *entextualized and stylized* in the interaction of different languages (in relation to the normative order or in how the combination of languages in voices and their competition more or less successfully *enacted* or perform the personae/voice), and how these voices/personae are *enregistered*, that

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is, the competitive processes in the linguistic conventionalization of the voices, and in the simultaneous construction of the downscaled and upscaled spaces. Thus, in the Hip-Hop context, the multilingual voices are designed to produce local personae, whereas in Mzoli's Meat, the performed personae on linguistic display are various and normatively transgressing, emphasizing polycentric normativities as against the monocentric normativity of the downscaled and extreme local context. Enregisterment is shown in the Hip-Hop context to be driven by the construction of extreme locality, whereas in Mzoli's Meat, the performance by the comedian of translocal and mobile voices serve to enregister a translanguaged variety of multilingualism. Thus, we see here how different normative orders of multilingualism (that is different values, forms and combinations of languages) that are *afforded* by the scaled nature of particular places, are layered into and through different social personae or voices. In fact, it is the (semiotic) work in stylizing and entextualizing these voices, and in enregistering them that help produce these differently scaled places (in conjunction with other semiotic means as noted above).

How then do these findings inform the issue of linguistically mediated agency in mobile societies? Much politics takes place outside of the formal spheres and institutions of society. Popular spaces are central political sites where a variety of everyday micro and macro-sociopolitical issues are dealt with. In this thesis, we find among other issues dealt with is that 'authenticity' within the Hip-Hop context is a predominant issue, and in Mzoli's Meat, the social political issues of the day are racialized encounters and their implications. In each of these sites, language and multilingualism is paramount in (a) positioning political interests (through personae and voices) and (b) in contesting and working through the normativities of the place in question. Thus, agency emanates from the ability of the speaker to appropriately position the (linguistically mediated) voice/personae in a contested and scaled space in a way that this voice becomes enregistered, and thus legitimated and 'heard'. This is a process of possible transgression – or at least competition – on the one hand, as well as creative 'conformity' or repetition of registers and repertoires according to fluid, constructed normativities. What this then reveals is

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the value of a concept of linguistic or multilingual citizenship, which is here taken to refer to the agency constituted through non-institutional means where language negotiations are transgressive and central to the creation of a normative order of (local) voices. Therefore, this thesis provides an insight into the complexities of agency (enregistered, scaled voice) in mobile, multilingual and scaled Cape Town.

Date: June 2012

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DECLARATION

I declare *Multilingualism in late-modern Cape Town: a focus on popular spaces of Hip-Hop and Tshisa-Nyama* is my own work, that it has not been submitted for any degree or examination in any other university, and that all sources I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by complete references.

Full name: Quentin Emmanuel Williams

Signed: _____   Date: _____

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This dissertation is dedicated to my supervisor, Christopher Stroud, whose insight and intellectual rigour help gave shape to this study. I completely underestimated the amount of work and energy required to research and write up a Ph.D. thesis. But thanks to my supervisor the process was made less arduous and more interesting every step of the way. Thanks Prof for all your support and motivation.

The research for this study would also not have been possible without my participants. There are too many names to mention but those who contributed most importantly are the rap group Suburban Menace, attached to the record label MobCoW, and all the emcees, turntablists, and Hip-Hop fans in the Hip-Hop community of Kuilsriver. Thanks guys for participating in this research study. I am especially grateful for the following artists, producers and presenters: CC (Hip-Hop TV and radio presenter), emcee Chuck, Mseeq (rap music producer), DJ Earl Scratch (turntablist), Universe (rap music producer), emcee Phoenix, emcee Keaton, emcee Bracen Kayle, emcee Baza Lo, emcee Jack De Novan, emcee Bio.has.it, emcee MoB, emcee M.D.K, emcee Cole, emcee Lil Holmes and emcee Narc. I thank Mr Mzoli Ncangcuwe, owner of Mzoli's Meat, for allowing me to conduct ethnographic research at the popular township restaurant and for all the patrons, tourists and locals who took the time to be interviewed by me.

Many people offered assistance with reading material and commented on my study as I presented parts of it in various venues. They are too many to mention and I will not mention any names but offer a warm thanks tall that helped in the end. However, I have to thank Kaanitah Mohammed and Faika Mohammed for offering

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A lot of loved ones, friends and family members suffered my study. To my friends, I apologise for my absence but I am sure you understood my task. I thank my mother for all her sacrifices and for just being there. Then last, but not least, I thank my wife, Veronique, for always allowing me to have the space and time to read and write. Thank you for your support, love and motivation.

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CONTENTS

PREFACE

This research project developed out of an interest in studying the dynamics of multilingual communication, multilingual practices and multilingual spaces in Cape Town. As a result of recent research on the dialectics of language and space (see Blommaert, Collins and Slembrouck, 2005), it sought to investigate how youth went about doing multilingual communication in spaces where they practiced popular cultural forms such as Hip-Hop and Tshisa-Nyama (Burning-meat), also known here as *popular spaces*. This research project was part of a scholarship programme investigating the linguistic dynamics of *Multilingual Citizenship and Cities in Transition*, where several postgraduate scholars participated in research activities under the acronym IMPACT (Investigation of Multilingual Practices and Cities in Transition). The unique focus of this project was to develop the synergies inherent in a practice view of language in a perspective on space and place as semiotically constructed.

The interdisciplinarity of the endeavour allowed exchanges between scholars in discourse analysis, multilingualism, imagining of space and popular culture, influencing the design of this project. I drew on contemporary approaches to the study of multilingualism to show how registers, repertoires and varieties of multilingualism were used (cf. Agha, 2007, for the notion of *enregisterment*) and appropriated (cf. Bauman and Briggs, 1990, for the notion of entextualization), and *stylized* (Bakhtin, 1986) in performance and talk. The theoretical tenets of the notion multilingual citizenship was the driving force behind the design of this research project in recognising the effects of extensive social transformation in South Africa, with accompanying issues of voice and agency in rapidly evolving contexts undergoing urban transformation. Globalisation, also, is changing the way people's mobility is defined in local urban enclaves and local institutions and how much such social transformation bring together speakers of all walks of life, cultures and nations. In this way, multilingualism could be understood as *politically*

embodied social practices and ideologies of language that normalize but also prefigure in different spaces and institutions.

This was the gist of multilingual citizenship of which a number of aspects were deemed worth investigating: (1) The language practices of migrants moving from one locale to another, crossing borders and the question of how localised and creative such practices are; (2) The semiotic transformation of how different spaces serve as affordances for different organizations of multilingualism, and how identities are formed semiotically through these spaces and multiple languages; and (3) Perceptions and productions of space emerging through stylization of urban identities of various lifestyle spaces, language and late-modernity, or the spaces for the development of new varieties. All of this tied to 'a politics of aspiration' in a country in rapid social transformation.

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Part 1

Multilingualism in Late-modernity

Chapter 1

Introduction and Background

1.0 Introduction

The purpose of this study was to investigate popular spaces of multilingual practices of youth in late modern Cape Town - those popular spaces of Hip-Hop (in Club Stones Kuilsriver) and Tshisa-Nyama (Burning-meat) (in Mzoli's Meat, Gugulethu). Popular spaces are those spatializations where multilingualism circulates and, where, in late-modern contexts such as Cape Town, the spaces have become a vector in shaping the neoliberal economics and consumption practices of South Africa, where language repertoires, styles, authenticities and normativities are assembled. I investigated those spaces in order to understand the establishment and development of *locally-styled multilingual communication* in differently scaled popular spaces of music and food. More specifically, given the understanding of space and place as *affordances* for different practices and ideologies of language, how do youth attribute value to particular norms of multilingual practice in everyday contexts, and how do these different contexts create the conditions for different types of linguistically mediated agency and voice? How do people make every day meaning? What happens outside of the institutionalization of legitimated voice given the voidness of voice of the majority of people in institutionalized contexts?

These questions are motivated by the accelerated dynamics of globalization and late-modernity, which has ushered in new practices of multilingualism and new concepts of language. Globalization has meant that the notion of community is losing – if not lost already - its modernist meaning of bounded and territorially closed markets of homogenous speakers and instead designate a stratified, porous, and heterogeneous linguistics of contact. Late-modernity refers to the rapid social

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changes accompanying globalization where notions such as social class and institutions no longer predetermine speakers' language or lives to the same extent.[1] However, what are the implications of this for agency? This question presents us with a normative and descriptive problem. Most importantly, given the movement of people and meanings across interlinked spaces, how is meaning made? Given that we know that transformation can be contested by taking over the same institutions that have oppressed in the first place, is the notion of language, so clearly tied to a period of staticism and locality and privilege and particular domains precisely one of those institutions of power that we need to dismantle?

Specifically, this research project sought to address a challenge to contemporary approaches to multilingual studies which have employed structural-functional models derivative of situations of stasis and community. These models are increasingly unable to account for sociolinguistic dynamics where languages and speakers travel across community borders and interact through hybrid linguistic forms. Blommaert (2010: 1) echoes the same sentiment when he claims that "...sociolinguistics still bears so many marks of its own peculiar history, as it has focused on static variation, on local distribution of varieties, on stratified language contact, and so on".

For the last five decades a dominant approach to multilingualism has conceived of it in structural-functional terms as separate unitary and monoglot languages in contact, viewing it "from the perspective of an analysis of the ways in which different languages, or language varieties, might correspond to different social functions" (Heller, 2007a: 9). Founding fathers of multilingual studies, such as Weinreich and Ornstein (1979) and Mackey (1979), took language in contact to comprise separate linguistic systems *alongside* social constructs also in contact - such as community and identity. According to Heller (2007a: 11),

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[1] Some authors have taken a less radical view and reinterpreted the role of notions such as social class and its functioning in late modern contexts (e.g. Rampton, 2006; see also Heller, 2012; Block, 2012).

> The structural-functional paradigm has been extremely productive, allowing in particular the development of a discourse regarding the relative advantages or disadvantages of specific forms of bilingualism [*multilingualism*] for specific groups. It has, however, remained resolutely committed to a paradigm in which languages are understood as whole, bounded systems, associated, moreover, with whole, bounded communities.

There is clearly a need to develop a new approach to 'languages in contact' that can transcend the limitations of a structural-functional approach in order to more adequately deal with the types of contact phenomena and multilingual practices found in late-modern contexts of transcultural flows. These are contexts where the spatial distribution of macro and micro level multilingual practices encompass levels of hybridity that far exceed many modernist, contemporary structural-functional frames of reference. We need to take stock of cultural creolization, linguistic hybridity, social structural anarchy, and political economies of consumption that all figure within the complex patterning of language in late modern time/space frames. This is just one case of what Appadurai (2000: 5) refers to when he says,

> It has now become something of a truism that we are functioning in a world fundamentally characterized by objects in motion...this is a world of flows...it is also a world of structures, organizations and other stable social forms. But the apparent stabilities that we see, under close examination, are usually our devices for handling objects characterized.

In this research project, an appropriate starting point was deemed to be the notion of a 'linguistics of contact', that is, "...social spaces where disparate cultures meet, clash, and grapple with each other, often in highly asymmetrical relations of

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domination and subordination - like colonialism, slavery, or their aftermaths as they are lived out across the globe today" (Pratt, 1992: 4). The linguistics of contact is a useful metaphor with which to start to prise open some of the linguistic and non-linguistic features of popular spaces of Hip-Hop and Tshisa-Nyama. It could also help us in understanding how and why popular spaces have become an important nexus in late-modern and transnational discourses of consumption, with language and multilingualism figuring centrally.

In this thesis, popular spaces are characterized as sites for transgressive encounters and spectacle, spaces defined by elements of performance and spectatorship, where the physical borders of place are porous, and where we find established performance representations, transgression, noise, styling, liminality, and crossing. In popular spaces, languages converge, clash and intermingle to create resources of uptake and exclusion. The notion of popular space cannot be defined in conventional sociolinguistic terms such as 'domains' (Boxer, 2002) that restrict classically delimited roles pregiven and prescribed, and scripts on how to behave or perform. It bears instead the market characteristics of the carnival, forms of transgressive practices, and carnivalesque communicative behaviours.

Thus, in order to understand the role of popular spaces in late-modern Cape Town, we need to take seriously the notion of space. Space, as Laurier (2005: 101) argues, is that which affords multilingualism to manifest semiotically and ethnographically, which in another sense described by D'hondt (2009) can be either constraining and/or facilitating in the performance of social categories such as race, gender and bodies (Markus and Cameron, 2006; Blommaert et al, 2005).

In this study I argue, that in order to understand multilingual practices in popular spaces, a focus on single and countable languages is often not enough to represent the multilingual repertoire of speakers. In fact, even focusing on multiple languages does not do justice to the complex *semiotic* webs within and across which speakers move, comprising not just languages as we know them, but *bits* of language such as registers, (Park and Wee, 2011; Gee, 2008), accents, words, and assemblages of form-meaning elements, such as rap rhythms, soundscape bytes, and metapragmatic

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performances. Neither does a focus on space and place as unstructured and undifferentiated work for contexts of late-modernity. Instead, we need to unconditionally explore how the complex spatio-temporal organization of late-modern translocal spaces provides part of the complex semiotic means for youth to transgress effortlessly monolingual spaces and the 'branding' (Fairclough, 2006) of selves for agency and voice, that is, *multilingual citizenship* (Stroud, 2009). This involves documenting what youth draw upon by way of *multilanguaging* in their particular assemblages of voice, agency, language and place that are the popular spaces in focus, and how these popular spaces themselves are constituted as specific sites of agency through different varieties, registers and repertoires in moments of contact and encounter.

In the remainder of this chapter the key notions modernity, globalization and late-modernity are introduced and their implications for a *new linguistic dispensation* (Aronin and Singleton, 2008) charted. Here, multilingualism, agency and citizenship are also discussed in detail. After introducing these notions, a brief review of the spatial and linguistic constitution of the popular culture practice of Hip-Hop and Tshisa-Nyama (meat market) research in Cape Town follows, as a way of situating the research project. This is then followed by the main research questions and an outline of the approach. An overview of the chapters closes the chapter.

1.1 Setting the Scene

1.1.1 Modernity

Modern society and modern institutions have undergone manifold shifts, as local spheres and contexts are 'opening out' more and more to the forces of globalisation (Giddens, 1990; 1991). According to Giddens (1990: 1),

> ...modernity" refers to modes of social life or organisation which emerged in Europe from about the seventeenth century onwards and which subsequently became more or less worldwide in their influence.

However, often when reference is made to modernity, it is the 'institutional transformation' experienced in the Western hemisphere (Giddens, 1990: 174) that is referred to (see for instance, Connell, 2008). These institutional transformations are normally marked by a number of socio-political, economic and militarily dynamics, such as: the meltdown of the USSR; the collapse of the Vietnam war (with Vietnam as the victors); renewed economic imperialism by the United States of America with the 'New Deal' and the Bretton Woods monetary system (which solidified 'the dollar good as gold') (see for instance Hardt and Negri, 2000); the subsequent unification of world markets, and the constitution of the United Nations (UN), as a global phenomenon, some claim is global policing. Concurrent with these historical milestones, we see the rise of Christian fundamentalism in America, Islamic fundamentalism in the Middle East, the collapse of apartheid and the rise of Truth and Reconciliation discourses in South Africa. These dynamics signalled a movement into a different order born out of 'crises' around the World (Hardt and Negri, 2000).

Modernity, to put it briefly, is an order of society that is essentially constituted and regulated by community institutions, Fordist nation-state apparatuses, and social categories such as class, gender and race. Perhaps above all, the most pervasive legacy of modernity has been globalisation. According to Giddens (1990),

> Modernity is inherently globalising – this is evident in some of the most basic characteristics of modern institutions, including particularly their disembeddedness and reflexivity (Giddens, 1990: 63).

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Modernity produced modes of citizenship that articulated how nation-states were imagined (Anderson, 1990). Foucault (2010) discusses and problematizes modern forms of citizenship in terms of governmentality of Self and Others, and as ushering in fundamental shifts in the discourses of knowledge and techniques used to manage the care of a modern Self. Among these technologies of governmentality, we find evolving modernist discourses of language that cultivated difference and inequality.

Both issues of citizenship and language have been made significantly more complex with increasing border crossing of bodies, languages, cultures and their discourses in a globalized world (Clark, 2009), with globalization processes, such as patterns of migration and more complex politics of belonging transmuting modern and presumed stable forms of citizenship (Castles and Davidson, 2007). This is especially the case for how citizenship in Euro-American cities is imagined compared to those in the political South (Comaroff and Comaroff, 2012).

1.1.2 Globalization

Globalisation refers to the 'stretching process' that reveals, '[how] the modes of connection between different social contexts or regions become networked across the earth's surface as a whole' (Giddens, 1990: 64). It is a phenomenon that is as much about the intensification of networks amongst various social groupings (Castells, 2000), as it is about spaces and places moving closer to each other because of global social networks and political alliances between the developing worlds and first world countries, (see works by Hirst and Thompson, 1999; Hall, Held and McGrew, 1992; Held, McGrew, Goldblatt and Perraton, 1999; Held and McGrew, 2003; 2007; Appadurai, 1996; 2000; 2008; Mittelman, 2000; Stiglitz, 2002; 2006). It is, it would seem, "...a process of uneven development that fragments as it coordinates – introduces new forms of world interdependence" (Giddens, 1990: 175).

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According to Held *et al* (1999: 414), globalization can be seen in terms of historical events that can be attributed to four episodes. The first episode is *premodern globalization*, which stretches from the beginning of history until the Renaissance period, and which is characterised by 'interregional or intercivilization encounters within Europe and Asia, by establishment of 'political and military empires', 'the spread of world religions' and 'large-scale migration'. The second phase, *Early modern globalization*, Held *et al* (1999) dates between 1500-1850 and is characterised by distinct 'demographic flows' in the West which saw the birth of the nation-state and the fierce and lasting rivalry between empires Britain, Spain and Portugal. The third phase, *Modern globalization* (1850-1945), emerged just after the decline of the latter phase, and ushered in Industrialization and the rise of the Technology age. This laid the foundation, according to Held et al (1999), for the last and final phase of *Contemporary globalization* (1945-present) that we are currently experiencing. Through these phases, globalization has established an irrevocable structure through a variety of transnational institutions (for example, NGOs, multinationals, regional political blocs, etc.) that affect the organization of everyday life.

In the globalisation literature, there are many perspectives as to what sort or positive or negative change such processes have brought. These have been grouped as transformationalists, globalists, sceptics and anti-globalists. According to Held and McGrew (2003), transformationalists hold the "conviction that contemporary patterns of global economic, military, technological, ecological, migratory, political and cultural flows are historically unprecedented". Transformationalists view globalization as the defining blueprint for the 'rapid changes' that are reorganising language, economies, polities, and social life. As Giddens (1999: 10) puts it,

> I would have no hesitation, therefore in saying that globalization, as we are experiencing it, is in many respects not only new, but also revolutionary. Yet I do not believe that either the sceptics or radicals have properly understood either what it is or its implications for us.

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Both groups see the phenomenon almost solely in economic terms. This is a mistake. Globalization is political, technological and cultural, as well economic. It has been influenced above all by developments in systems of communication, dating back only to the late 1960s.

Transformationalists understand globalization as an historical shift which has long (modern) roots and is "a complex set of processes, not a single one" which "operate in a contradictory or oppositional fashion" (Giddens, 1999: 12-13). It is not singularly about the coming of age of the global economic system, based on either Bretton Woods or New Deal, market uniformization or a new Empire (Hardt and Negri, 2000). Rather, there exist today overlapping dualities and the shrinking of nation-state relations because of globalization. Language and the rise of diasporic communities are fully implicated in this shrinking, producing dynamics of superdiversity that challenges sociolinguistic theorists to generate and build new theoretical positions (Vigouroux, 2005; 2008).

Those who advocate the position that globalisation is the dawn of a new era, economic, political, or otherwise, are often referred to as 'globalists' or 'hyberglobalists'. Globalists argue that globalisation is a change of multifaceted enormity: at the levels of different economies, diverse political systems, and reorganization of multilingualism. According to Kirkbride (2001: 18),

> To these theorists, globalization represents: (1) A convergence of tastes and an increasing homogeneity that allows for the use of standard products and services worldwide; (2) The process of integrating purchasing and manufacturing processes on a global scale to achieve cost efficiencies; (3) Industries dominated by a few major players worldwide; (4) Large organizations with global cultures and mindsets.

For globalists, globalization is the messiah of modernity. It has arrived. It is here to stay. They understand that the arrival of globalization signals a new age: a new way

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of practicing life, a new age of doing business, and a new age of communicating and enacting language practices (Auer and Wei, 2007). The all-powerful nation-state is now slowly eroding because of global capitalism (cf. Pieterse, 2000): such as, people constantly moving in the lobbies of airports, conference calls, a Deloitte, and MacDonald's headquarters in every major city in the world, to name a few aspects that characterize the debate for hyperglobalists. However, essentially, for globalists globalization means the '...creation of a new 'borderless world' and the end of the nation state' (Kirkbride, 2001: 27-28).

The Sceptics propose an anti-thesis to the globalist position: globalization does *not* exist. This position is typically associated with the work of Hirst and Thompson (1999). The Sceptics argue that it is not the case that we have entered a qualitatively different order, because the utility of any model used for projections are ahistorical and cannot provide adequate data on previous economic systems (Kirkbride, 2001: 28-29). The Sceptics of globalization employ 'economic analysis' to establish and seek answers to why 'the current global economic system is either far from the picture presented by the globalists or little different from previous economic systems or epochs' (ibid: 29). The Bretton Woods system is a case in point. Perhaps better understood are the Sceptics dubious scrutiny of globalization in relation to global markets and global organizations as a no-reality – structures which do not exist. World economic systems are "less global and interdependent" than in modernity and the State controls most markets and economies. Drawing on Huntington's clash of civilizations, Sceptics argue that globalization in all essentials is 'the clash of regional blocs' (ibid: 30). Globalization creates competition and as a result there are 'winners and losers in the global power balance' (Kirkbride, 2001: 31).

Finally, the anti-globalists, according to Kirkbride (2001: 32),

> Unlike the sceptics...do not question the existence of a new global economic system. They are certain that such a system exists but, unlike the globalists, they are not enamoured with its effects on employees,

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communities, nation-sates and the environment. For them the global system, its institutions and its transnational corporations are as real as they are for the globalists. Indeed, the only point of real departure is over the nature of the effects.

The idea that globalization has been and still is an "inevitable, naturally occurring phenomenon" is a fallacious notion for anti-globalists. Instead, they believe that globalization is the age of a new "hegemonic strategy pursued ideologically by a few small but powerful international bodies without transparency or democratic oversight" (Kirkbride 2001: 32). These international institutions are the WTO, WB, IMF, GATT and many more. (For an excellent account, see Held and McGrew's (2007) reconsideration of globalization as anti-globalization). They are institutions that have influenced how voice and agency have been shaped in neo-colonial settings (Apter, 2007)[2].

As a consequence of the above, the manifold scholarly debates and perspectives put forward for unpacking the impact of globalization processes and what it means for modernity, has been variously conceptualized. A variety of terms such as 'reflexive modernity' (Beck, 1994), the rise of 'institutional modernity' of 'post-traditional' society (Giddens, 1990), or a new' aesthetic modernity' as order (Lash, 1994) proliferate, to reinterpret modernity and globalization. Perhaps the most coherent understanding of contemporary modernity is that of 'late-modernity'.
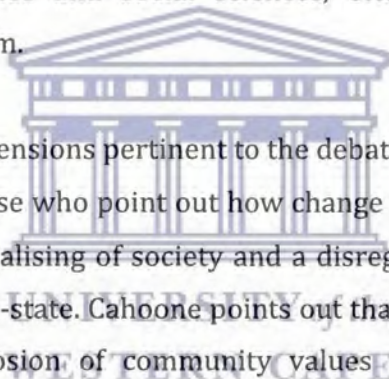
1.1.3 Late-Modernity

Essentially, late modernity is understood here as a situation characterized by individual nonconformity to rules, 'a readiness to change tactics and style at short notice, abandon commitments and loyalties without regret – and to pursue opportunities according to their current availability' (Bauman, 2008: 4). It is a

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[2] In this study, I endorse the transformationalist perspective of globalization to move toward a modestly new understanding of multilingualism in the South and South Africa (as a geographical location in the South).

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phenomenon which Giddens characterises as the 'careering juggernaut' with unpredictable variation for both individuals and social groupings, and societies across the world. It occurs together with the 'opening out' of both public and private life, and the diversification of language and multilingualism. According to Rampton (2006), it is considerably

> ...difficult putting precise dates on the emergence of 'late'...modernity, and this is made harder by the fact that late modernity can be associated both with the major changes in the real world linked to globalisation, and with a slow, uneven but nevertheless very consequential reworking of basic assumptions in the humanities and social sciences, often characterised as poststructuralism.

There are a number of dimensions pertinent to the debate regarding late-modernity. For example, there are those who point out how change in modernity is in the form of an increasingly individualising of society and a disregard for community and an over reliance on the nation-state. Cahoone points out that this is the 'me generation' characterized by "the erosion of community values and moral standards, the triumph of fantasy over realism" (1987: 211). In contrast, Young (2007: 197) states that late-modernity is

> ...a society of the elsewhere, a society where culture and space separate, where anxiety, hope and aspiration have reference points global in their reach, where virtual realities mediate an already complex quilt of cultures and experiences in the everyday urban reality.

Further characteristics of late modernity are the erratic and spontaneous (and possibly debilitating) consumption practices (Ritzer, 2011; 2001), new networks of

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technologies (Castells, 2000); cultural creolization (Appadurai, 1996), and hybrid stylization of multilingual communication (Auer and Wei, 2007; see Ritz, 2005: The McDonaldization of Society, Ritzer, 2011).

As a result of late-modernity, new discourses of citizenship are developing and taking hold in the public convivial spaces (Shaftoe, 2008). New forms of democratic processes such as direct democracy movements (Gavenita and Tandon, 2010) have been accompanied in some nation-state policies and ideologies by a resistance to change, which has resulted in a significantly altered relationship between citizens and their state (Klingeman and Fuckes, 2004; Crouch, Eder and Tambini, 2004) and volatile new structures of consumerism. To a large extent, this is part and parcel of shifting discourses of capitalism and retracting practices of governmentality (Thompson, 2007; Mamdani, 1996), to the extent that globalization has influenced a sort of whole-sale reimagining of citizenship in the context of the nation-state in crises (Magnette, 2005; Chipkin, 2009).

Magnette argues that globalization and late-modernity have revealed the unevenness of citizenship and the state, and that in actuality what we get is greater inequality where the state insists on particular forms of citizenship: "A citizenship confined to the nation-state seems insufficient, or, to be more precise, out of focus with the *real places of power*" (2004: 168) (italics mine, i.e., subnational as well as supra-regional locations). Not only do we find modern forms of citizenship entering discourses and processes of globalization, but increasingly indignant nation-states are using those forms of citizenship as a decoy for strengthening instruments of governmentality and legitimating monolingualism, such as new inventions of languages (cf. Makoni and Pennycook, 2007) to manage the emergence of non-standard languages and dialects based on expanding multilingual repertoires, such as a *miljonsvenska*, Singaporean English (Stroud and Wee, 2011; cf. Stroud, 2004) or Spanglish; and discourses of multiculturalism in superdiversity (Blommaert and Rampton, 2011). Stroud and Wee most recently argued that conventional forms of language commodification (added value of language) and consumption practices are multidimensional because of the rise of popular culture and new technological

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communications, shaping new types of consumer citizenship. This sets innumerable challenges for minorities that find themselves between discourses of multiculturalism (Kymlicka, 1996) and discourses of 'subject' and 'other' (Butler and Spivak, 2007). In this study, I am interested in explaining how young multilingual speakers enact, negotiate, reject and appropriate new practices and discourses of agency and voice through different types of multilingual practice. I will do this by exploring a range of linguistic resources used in the practice and performance of multilingualism, and by exploring the development of new normativities.

1.1.4 Late-Modernity and Multilingualism

Life in late modernity is ushering in new conditions for the "maintenance and development of various kinds of multilingualism" (Heller, 2007b; cf. Dor, 2004), and processes of globalization are refiguring multilingualism as something completely different in 'a new linguistic dispensation' (Aronin and Singleton, 2008: 1; Blommaert et al, 2005), forming, "...sets of languages, rather than single languages, [that] now perform the essential functions of communication, cognition and identity for individuals and the global community" (Aronin and Singleton, 2008: 4; see also Gardner and Martin-Jones, 2012). Unique configurations of multilingual resources are emerging as young multilingual speakers pursue global and local life trajectories using a combination of communications systems that comprise very diverse linguistic and semiotic resources. Multilingual communication is thus a part of the world of flows and the way it is organized in late modernity allows us to view how the distribution of linguistic resources is coupled to the scaling of multilingual spaces (Aronin and Singleton, 2008: 7). In this study, the focus is on how globalization and late-modernity feature significantly in establishing what makes certain types of multilingual communication local and other types of multilingual communication global in practice and performance; how certain multilingual practices are styled at local places and others at more global sites; and what ultimately can be said to characterize such practices as late-modern. In the end, my

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interest is on what this means for the agencies that speakers can accomplish, and the voices through which they find expression.

1.1.4.1 Multilingualism, in a new Linguistic Dispensation

This study does not draw on any specific typology of multilingualism to help address the problem and issues described here (Aronin and Singleton, 2012), and neither does it subscribe to conventional, structural-functional definitions of multilingualism (Edwards, 1994). Rather, it takes issue with the very epistemological underpinnings of early ideas of multilingualism that understood the phenomenon essentially as the use of more than one language in communication at the level of social groups, speech communities, communities of practice (Fishman, 1978; Wenger, 1999), within (and across) different nation-state borders (Edwards, 1994). At the level of sociopolitics, multilingualism meant the emergence of principles of division and compartmentalization of language such as *territorial principles* to make space for the practice of multilingualism as opposed to regimented practices of monolingualism (cf. Khubchandani, 1988; Laponce, 1987; Auer and Wei, 2007). This approach to multilingualism "…embraces the study of the language systems in contact, the functions of the languages in society, the groups or communities in contact, and the speech of the individuals using more than one language [which must] not be seen in isolation from one another" (Clyne 1997: 302). It underpins longstanding paradigms that evolved in parallel to the development of social theory (Williams, 1992; Coupland, Sarangi and Candlin, 2001; Weber and Horner, 2012), which demonstrated that "previous social arrangements typically required only a particular additional language, language-related knowledge and/or a number of specific language skills for sustaining economic, political and religious systems" (Aronin and Singleton, 2008: 9). This was well illustrated by the classic and seminal works of Ferguson (1971) where the notion of diglossia was developed to illustrate how dialects or languages used by a single community and individuals are characterized by one dialect or language variety being accorded a higher

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prestige (H), used for instance in schools and government, while the other is accorded a lower prestige (L), used in fringe spaces.

Thus, a body of thought on multilingualism was premised on the assumption that a particular people speak a particular language and that the co-presence of another language, or even multiple languages, was an aberration and did not define the 'peoplehood' according to theoretical and territorial principles (Fasold, 1984). Idealized views of singular languages proliferated much throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, creating a legacy where multilingualism, territory and culture was defined across monolithic and homogenous, and very much modernist, lines. The typical understanding then of multilingualism as a phenomenon in contact was variationsts incorporating the idea that language spreads across various community borders, where one finds relatively small groupings of people in enclaves defined by limited boundaries and limited imaginings of identities (cf. Jacquemet, 2005: 260-261; see for different arguments in Kroskrity, 2000). This was so because the issues of language were at the heart of re-imagining the relevance of the European and American nation-state project (Briggs and Bauman, 2003). According to Pujolar (2007: 73),

> Language was generally seen as a key component of culture, which explains why linguistic unification was pursued so consistently. But there were many other consequences of this 'statalization' of language, as ideas about language became intimately bound up both with discourses about culture (involving evolutionism and the stigma of hybridity – and hence of bilingualism) and with rationalist management (standardization, hygienization).

Clyne observed that there were "...corresponding waves of more positive and more negative policies towards multilingualism, with the period immediately before World War I and between the wars essentially negative, reflecting xenophobia and monoculturalism, and the 1960s and 1970s positive, reflecting a quest for social

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equity, human rights, and a change from inhibiting structures" (Clyne, 1997: 303-304). Multilingualism was becoming more prominent in the 80s and 90s, with the end of the Cold War, intensive acts of genocide wars, increased mobility and immigration due to porous nation-state territories and borders (cf. Anderson, 1983; Coulmas, 1996, 2005, 2007). However, as Jacquemet (2005: 261) rightly points out, because "the majority of scholars interested in language failed to investigate the linguistic mutations resulting from communicative practices happening in the multiple crevasses, open spaces, and networked ensembles of contact zones", serious implications for the study of multilingualism alongside the rapid changes in globalization has remained in the background, while monolingualism despite all developments has retained center stage in discussions about language.

The rapid changes we observe in late-modern societies today have had significant implications for the way groups and individuals do multilingual communication. Often we fail to document how speakers use multiple languages to define their lived experiences and their social spaces. For many multilingual speakers, linguistic choices not only determine their mobility but also what benefits they may reap from an array of interactional settings around them (Weber and Horner, 2012).

In an attempt to rethink and retheorize the structural-functional legacy of sociolinguistics introduced at the beginning of this chapter (Heller, 2006; 2007a; Fairclough; 2006; de Swaan, 2001; Pennycook, 2007; McLaughlin, 2009; Blommaert, 2010), and the implications for a narrow monoglot view of language for citizenship, agency and voice in translocal contexts, a number of recent studies have critically analysed multilingualism in globalized and late-modern societies, which is increasingly seen in terms of situations of polyglossia (Jørgenson, 2011). (One such work that has attempted to chart a serious social approach to multilingualism is, for example, Weber and Horner, 2012.) These studies approach multilingualism in the light of globalization and the manifold changes that followed its constitution, and recognize the intimate syncretic development of both globalisation and emergent forms of multilingualism.

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Perhaps above all, recent studies reveal that the performance of multilingualism in late-modernity by individuals not only allows them to be global, but also in practice allows them to be *local* as well (cf. Pennycook, 2010a). In the literature on multilingualism, it is becoming increasingly clear that local place figures centrally in understanding local agency and voice. Place is important for capturing transcultural flows (Appadurai, 1996) of linguistic practices and social frictions (Tsing, 2005) emerging as a result of such flows. It is also doubly important for demonstrating the performativity of locality and how multilingual speakers figure their agency and voice in late-modern contexts of contact and conviviality.

More recently, for instance, Stroud and Jegels (ft., p. 3) postulates that "Places themselves are 'mobile', they change and shift shape over time as new building constructions, transport systems, and patterns of migration alter the physical, cultural and linguistic landscape of a site. Stroud (2009) argues, for instance, that multilingualism is the very semiotic resource used by young multilingual speakers for 'feeling in place' and for negotiating local political discourses in globalization. In this 'feeling in place' individual multilingual speakers' move through local place, simultaneously constructing different and unique ways to narrate and thus construe such places through a variety of multilingual (and multisemiotic) practices, that allows them to chart their mobility and to create conditions for the exercise of agency and the performance of voice.". As such, one cannot understate the importance of place in offering conditions that constrain or facilitate particular multilingual expressions of local linguistic agency and voice, and of multilingual speakers feeling in, and let us not forget, out of place. A particular sort of place of importance in this regard is public spaces of popular culture.

1.1.4.1 Multilingualism, Transcultural Flows and Multilingual Citizenship

An important engine in the transcultural flow of linguistic practices is popular culture. According to Harrington and Bielby (2001), popular culture is characterized by interactions and complex semiotic constructions mediated through popularized

music, religion, sport and a range of other activities. But, popular culture is not only about mass entertainment, it is also about "the food we eat, the clothing we wear, the people we spend time with, the gossip we share, the roadways we travel, and so forth" (Harrington and Bielby, 2001: 2). In South Africa, popular culture has been closely connected to the social and political imagination of the country (Wasserman and Jacobs, 2003; Kriger and Zegeye, 2001; Nuttall and Michael, 2000). Previously South Africa was considered 'a closed space', or, at the very least, as separate from the African continent. Today it is undergoing cultural and linguistic 'creolization', where there is arguably a new emphasis on the 'throwing together' of hybrid linguistic and cultural forms – creolization and bricolage. Predominant forms of popular culture in late modernity are Hip-Hop and popular tourist sites. Here, we find the use of linguistic elements that (re)create bounded and seemingly impervious monolingual 'spaces' into permeable multilingual 'places' in the enactment of transcultural practices. The role of popular culture in late modernity is important to understand in order to grasp the complex emerging multilingual communication patterns of youth. Recent studies show that multilingualism, in the context of transcultural flow and global English (Pennycook, 2007), is used by culture creators (in the case of Hip-Hop) and/or individual speakers alongside other languages in the construction, contextualizing and reconstructing of local multilingual spaces and local multilingual realities. Pennycook's recent work on the effects of transcultural flows and English as a global language in an age of globalization and late-modernity sheds light on the practice of multilingualism in the context of Hip-Hop and religion. With his colleague Tony Mitchell in Australia, a well-known Hip-Hop and popular culture scholar, Pennycook has mounted a systematic critique not only of the structural-functional models of sociolinguistics and applied linguistics, but pushed arguments to understand the plurality of identities of multilingual speakers in spaces of Hip-Hop. Just as importantly, H. Samy Alim's (2004, 2006, 2009a, 2009b) work on the other side of the Atlantic (the USA) on language, rap music, and *hiphopography* (an ethnographic method of studying

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the Hip-Hop culture), together with Pennycook, has provided the tools/framework for conducting research on Hip-Hop in this study.

Given the important role of popular culture on the African continent specifically (Simone, 2006; Dolby, 2003) for the production of non-institutionalized voice (cf. above), the question arises as to how discourses of linguistic agency, as multilingual citizenship, circulates in and across popular spaces, and also how it is performed and practiced by youth who participate in such spaces. The notion of multilingual citizenship, also known as linguistic citizenship, is a perspective on language and politics that seeks to account for "...the manifold challenges posed by late-modern contexts of migration and multilingualism for democracy and voice, and that takes as a central point of departure the desirability of constructing agency and maintaining voice across media, modalities and contexts" (Stroud, 2009: 208; Stroud and Heugh, 2004). In transnational multilingual contexts, multilingual citizenship reaches to a form of citizenship different to that of cultural citizenship (Canclini, 2001), political citizenship (Mamdani, 1999) or economic citizenship (Stiglitz, 2000), that can be "both a facilitative and constraining factor in the exercise of democratic citizenship and voice" (Stroud, 2009: 208). By combining the tenets or practices of cosmopolitan citizenship and deliberative democracy, Stroud argues that multilingual citizenship sensitizes us to an understanding of language that could help prise open those modalities and contexts where agency and voice is contested, and where language and multilingualism is used as a political resource.

Multilingual citizenship emphasizes that languages, varieties and registers used across modalities and contexts, affirms larger democratic processes and structures to create inclusive and participatory spaces for citizens to interact, especially in conditions of mobility, an important cog in deliberative democracy contexts. Stroud has argued that instead of fixating on a linguistics of localization, we should focus rather on multilingual mobility to deconstruct the 'multiple encodings of discourse' (genres, texts, repertoires and registers) that transfigure the relationship between the multilingual speaker, language and her/his spatial context (cf. Heller, 2011).

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In the next section of this chapter, I anchor this research study by providing a brief historical framing of the popular culture sites. We will see that historically, place figures as an important node in the performativity of agency and voice in these sites particularly because of the history of apartheid South Africa and its relevance today. Specifically, because of the country's history of displacing people (forced removals) and the contemporary tensions around race and class that continue into a post-apartheid national imaginary, it is here we find the notion linguistic citizenship is useful to unpack those tensions and challenge conventional forms of citizenship politics.

1.2 Conducting Research on Hip-Hop and Tshisa-Nyama Markets

Two local sites in particular promise to provide contexts favourable to the exploration of issues of voice, agency, citizenship and multilingualism in late-modern popular spaces. Both are located on the Cape Flats of Cape Town[3]. The first is Club Stones in Kuilsriver, a predominantly coloured township, where one can observe and document the performance of Hip-Hop and multilingualism amongst rappers, Hip-Hop fans and patrons of the club with respect to how multilingualism is spatialized and scaled as a popular space in the embodied performance of multilingualism. In particular, this space conveys a sense (or semiotics) of feeling in place.

The other research site is Mzoli's Meat, a popular township restaurant on the margins of one of Cape Town's oldest townships, in the predominantly black township of Gugulethu. This context allows for the exploration (in a similar way) of the relationship between the performance, practice (process), scaling, spatio-temporal arrangement, multisemioticity and embodiment of multilingualism and distribution of multilingualism in a popular space of Tshisa-Nyama. In contrast to club Stones, this space conveys a manufactured sense (semiotics) of *translocality*.

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[3] The Cape Flats refers to the geographical area outside of the city of Cape Town where the predominantly coloured and black population lives as a result of apartheid South Africa's Groups Area Act of 1950.

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In the next two sub-sections, I briefly introduce a historical framing of both contexts.

1.2.1 Hip-Hop in Cape Town

Hip-hop in Cape Town started at the turn of the 1980s during the most violent period of apartheid (cf. Haupt, 1996; 2008, Nkonyeni, 2007, Warner, 2007, Watkins, 2000). It was first practiced in marginal spaces, such as public parks, malls, backyards, and street corners. By 1982 the beginnings of a Hip-Hop community was in the forming, visible in the practices of DJ-ing, Rapping, Graffiti writing and Break dancing, across the city of Cape Town and its townships. It began to develop in earnest in the predominantly coloured community of Mitchell's Plain, and about this time, the practice of Hip-Hop began to move into clubs, such as *T-zers* in Cape Town CBD, *The Space Odyssey* in Salt River, *Galaxy* in Athlone, *Route 66* in Mitchell's Plain, and later in *The Base*. These were places of relative safety where DJs such as Ready D and others perfected their turntabling skills. The Base club, for instance, is considered the first place where Hip-Hop music was heard. It was a home for Hip-Hoppers, a place for hosting matinees in the afternoon. It is difficult to put a precise date to the emergence of Hip-Hop in Cape Town. What we do know today from accurate interview accounts by old school Hip-Hop heads[4] is that this *subculture* emerged at the turn of the 1980s. It started during turbulent times and it took a few extraordinary Cape Flats youth to develop it, practising it in public parks, malls, backyards, corners and every little public space to spread the culture of Hip-Hop.

As a result, by 1982 the practice of Hip-Hop in Cape Town was seen everywhere on the streets first through branded clothes (the donning of Nike and Addidas *hoodies, baggies, track suits* and *takkies*) and later through performances. However, it first came to be owned through the media in the form of movies: there was *Flashdance, Beat Street, Breakin', Body Rock* and *Wild Style*. These movies were

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[4] Hip-Hop heads are knowledgeable individuals in the Hip-Hop culture who are not only the core and long-term members (cf. Morgan, 2009) but practice, transmit the knowledge and preserve the aesthetic and artistic use of the elements (Djing, Rap, B-boying, Graffiti Writing and Knowledge of the Self).

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responsible for the first 'act' of Hip-Hop to appear: b-boying; which became visible in the township Mitchell's Plain where local Hip-Hop first took root. It is the township that gave Cape Town Hip-Hop its 'underground' notoriety and those youth who joined found meaningful ways to be expressive and authentic practitioners of the culture.

The apartheid government heavily policed the production of Hip-Hop or rap spaces in Cape Town, and this had significant implications for where, and for how long, the practice and art of rap and b-boying could take place. Nkonyeni (2007: 156-7) states that

> The b-boy culture spread all over the Cape flats and battles took place wherever there was an appropriate surface. Body Rock, a club in Thornton Road, Athlone, became one of the venues where almost every Saturday afternoon b-boys congregated to showcase the new moves they had taught themselves during the week. Like so many eighties products, breaking enjoyed a short period of intense support. The crews performed in clubs, carnivals, shopping malls and schools, but the limelight they enjoyed was short-lived...Club T-zers was one exception that offered young breakers the opportunity to move their weekly battleground out of the Cape Flats and into Cape Town's CBD.

In the late 1980s, The Base, located on 88 Shortmarket Street in Cape Town, came to be established as the 'capital' of Hip-Hop in Cape Town. B-boys, Graffiti writers, DJs and Rap crews would come from all over the Cape Flats and in their own way, through their transcultural experiences, represented their respective townships. It is here that Hip-Hop in Cape Town developed in earnest. Even though The Base closed its doors in the 90s, at its zenith, Hip-Hop produced, among others, two of Cape Town's most respected old school rap crews: *Black Noise* and *P.O.C.* Black Noise, the first rap crew to arise out of this Hip-Hop community, first called *Chill*

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Convention, were made up of rappers Marley, Dean, Emile and Worro. P.O.C comprises DSA a.k.a Shaheen, DJ Ready D, Ramone and Jazzmo. Haupt (2009) reflects on the importance of The Base during the late 80s and 90s:

> Spaces like the Base were vital to constituting not just a gathering of Hip-Hop fans, but to constituting a community of Hip-Hop heads who literally made the credo 'each one teach one' a reality: young and old heads perfected their skills as b-boys and b-girls, turn-tablists and MCs in a supportive and highly competitive culture. This was where the late Mr. Fat, Shamiel X, Shanaaz Adams, Shaheen Ariefdien, b-boy Ramone, Ready D, Falko, Emile YX?, Caramel, Malika Daniels, Jazzmo and many others established lasting friendships that would lead to the formation of the legendary crews like Prophets of da City, Black Noise and later, Brasse vannie Kaap.

P.O.C in particular was the first rap crew to sign a recording contract with record company Tusk (Haupt, 1996). Their debut album was called *Our World* (1990) and many others followed, most notably, *Age of Truth* (1993) and *Universal Souljaz* (1995). They were responsible for producing music for rap groups such as *4th Deep* (a female Hip-Hop group), the late rapper *Mr. Devious, Dlow Afrikaans, Godessa* and influenced many more.

The growth and development of the Hip-Hop culture in Cape Town has become firmly entrenched in the public imagination of the country. Annual Hip-Hop events ensure that the culture thrives: events such as the *Heal the Hood* project; the *African Hip-Hop Indaba*; *Battle of the Year South Africa*; *African Battle Cry*; *Freestyle Session South Africa*; *Shut Up Just Dance*; *Up the Rock*; *Cape Flats Uprising*; *Positive Poster Day*; and much more. These events make it virtually impossible for anybody to ignore its history, let alone its presence in Cape Town and South Africa.

Hip-hop in Cape Town has always had a large following among the coloured population, but today more and more rappers from other race groups are emerging.

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Most notable have been the white rap group, *Die Antwoord*, and white rapper *Jack Parow*. In contrast, the phenomenon *Spaza* rap (a combination of isiXhosa/English and Afrikaans lyrics) has its roots in black townships. Here, the most prominent are the rap group *Driemanskap* and rapper *Rattex* (amongst others) from the township of Gugulethu and Khayelitsha respectively.

The rap and Hip-Hop performances studied in this research project were located in and outside Club Stones, in the Northern Suburbs (Kuilsriver) of Cape Town. Like many other clubs, it was a safe haven for the practice of the culture, but also a nexus of commercial development and entrepreneurialism. Regularly, on a Wednesday night between 20H00 and 02H00, Stones played host to a gathering of youths comprising rappers, DJs and Hip-Hop fans who enjoyed the Hip-Hop show, "Stepping Stones to Hip-Hop". In 2008, a group called Suburban Menace, approached Club Stones´s management in Kuilsriver and negotiated the hosting of a Hip-Hop show. A young group at that time, their main purpose was to gain experience performing in front of an audience in a club. Emcees of Suburban Menace were my main informants and entry to the popular space of Hip-Hop detailed in this study.

1.2.2 Tshisa-Nyama[5] Markets in Cape Town

A Meat Market is a trading nexus where vendors exchange products such as fresh meat and grilled meats in an informal economy and networks of exchange that have deep historical roots that can be traced back to the rise of black townships in South Africa (generally) and on the Cape Flats of Cape Town (more specifically) (Rogerson, 1988; Wardrop, 2006; Hammet and Jayawardane, 2009). They are places where scripts of service encounters are performed through more than one language (Cook, 2009) and where identities and loyalties around eating preferences (Stanford, 2009; Matthee, 2004) are established.

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[5] Xhosa for Burning (Tshisa) Meat (Nyama)

In this study, the meat market investigated, that is Mzoli's Meat in Gugulethu, forms part of the Tshisa-Nyama Culture in black townships. In isiXhosa, Tshisa-Nyama refers to Burning Meat, or meat placed on a grill. It is a cultural practice deeply embedded in township life, but has arisen, according to Rogerson (1988: 20) (who studied *Shisha Inyama*[6] places in Johannesburg), as a "direct by-product of segregationist ideologies and practice" of the apartheid state. The grilling of meat in Meat Markets was understood as a practice that "belonged to the flies" (Abrahams, 1954: 186), and was deemed as unsanitary and a public health threat by local municipality officials who therefore tried to regulate the cultural and gastronomic practice. However, as Rogerson's argues, this was because "the dangers associated with the threat of the 'Black peril' were perceived from the outset" (1988: 21) and agitated apartheid state officials. Regulation often meant that Tshisa-Nyama owners had to put up a board or plate with the racial (commercial) epithet, "Kaffir Eating House", followed by legislation that allowed 'coloured persons' to enter the premises, but prohibited white females and children to do so.

In Mzoli's, the culture of Tshisa-Nyama is thriving. On the one hand, the venue functions sometimes as butchery to local residents living in the township, but it is also, on the other hand, a place of entertainment. Although it used to be predominantly patronized by local black isiXhosa residents in Gugulethu, Mzoli's has since its inception embraced the spirit of globalization and late-modernity by opening up to transnational discourses and practices of consumption (Pirie, 2006), evidenced amongst other things, by a recent visit of well-known British Chef Jamie Oliver, and the rapid increase in urban township tourism.

The physical structure of Tshisa-Nyama Markets places are usually defined by the circulation of local products, as well as a thriving informal economy, and by a sonic environment defined by vibrant and diverse sound spaces, and the embodied performance of language (Mqhaba, 1982).

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[6] Sotho for Burning (Shisha) Meat (Inyama)

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1.3 Research Questions and Approach

The challenge for multilingual studies at present is to offer new and creative ways to document the way speakers in globalized late-modernity are appropriating and consolidating new practices and ideas of multilingualism. Recent studies on languaging and polylingualism (Pietikäinen et al, 2008) have demonstrated how such speakers' use the functional and emblematic resources of a variety of languages to enact heritage forms of identities and negotiate new citizenship discourses in public spheres. The increasing importance of citizenship discourses in rapidly changing public spheres, and the complexity of linguistic resources available for agency and voice in a variety of both institutionalized and informal contexts have complicated the very idea of what it means to be a citizen today. New ways of being a citizen are outpacing our theoretical perspectives of citizenship; formal, conventional political (public) spheres (Habermas, 1989) are in many ways being superceded by public and popular convivial spheres (Badiou, 2000). Given the foregoing contextualization, I sought to explore the role and importance of different forms of multilingual practice for how individuals navigate both Club Stones and Mzoli's Meat as popular convivial spaces, and ultimately, as places of voice and agency. In this dissertation, I describe and discuss the scaling and spatio-temporal arrangement of Mzoli's Meat and Club Stones as popular spaces that create affordances for qualitatively quite different multilingual practices.

In researching the performance and practice of multilingualism in the popular spaces above, questions related to linguistic dimensions of agency and voice take center stage. Agency is generally described as a person's drive to effect change or act in the face of power. Voice can be understood as the capacity to cause an uptake close enough to one's desired contextualisation" (Blommaert, 2005: 45); voice is the linguistic or indexical orders set in motion by social and cultural actors (Silverstein, 2003) that emerges in the performance and practice of regimes of multilingual diversity and interaction.

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Sociologists such as Anthony Giddens (1979), Michael Sahlins (1981) and Pierre Bourdieu (1977) among others focused "on the ways in which human actions are dialectically related to social structure in a mutually constitutive manner" (Ahearn, 2000: 12), ushering in what is now known as 'practice theory' (Ortner, 2001; Schatzki, 2001; 2010). Ahearn notes that for practice theorists such as Sherry Ortner, people are agents whose "actions are always already socially, culturally and linguistically constrained" (2000: 13). Since the 1970s, scholars have criticized structuralism's inability to accommodate agency or to describe "the human capacity to act" (Ahearn, 2000: 12). This critique gained momentum with the counteracting activism of feminist theorists against power abusive structures and inequalities.

In this study, I aim to demonstrate that agency is enacted by young people in different, unexpected and unfamiliar ways, partly because popular spaces do not share logics of practices and performance typical of familiar institutions. I take as a point of departure a definition of agency in terms of the ability or capacity of social actors to talk about and to bring about social and institutional change. In particular, my focus here will be on linguistic agency and how such agency comes about in the processes of linguistic performances, where linguistic agency emerges in congeries of "broader sociocultural ideologies" (Stroud and Wee, 2005: 322) within popular spaces. The focus on linguistic agency is important in order to understand how young people index new meanings in popular spaces as a result of socio-political developments in super-linguistic diverse South Africa. More importantly, it will help us understand how such change is entwined with languages, language varieties, styles and registers that complicate voice in popular spaces (see Cole, 2010: 15; cf. Wee, 2011).

The main research questions posed in this study thus deal with how linguistic resources are used and appropriated by youth in the practice and performance of multilingualism in popular spaces in late-modern Cape Town. In particular, in which ways do young multilingual speakers deploy their linguistic resources (language, language varieties, register and styles) in informal contexts of different scalarity? How are multilingual resources used within and across scales (local and translocal)

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to create a shared sense of space and place? What linguistic and non-linguistic aspects of multilingualism are stylized in young multilingual speakers' speech for the purpose of positioning their late-modern selves and social stereotypes in popular spaces as either local, global or glocal? In this process, what features of genres/texts are contextualized and recontextualized, and ultimately, entextualized by young multilingual speakers to display semiotically aspects of their marginalized voice? How does the scalarity of place impact on multilingual expression, and emergence of, (new) forms of voice and agency? And what are the implications of different processes of enregisterment of multilingual practices for agency and voice? How do young multilingual speakers identify with new notions of speakership and linguistic ownership in polyglossic and scaled multilingual environments? In addition, can we discuss all this in terms of new forms of multilingually mediated citizenships, or *multilingual citizenship* across popular spaces of Hip-Hop and Tshisa-Nyama in late-modern Cape Town?

In order to approach these questions, the study worked within a post-structuralist conceptual framing, drawing on notions of *entextualization* (Bauman and Briggs, 1991; Hymes, 1960) and *enregisterment* (Agha, 2007) to capture how certain types of multilingualism become shared and find permanence in the *upscaling and downscaling* (see Blommaert, 2006; 2003) of various framed interactions (Goffman, 1981) in popular spaces. These concepts illustrate how young multilingual speakers semiotically perform different forms of agency and voice by drawing on different linguistic resources. They were also useful in illustrating how different forms of agency and voice are carried in the emergence and temporary, flighty, occurrence of 'new' dialects and language varieties.

The methodology of this study was based on multi-sited ethnography (cf. Appadurai, 1996; Burawoy *et al*, 2000; Marcus, 1995; 1998, Watson, 1999; Hannerz, 2003; Heller, 2007b). The main sources of data were participant-observation and interviews in the form of retrospective commentary from participants. I also used pull-out 'interview conversations' (Blommaert and Dong, 2010) and employed a video camera to record not only what participants believe and know about their

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own multilingual practices, but how particular forms of multilingual practice multilingualism emerged in the on-going spatializations of popular spaces. I also made video recordings to retrieve a holistic picture of the material or physical conditions that influence the constitution of popular spaces. In addition, to support my ethnographic narrative for both Stones and Mzoli's Meat, I made observation notes and collected personal photographs of patrons and youth. Thus, the study draws on triangulations of various types of complex and polymorphous discourse practices' (Blommaert, 2006a: 3) from young multilingual speakers' multilingual performances and practices in these spaces that were highly stylized and scripted.

1.4 Overview of Chapters

In the next two chapters of this section, Chapters 2 and 3, I will discuss the conceptual framework and the methodology used to collect the data for this project.

The second part of the thesis explores practices and perceptions of multilingualism in local popular spaces of Hip-Hop. It consists of three chapters. In Chapter 4, I set the scene for a more detailed analysis of agency and voice in chapters 5 and 6 with respect to Hip Hop. I do this by sketching the ethnographic context of Club Stones in terms of the practices and processes that make Club Stones into a local and downscaled place that provides particular types of normativities and affordances for how multiple languages are used.

Chapter 5 is an analysis of rap braggadocio performances by MobCoW family members in Club Stones, and Chapter 6 demonstrates and analyses the processes of enregisterment with respect to cipha performances in Club Stones.

The third part of this thesis moves on to the analysis of multilingualism in a popular space of Tshisa-Nyama. In chapter 7, I provide an ethnographic description of Mzoli's Meat in terms of how, as a multisemiotically designed space, it is scaled as a translocal (although simultaneously de-scaled and local) place.

In Chapter 8, I present an analysis of the metalinguistic function of language use in the stand-up performance of a comedian who visits Mzoli's, Nik Rabinowitz, as he

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stylizes multilingualism and entextualizes discourses of identity and enregisters typified personae along racial, religious and ethnic lines.

This is followed by Chapter 9 where I analyse how Nik, the comedian at Mzoli's brings out, through techniques of humour, the importance of multilingualism on the margins of Cape Town and the use of non-authoritative language varieties and registers on the margins of South African life.

In the final part, Part 4, Chapter 10 draws a discussion and conclusion by consolidating the analysis, assumptions, and research questions.

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Chapter 2
Conceptual Framework

2.0 Introduction

This study is about how non-authoritative and marginal discourses circulating in popular spaces of music and food are taken up and are linked to dialects and varieties of languages and multilingualism in bids for linguistic agency in late-modern Cape Town.

A number of scholars recently have attempted to rethink the role of multilingualism in late-modern societies. These scholars seek to break away from the structural-functional hold (Cameron, 1997) on multilingualism through documentation, illustration and understanding of the circulation and flow of language practices, that is linguistic *mobility* (Blommaert *et al*, 2005; Vigouroux, 2005; Arnaut, 2005; Jacquemet, 2005; Jaspers, 2009; Stroud and Mpendukana, 2009; Slembrouck, 2009; Slembrouck, Collins and Baynham, 2010). However, not only do these authors emphasize mobility of language forms and practices, but they also highlight the need to focus on the *spaces* that linguistic forms traverse in their mobile trajectories. The importance of considering space in understanding multilingualism is that it underscores the imperative of the *spatial turn* in multilingualism research and study. Admittedly, concern with place and space is not new in sociolinguistics; one may recognise an early engagement with space, place and scale among variationists, for example, even if the concepts were not explicitly used, or limited to place-like references, such as cities, neighbourhoods, countries, and states. However, the full import of the spatial turn goes far beyond this. As a backdrop for this chapter, the studies cited here will provide a conceptual anchor for the analysis of multilingualism in popular spaces of Hip-Hop and Tshisa-Nyama in this study.

In the next section of the chapter, I will provide a brief discussion of the 'spatial turn' in multilingualism studies. In this section, I define and describe the notions *space*, *place* and *scale*. Following Lefebvre (1991), I postulate that space is not a mere emptiness, but is transmodally constituted by discourses, languages and transcultural flows such as those that take place in conjunction with Hip-Hop and Tshisa-Nyama. Following on this, in sections (2.3 and 2.4), I introduce the core analytical notions: performance, stylization, entextualization and enregisterment that further contribute to the development of a mobile concept of language. In order to address the research questions posed in the previous chapter, each of these notions will be used to analyze how late modernity offers up new conditions for the practice of language and the performance of multilingualism across the interlinked popular spaces studied here, and each notion will help reveal what youth do with language for identity stylization as they navigate the respective popular spaces. I show that what multilingual youth do with language in popular spaces has much to do with the appropriation of the formal properties of registers, varieties and dialects of other speakers and from other spaces both local and global, to *brand*-cum-*stylize* their selves and their agency. Of interest here is how the core analytical notions together provide insights into what features of discourse and texts are lifted out of these other contexts and used in specific performances in these popular spaces (entextualized). These forms of language may subsequently take on properties and social indexicalities that become associated with more stable and recognized forms of talk or registers (enregisterment), thereby becoming available to be used for specific expressions of voice and agency. However, in order to understand the processes behind contextualizing spaces, the next section discusses the spatial turn in humanities more generally, and in language studies specifically.

## 2.1 Origins and Development of the "Spatial Turn"

At the turn of the twentieth century, scholars have given much attention to the spatial contours of human, social and linguistic life. From anthropology, history,

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archaeology and such disciplines such as accounting, it became obvious that the exploration of space challenged classic understanding of the way society was understood. The adoption of the notion of space in various disciplines is what renowned spatial theorist Edward Soja (1989, 1996, 2004) has dubbed 'the spatial turn'. The beginnings of the spatial turn, according to Soja, occurred with 'transdisciplinary diffusion' from geography to history that signalled an intellectual struggle in the later period of the nineteenth century. For much of the twentieth century "epistemological and intellectual privileging of history had become almost taken for granted", because it was "assumed that everything that exists or ever has existed has a significant historical dimension and that whatever happens or has happened can be best understood, first of all, through a critical historical perspective" (Soja, 2004: xi-xii). However, studies in geography began critically to engage with history whilst often new perspectives where social organization and social processes of social life far from being *aspatial*, unimpeded by specificity of locality and context were relatively treated as place in space. The works of Michel Foucault and Henri Lefebvre feature prominently in rethinking of space, in the establishment and development of critical approaches to space and spatialization of social, historical and everyday life, signifying an important shift away from the privileging of historical materialism and aspatial epistemologies.

A leading theorist in France, Michel Foucault is well known for his genealogical studies in which he posed the simple questions as to *why* and *how* 'space' (Elden, 2001) had been conceived in Western historical epistemologies. He questioned the way in which space was theorized as almost if not entirely "the dead, the fixed, the immobile, the undialectical" (Foucault, 1980: 70). By developing a tableaux of different means of interrogation, Foucault (who was profoundly influenced by intellectual figures Heidegger and Nietzsche) posed questions to initiate critical conversations with French architects on space (in *Of Other Spaces*), previously developed implicitly in a number of his seminal studies (see *The Birth of the Clinic, Madness and Civilization* and *Discipline and Punish*) (see also Crampton and Elden, 2007).

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Elden (2001: 119) states that Foucault's conception of space is the unpacking of "both physical and mental conceptions of space...[are]...parts of the greater whole, [that is] abstractions from the more fundamental level of the lived experience". And in an interview with Paul Rabinow (1984), to clarify some of the assertions made in the text *Of Other Spaces*, Foucault emphatically exclaimed that 'space is fundamental in any form of communal life' (see Soja, 1989: 19).

Henri Lefebvre, responsible for developing a singularly critical perspective that convinced spatial theorists and scholars about spatiality in history, social theory and geography, has had a lasting impact with respect to the notion space. Soja recollects: "...there were very few scholars who would be willing and able to open up their critical historico-social perspective to the equivalent powers of critical spatial thinking and the possibility that society and spatiality, history and geography, were mutually constructed, with no a priori privileging whatsoever" (Soja, 2004: xiii). What Lefebvre theorised led to a transdisciplinary revolution and a store of research on space in social theory, philosophy and other disciplines in the humanities, and now most recently in multilingualism.
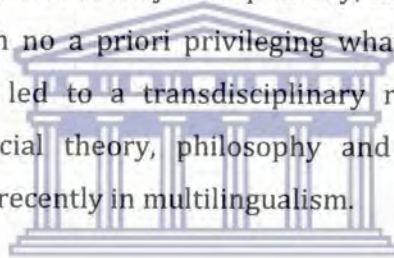
2.1.1 The *Spatial Turn* in Multilingualism

Since the 19th century, geography had influenced studies of dialectology and variationist sociolinguistics more broadly. On the one hand, sociolinguists specializing in dialectology found a way to map the distribution, diffusion and spreading out of dialects in a given geographical area. They charted dialects and their cross-border linguistic pollination across boundaries, hills, behind mountains and traced their use in various media of communication (Mansour, 1994). From this they generated dialectal maps illustrating the distribution of a lexico-grammatical feature of a dialect by assigning named value to that feature, and collecting them in isoglosses. According to Baynham (2012: 115),

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Apparently concerned with the spatial distribution of dialects, the driving force of this movement was in fact temporal/historical: the reconstruction of earlier forms of the language through the evidence of the present and the specification of the laws or tendencies governing its evolution, an instance of the obsession with origins in nineteenth century scholarship.

A more detailed focus on the spatiality of language was initially the brief of variationist sociolinguistics. Linguists, concerned to unpack the spatial dimensions of language 'in place' (the exact composition of which was seldom stated explicitly), documented and mapped how language changed and was influenced by space and place, how it was structured, and its order in particular spaces such as department stores (Labov, 1972; Milroy and Milroy, 1997; Wodak and Benke, 1997; Eckert, 1997; Heller, 1999). The focus was on how the internal linguistic practice of languages, the spread of the language, the code-switching practices and functionality of languages were matched by or defined by geographical and physical borders (Cameron, 1997; Rampton, 1998; Silverstein, 1998; Modan; 2007; see also Park and Wee, 2008). Sociolinguistic studies, documenting language in this sense, recognized and took on the developments of spatial theory from the field of quantitative human geography (Williams, 1992; Bailey *et al*, 1993). According to Johnstone (2004), the most successful influence of spatial theory in sociolinguistics has been location theory posited and established then by geographer Torsten Hägerstrand (see also, Johnstone, 2010; 2011a). Johnstone informs us that the manner in which variationists, for instance, studied patterns of locating language was achieved through spatial simulation and modeling of processes of social and linguistic change, a procedure well illustrated in Trudgill's (1974) research on language change in Norway. The use of location theory allowed variationist theorists and other sociolinguists to document how co-occurring patterns of speech change were influenced by effects such as socioeconomic status and where a speaker or community lived.

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Nevertheless, it was the *city* becoming the object of study in urban studies, largely as a result of the industrial revolution, that was the most formative dynamic behind much of the spatial turn in sociolinguistics (cf. Baynham, 2012). The disciplines of dialectology and variationist sociolinguistics owe much to the discursive and methodological turns made by geography and pioneering sociologists (Cavan, 1983) who mapped social deprivation and poverty. Especially for the variationists the large-scale surveys conducted by the Chicago School of Sociology helped to develop "large-scale survey methodology with ethnographic neighbourhood studies" (Baynham, 2012: 16) for cartographic purposes. Presently, the challenge for these methodologies is to account for the trajectory and speed at which multilingual practices are being emplaced, scaled, and positioned as a consequence of late-modernity and globalization.

In recent years, studies in multilingualism from the perspective of discourse analysis and pragmatics have slowly been developing a more ethnographic approach to understanding the practice of multilingualism in space and place (Johnstone, 2004; Modan, 2007; special issue on *Communicating place, space and mobility* by McIlvenny, Broth and Haddington, 2009; McIlvenny, 2007; Masso and Tender, 2008; McLaughlin, 2009; Jaspers, 2009; special issue *on Multilingualism and Diasporic populations: spatializing practices, institutional processes and social hierarchices* by Blommaert, Collins and Slembrouck, 2005; McLaughlin, 2009; Slembrouck, Collins and Baynham, 2010). Vigouroux (2005), for example, is a good exponent of this development. She shows how the language practices and identity construction of Francophone immigrants is 'territorialized' in Cape Town (cf. Mbong, 2006; 2011). Space and territoriality, for her, are both physical and symbolic constructs respectively which are essential to take into consideration when grasping how Francophone immigrants conduct their daily language practices and construct their identities (cf. Arnaut, 2005; Heller, 2011). The manner in which Vigouroux's Francophone African migrants navigate multilingual variation and contact in Cape Town reflects their changing urban enclaves, communities, and neighbourhoods (Peck, forthcoming), and the ever changing spatialized territories

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across and through which they move (see Vigouroux, 2008a), besides maintaining complex economic, political and social networks, including (re)connections with homelands, borderlands and lost tongues (cf. Arnaut, 2005: 217-235; Vigouroux and Mufwene, 2008; McLaughlin, 2009). Thus, to understand migrants' multilingualism, Vigouroux frames her study in detailed ethnographies and a semiotics of space and place.

Notions and understandings of space have also become more sophisticated. In an article entitled *Multilingual Spaces*, Blommaert *et al* (2005) point out how space, rather than just being a 'container' for semiosis actually 'actively' organizes 'regimes of language'. These authors suggest a novel take on multilingualism where 'being multilingual' is less a question of proficiency than it is a question of whether a particular space provides the affordance for "our capacity to deploy linguistic resources and skills" (2005: 198). In a similar way to Vigouroux, Blommaert, Slembrouck and others mentioned here, complex ethnographies of *space* form the basis of the current study's attempt to document, understand and unpack the multilingual practices in popular spaces of Hip-Hop and Tshisa-Nyama in late-modern Cape Town.
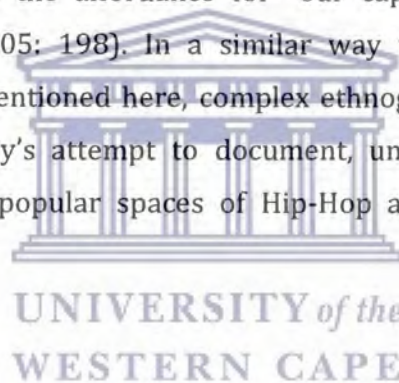
2.1.3 Space and Place

Defining the concept of space is a slippery exercise. According to Lefebvre (1976: 31),

> Space is not a scientific object removed from ideology and politics; it has always been political and strategic. If space has an air of neutrality and indifference with regard to its contents and thus seems to be 'purely' formal, the epitome of rational abstraction, it is precisely because it has been occupied and used, and has already been the focus of post processes whose traces are not always evident on the landscape. Space has been shaped and molded from historical and

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natural elements, but his has been a political process. Space is political and ideological. It is a product literally filled with ideologies. (Cited in Soja, 1989: 80)

Space is not, according to Soja (2004: x), 'immutable or naturally given'. It continuously changes according to social organization and structure. In today's highly mobile world, space is subject to the formative dynamics of globalization, reterritorialization and localization. Understanding space is an important first step in understanding how late-modernity shapes multilingual, social and cultural interaction.

Giddens points out that it is important to distinguish *place* from space[7]. To Giddens, "[p]lace" is best conceptualised by means of the idea of locale, which refers to the physical settings of social activity as situated geographically" (Giddens, 1990: 18). The dynamics of late-modern social interaction fosters a different way of understanding place as "... thoroughly penetrated by and shaped in terms of social influences quite distant from" each other (Giddens, 1990: ibid). Thus, *place* is space with meaning constituted, among other ways, through the built environment (Markus and Cameron, 2002), most commonly understood as representing the physical or material structure which structures and sequences spaces. Thomas Hylland Erikson (2003: 12) puts it well: "Since spaces require agency and human interpretation in order to become 'places', it is clear that each 'space' may exist as various 'places' in so far as many agents invest it with different meanings". Places like student cafeterias, and restaurants and entertainment places like Hip-Hop clubs become such places through the meaningful and significant social practices that 'takes place there'.

According to Keating (2000: 235), 'spaces are settings for a wide variety of events' where 'different meanings are mapped onto the same location at different

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[7] Lefebvre put it well some time ago, "…we are surrounded by emptiness, but it is an emptiness filled with signs!" (Lefebvre, 1971: 135)

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times'. Place manifests space that is utilized for an array of events and activities that could commonly define a culture, a people's way of living, and influence ways of using language.

2.1.4.1 *Scale*

Like place, the notion of scale used in this study is useful in order to illustrate how speakers attach value to certain spaces and places, also subsequently to language. According to Blommaert (2007: 3),

> ...the layered...nature of sociolinguistic phenomena should be seen as tied to differences between "scales," and that introducing this notion of scales strengthens the social-theoretical foundations of sociolinguistic analysis.

Scaling research defines the concept broadly as how space becomes culturally, politically and linguistically value-laden, and how this may over time be subject to downscaling, upscaling and rescaling (globalised, regionalised and localised) on a vertical axis (Adams, 1996; Delaney, 1997; Cox, 1998; Marston, 2000; Swyngedouw and Baeten, 2001; Escobar, 2001; Judd, 1998; Uitermark, 2002; Corsín Jiménez, 2003; Jones, 1998).

The idea of different scales was early on theorized in the work of World Systems scholarship (see Wallerstein, 2000; cf. Blommaert, 2007) where it is understood that the notion accounts for social activity on '*a continuum of layered scales*' with two extremes: the local on the one end and the global on the other, meshing in various intermediary scales. The manner in which cultural and language practices occur in times of globalization, happen on different *scale-levels*, and by extension various scales interact with each other. According to Blommaert (2007: 4), scale is

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...a metaphor that suggests that we have to imagine things that are of a different order, that are hierarchically ranked, stratified. The metaphor suggests spatial images; these images, however, are vertical metaphors of space rather than horizontal ones (implicit in terms such as "distribution" and "spread," but also "community," "culture," and so on). Scales offer us a vertical image of spaces, of space as stratified and therefore power-invested; but they also suggest deep connections between spatial and temporal features. In that sense, scale may be a concept that allows us to see sociolinguistic phenomena as nonunified in relation to a stratified, non-unified image of social structure.

The semiotics of space, place and scale serves as the anchor point for the ethnography of popular spaces in this study. Using these notions allows us to understand what is global and what is local with respect to the constitution of popular spaces, and thus offers insights into how young multilingual speakers create a shared sense of localness or translocalness. In the next section of this chapter, I provide a discussion of the core analytical notions that will be used to describe and analyze the performance of multilingualism in popular spaces.

2.2 Performance

In a recent special issue of the *Journal of Sociolinguistics*, Bell and Gibson (2011) re-introduce sociolinguists to the richness of performance as an analytical tool for studying linguistic practices in different contexts. They build the argument that staged language is linguistically stylized, can produce novel forms of language, and has the potential to provide us with information about language change. Bell and Gibson's introduction also remind us how Chomsky (1965) defined performance as "the locale of linguistic imperfections" (Bell and Gibson, 2011: 556), in contrast to 'linguistic competence', leading Dell Hymes (1981) in the context of linguistic

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anthropology to argue that performance is critically part of a (communicative) competence, so that highly stylized performances are revealing of speakers' competence. '

Richard Bauman (2011), an expert on performance *par excellence* (linguistic and otherwise), remarks on the relevance of Hymes' stance on performance and the critique of variationist sociolinguists, most notably among them, William Labov (1966, 1972). By introducing performance as a focus of analysis within variationist sociolinguistics, Bauman contests that the paradigm suffered from a series of methodological limitations. As he puts it, variationist studies "became more routinized and restricted in its aims and methods, performance – in which the reflexive focus is the formal organization of the entextualized act of expression rather than the word or sentence – was tainted by its own order of reflexive attention to speech and drawn off the board" (Bauman, 2011: 709). This is despite Labov's own early work on genre, as Bauman eagerly points out.

Bauman's expansion of the notion of performance as an analytical focus in the context of 'verbal art' (Bauman and Sherzer, 1989) is influenced by Hymes' work on folklore studies and "build[s] on the reconceptualization of the competence-performance dyad within the ethnography of speaking" (Bauman, 2011: 710), and principally drew on the work of Erving Goffman (1963, 1975, 1981). As Bauman himself argues, the specific approach to performance developed in the ethnography of speaking and linguistic anthropology studies adopted the notions of *frame* (contemporaneously known as *stance* in Jaffe, 2009), *key* and *footing* from Goffman. The reason: it was understood that "…specific inventories of communicative means that may serve as keys to performance in a given community are to be discovered ethnographically, not assumed *a priori* (Bauman, 2011: 711) (italics in original). Thus it was with Goffman's dramaturgical approach to performance – life as theatre – that a final departure from transformational-generative linguistics' dyad was possible, which in turn led to a burgeoning of (ethnographic) performance research in linguistic anthropology (Duranti, 2009) and interactional sociolinguistics (Gumperz, 1982).

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In recent studies on the sociolinguistics of performance (Bell and Gibson, 2011: 5610-567, see also Coupland, 2011b; Johnstone, 2011; and Bucholtz and Lopez, 2011; in the same issue) a number of different macro- and micro-linguistic dimensions are highlighted as important foci. These are; the performance of identity through language; how speakers perform language about language; how language is performed for an audience; the type of authenticity framed for the audience through performance, the genre being performed and the performance of non-performance elements such as music, the set, appearance, movement and gesture, all figure as part of the macro-linguistic dimensions of performances. In contrast, micro-linguistic dimensions of performance, refer to sociophonetic aspects such as how accents are parodied, and how certain voices characterlogically are quoted in reported speech (see Agha, 2003) among other linguistic characteristics (Gibson and Bell, 2011).

In focus for this study, are multilingual performances where speakers attend to the finer details of linguistic form and meaning in order to stylize different personae, and to create a shared sense of space on the margins of an urban sphere in rapid transformation (cf. Bray et al, 2010).

2.3 Stylization

In order to understand the idea of *stylization*, we need first to grasp it's distinctiveness to the notion of style: "a social semiosis of distinctiveness" that "crosscuts [...] communicative and behavioral modalities and integrates them thematically (Hebdige, 1979) (cited in Stroud and Wee, 2012: 65). In first wave variationist sociolinguistics (to follow Eckert, 2008; cf. Labov, 1966), different styles of speaking were typically associated with the study of dialects ("social styles of yesteryear", Coupland, 2007: 2) in particular geographical locations that could be statistically mapped and analyzed to generate generalizations about the frequency and distribution of variable linguistic forms (Chambers and Trudgill, 1999). In such analysis, the physical place figured as an important aspect in the distribution of a

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linguistic variable or style. For first wave sociolinguists, the city and its enclaves offered the ingredients necessary to "tease out the complexities of language variation" (Coupland, 2007: ibid) and the social indexicalities associated with particular neighborhoods or city blocks. Perhaps more importantly, dialects offered the style resources that could be charted quantitatively for the purpose of differentiating between say Received Pronunciation and African-American Vernacular English. Whatever the case may have been, the notion of style became one of the prime variables to which variationist sociolinguistics turned to account for stable patterns of hierarchical individual and group variation.

In the Labovian tradition, style was a concept that denoted (quantitative) distribution of speech forms along a continuum of formality and monitored speech production ('stylistic variation', Rickford and Eckert, 2001) such as casual speech, sociolinguistic interviews (Labov, 1972), reading of word lists, but also speech in other contact situations designed to "elicit as wide a range of a speaker's style as possible, from the most careful to the most casual speech" (Rickford and Eckert, 2001: 3). Labov demonstrated how individual speakers of distinct socioeconomic status constructed meaning by drawing on distinctive stylistic repertoires (Labov, 1972). In Labov (1966) for instance, the traditional definition of style is used to differentiate between individuals and speech community practices based on socioeconomic markers in the use of prestige varieties (American English spoken in Manhattan) against less vernacular speech forms such as African-American Vernacular English (on the other side). Charting such variation along a stylistic continuum, displayed speech styles – stylistic activities – that told the variationist something about the place where a speaker came from and the socioeconomic status that could be linked to that particular way of speaking.

Labov's notion of style did not go without criticism, as it limited what could be studied, such as "the styling of meaning in social interaction" (Coupland, 2007: 7) or curtailed insights into how forms of social styles could possibly shape other speech styles – or be shaped by other styles. Rickford and Eckert (2001: 2) states that,

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The traditional delimitation of style in the variationist paradigm has been any intra-speaker variation that is not directly attributable to performance factors (in the strict sense) or to factors within the linguistic system.

The concept of 'stylization' has been suggested by Rampton (and others) as a way to capture a type of performance where speakers animate the speech characteristics of another speaker (cf. Rampton, 2006), by moving from one style of a language to another style of a language or across languages to perform "an artistic image of another's language" (Bakhtin, 1981: 362). Stylization accounts for how speakers in interaction tend to "embellish performances" with accents, registers and varieties of language, that they identify with other voices and subjectivities embedded in conditions of power, structures and spaces (Bakhtin, 1981; 1986, Vološinov, 1973), and in "...bounded moments when others' voices are, in a somewhat literal sense, displayed and framed for local, creative, sociolinguistic effect" (Coupland, 2004: 249).

Stylization is associated commonly with the notion of 'double voicing' put forward by Bakhtin (1981), and can be understood as the "intensification or exaggeration of a particular way of speaking for symbolic or rhetorical effect" (Rampton, 2001: 85). It is a type of performance that, according to Rampton (2009: 149), "...involves reflexive communicative action in which speakers produce specially marked and often exaggerated representations of languages, dialects, and styles that lie outside their own habitual repertoire (at least as this is perceived within the situation at hand)". But stylization, being "...filled with others' words, varying degrees of otherness or varying degrees of 'our-own-ness', varying degrees of awareness and detachment" (Bakhtin, 1986: 89) is also about the representation or 'voicedness' of others through semiotized forms or expression tied to identities, trajectories, and aspirations (see for instance, Hebdige, 1979; Hill, 1999; Durand, 2002; Alim, 2009b).

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Stylization is characterized by shifting between languages, codes, and varieties and by "a more specific set of discursive constructions" (Coupland, 2001: 346). In the process of interaction, shifting between languages is used strategically to frame interaction. This is found in the various ways of using accents and certain stock phrases of an individual speaker who is thought by proxy to represent his or her community practice (s). According to Rampton (2006: 225),

> When someone switches into a stylized voice or exaggerated accent, there is a partial and momentary disengagement from the routine flow of unexceptional business, and the recipients are invited to use their broader understandings of society to figure out exactly what 'image of another's language' this is supposed to be. At the same time, the recipients are also asked to figure out exactly what dimension of the practical-activity-on-hand the voice or accent might be relevant to – so as well as "What is this voice representing?" there is the question: "How is this voice relevant to the business-on-hand?" And on top of that, they are invited to provide an evaluation – "Is this representation any good? How does the performed image compare with your own sense of the language, people and events being modeled? And how well does it fit into what we're doing right now?

Rampton (2006: 27; also from 213), who focused on young pupils' shifting "into exaggerated posh and Cockney accents" demonstrates how such a phenomenon reveals the organization of linguistic interaction characteristic of late-modern communication and the reproduction of larger social categories such as race, ethnicity and class. In relation to this, Coupland states that stylization is "a means of complicating ownership of voice" (Coupland, 2007: 183). It can also be "a subversive form of multi-voiced utterance, one that discredits a voice and a person by reworking them into a local purpose of a playful realization of the superiority of the speaker's own attitude" (Kotthoff, 2007: 470). In this way, the analysis of

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multilingual stylization "opens up new opportunities for rethinking how a community of practice orients to its indexical linguistic forms and varieties" (Coupland, 2007: 184).

Rampton's analysis of stylizing reveals information about the deep and widening consequences of migration, class, race and ethnicity (aspects of diversity) on young speakers within the urban contexts of late-modern Britain. Other studies of stylization have laid bare similar linguistic practices in other sociolinguistically diverse contact situations that also figure, reproduce and contest identities (Eckert, 2000; 2001; Auer, 2007; De Fina, 2007; Kotthoff, 2007; Jaspers, 2006). As de Fina states stylization is "...a situational resource for identity displays that are negotiated between participants through discursive work within significant social practices" (De Fina, 2007: 57). The stylization of language operates as a contextualization cue and given the use of accents, varieties, dialects and registers (resources for multilingualism), speakers discriminate between the uses of any of the given linguistic phenomena to stylize identity. According to Jaspers, "...stylizations are short-lived, and typically have a studiedly artificial and explicit metapragmatic quality, often in the form of formulaic phrases or hyperbolic intensifications of a specific style or variety...[and that]...all language use is a question of *styling*, of creatively and at every moment selecting – in a socially consequential way – from a range of available linguistic resources that have social meaning" (2006: 134, italics in original).

The stylization of language (following Rampton, 2006: 262) can be identified by a number of cues offered by the speaker (sender/receiver) and the audience (receivers/sender). Within a larger system of semiotic features, stylized performance is marked by "...an increased density in the co-occurrence of marked phonetic features, sometimes accompanied by marked grammar or lexis" (Rampton, 2006: 262), by other aspects such as verbal cues, reported speech or "by abrupt shifts in some combination of loudness, pitch level, voice quality or speed of delivery" (ibid, 2006: 262). Moreover, the audience plays an important role in the identification of stylization as a performance phenomenon (Bell and Gibson, 2011),

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as they ratify and co-influence the rapidity of delivery, the continuity of stylization and the abrupt or gradual shift of stylization (style-shifting) committed by a speaker (Bucholtz, 2011).

Stylization is thus an important notion that promises to shed light on how the young multilingual speakers in this study adopt, emulate and perform different voices tied to different social categories in order to 'extend' their own voice and agency, and to build meaning into spaces and places as local or global. One of the research foci for this study is precisely to explore how stylization contributes to multilingual performances in differently scaled places. With the collapse of the apartheid regime, youth in South Africa are now exposed to an array of forms of multilingualism and have access to a 'world of voices' which allows them to stylize their own languages, and incorporate new language forms, varieties and speech styles into their multilingual repertoires and biographies (cf. Blommaert and Backus, 2011) in unprecedented ways. Fundamental to such stylization processes are relatively more favourable opportunities for economic, social and geographical mobility, (Bray *et al*, 2010), as well as access to a variety of transcultural and differently scaled practices such as Hip-Hop and Tshisa-Nyama. The notion of stylization is thus a useful tool to describe how language in *transmodal* (Pennycook, 2007) popular spaces is incorporated into different forms of multilingual interaction, contributing to the discursive and contestable terrains where young multilingual speakers live.

2.4 Entextualization

Entextualization is a concept used in linguistic anthropology and performance studies to account for how discourses are turned into texts. The notion was first used as a heuristic to map how original discourses (or previously contextualized discourses) are recontextualized and imbued with metadiscourse qualities – *preferred readings* – in the processes of becoming texts. Once discourse were lifted out of one context, Bauman and Briggs (1990) argue, and used in another, they often

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become endowed with new qualities that mould them into texts and that contribute to the making of a new context (although one still resembling its historical antecedent). As such, it could be that a whole text (a genre) or a fragment of a text becomes recontextualized to shape a new context. According to Silverstein and Urban (1996: 1; also cited in Blommaert, unpublished manuscript: 19),

> The text idea allows the analyst of culture to extract a portion of ongoing social action – discourse or some nondiscursive but nevertheless semiotic action – from its infinitely rich, exquisitely detailed context, and draw a boundary around it, inquiring into its structure and meaning. This textual fragment of culture can then be re-embedded by asking how it relates to its 'context', where context is understood as nonreadable surround or background (or if the context is regarded as readable, by asking how the text relates to its 'co-text').

Texts are synchronic and diachronic in nature because the discourse properties that are sampled in conversation or performance (cf. Roth-Gordon, 2009; Appert, 2011) have unique social, cultural and historical intertextual relations and features that are co-usable across contexts. As such, discourse as it unfolds among speakers as they enact narratives, identities, personae and stories, are the texts that become transferable from one speaker to the next, and become resemiotized as it were, in the emergence of new contexts, and as speakers frame new forms of interaction and performance for a variety of purposes. This has several implications for the form and function of language, and for practices of multilingualism; to the extent discourse practices become transformed in the entextualization of discourse, they allow us to glean *reflexively* how speakers chart new meanings with *original pieces of discourses* (Blommaert, unpublished manuscript: 19).

In the processes of entextualization, texts (genres) are contextualized for specific purposes or to (un)intentionally shape contexts. In such contextualization, much is revealed about the metapragmatics and metalanguage processes speakers

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undertake to link varieties of language and registers to other texts and genres (Briggs and Bauman, 1992); and how speakers attune to processes of meaning-making – whether transgressive, ideological or institutional - and *semiotically remediate* these for linguistic agency and voice (cf. Prior and Hengst, 2010). As Bauman and Briggs (1990: 69) point out,

> Contextualization involves an active process of negotiation in which participants reflexively examine discourse as it is emerging, embedding assessments of its structure and significance in the speech itself.

In the contextualization of discourse as text – entextualization – multilingual speakers frame parts or whole stretches of speech to highlight what of the discourse should evidently be transformed into a text, and hence further transmitted and replicated in the new context. The replication of texts in context is indicative of the process of entextualization because it produces new forms of representation almost always. Thus, in the natural-historical transmission of discourse-turned-to text, from its original context-of-production, multilingual forms and functions are imbued with metadiscursive and metapragmatics properties that tell us much about the emerging quality of texts as it becomes entextualized: the dialogicality of the text; the intertextuality of the text; the chronotopic nature of the text; as well as its interdiscursivity.

Following Bauman and Briggs (1990: 73), stylized performance is understood here as a contextually situated activity that is decontextualized and recontextualized discourse practice transformed into 'text'. It is entextualization:

> ...the process of rendering discourse extracable, of making a stretch of linguistic production in a unit – a text – that can be lifted out of its interactional setting...rendered decontextualizable...which incorporate aspects of context, such that the resultant text carries elements of its history of use within it.

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The entextualization of stylized performances reveals how discourses and linguistic forms and functions are taken up, and used to convey information about stylizations of identity and languages in multilingual culture; and how the decontextualization of discourse in textual performances are mediated and remediated by multilingual speakers in scaled settings through different varieties of language and registers for the negotiation of linguistic agency and voice (cf. Hymes, 1975; Kuipers, 1990; Duranti, 1997; Urban and Silverstein, 1990); how contact between different local language communities cultivate rich discursive activities that are removed from one site of contextualization to create either new inequalities or forms of domination (Silverstein, 1998; Bauman, 2009; Poveda et al, 2005); and how linguistic inequality is negotiated through linking intertextual relations of texts in competition and contestations.

In an article of *Cité*, teens' use of a French TV host voice, Tetreault (2009), for instance, demonstrates how teenagers use the words of others to convey quoted speech in direct speech, frame others through stylized speech, and cross into other languages and registers. The author analyses how young working-class French *teens* perform language using the radio microphone of the researcher and parodying French TV host voices. Particularly, the author demonstrates how they imitate voice as an instance of entextualization. Tetreault also demonstrates how the framing of utterances with the TV host register reveal that teens "...create indirect reported speech and direct stylized voicing for present peers and thereby mock them as show "guests"" (Tetereault, 2009: page: 201).

We shall see below how in the performative scaling of popular spaces, multilingual speakers mediate and strategically entextualize various discourse aspects to draw attention to and negotiate inequality and marginalization in late-modern Cape Town. The notion of entextualization is useful as a way to capture and chart how multilingual speakers in popular spaces of Hip-Hop and Tshisa-Nyama deploy forms of talk that contribute to voice and agency in scaled places, and, in so doing, provides a 'linguistic grounding' for the development of new dialects and varieties.

Coming from the vantage point of entextualization, allows us to ask questions about how young multilingual speakers negotiate genres and textualities that already exhibit their marginality and inequality, and ones that do not: How do young multilingual speakers in popular spaces perform discourses of marginality and linguistic inequality in such a way that they become entextualized? How are genres taken up and decontextualized in popular spaces for the mutual display of agency and voice? What aspects of language are used for the stylization of identity? What types of linguistic forms are used to convey features of identification with non-authoritative and marginalized discourses and tied to practices of multilingualism?

The notion of entextualization helps us to understand how young multilingual speakers' in popular spaces of Hip-Hop and Tshisa-Nyama and on the margins of late-modern Cape Town insert, exclude, adapt, and frame a number of discourses into texts and genres for the enactment of new forms of agency and voice. Given the history of South Africa – the legacy of apartheid – and the deposited sediment of political and economic discourses that still haunt us to this day, exploring the possibilities afforded by the circulation and appropriation of alternative discourses across spaces inhabited by young multilinguals might hold the promise of understanding how everyday interactions can provide an escape out of apartheid's enduring faultlines and into a more convivial and mainstream public sphere where marginalization can be negotiated. Thus, what aspects of the cultural discourses (platform events and celebrative social occasions, Goffman, 1974) of popular spaces of Hip-Hop and Tshisa-Nyama are entextualized and forged into the creation of a new or better shared sense of space and/or locality? In the process of entextualization, then also, what parts of the registers become conventialized and shared for the bidding and negotiating of linguistic agency and voice?

2.5 Enregisterment

Another key concept that will be used in the analyses of multilingual performances in popular spaces of Hip-Hop and Tshisa-Nyama is *enregisterment*. According to

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Agha (207: 18), the notion refers to "processes and practices whereby performable signs become recognized (and regrouped) as belonging to distinct, differentially valorized semiotic registers by a population" (cf. Johnstone, 2011b).

A register "is a linguistic repertoire that is associated, culture internally, with particular social practices and with persons who engage in such practices" (Agha, 2000: 216). It is often used in particular spaces and places that define a cultural group, community practices, talk between individuals or a social group. The use of a register relevant to a social or cultural occasion reveals that interlocutors accept and agree to the terms of the speech event (Hymes, 1976), and likewise when a speaker switches registers it will often "itself reconfigure the sense of occasion" (Agha, ibid).

Registers consist of repertoires of language (i.e. words, phrases and sentences) used in the communicative practices of multilingual speakers who have more than one register that comprises more often than not more than one repertoire[8]. In this way, when the multilingual speaker performs registers, he/she draws on a large store of repertoires that that is associated or linked to social practices of a diverse kind. Registers are distributed unequally among speakers, spaces and places, and across languages, according to Agha (2000: 216), "...so that all members of a language community are not equally familiar with all of its registers". This results in the unequal appropriation of the formal and informal properties of repertoires and registers.

There are thus three aspects to (linguistic) registers of importance to this study: (1) it is a system made up of linguistic forms; (2) it is historically formed by social groups that are always linked to some type of social space; and (3) when registers are performed they inform us about a social and cultural event. A register is formed when "a number of indexical relationships begin to be seen as related" (Johnstone, 2011b: 660) and when a particular word, phrase or sentence of a register (the formal properties) are incorporated or used in a register, it becomes *enregistered*. Agha (2007) characterises enregisterment as a process whereby linguistic forms

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[8] But registers is also about non-linguistic features of performance.

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come to indexically represent particular social values, the result of the circulation and uptake of linguistic forms across various modalities and media. A number of recent studies that have used enregisterment as an analytical concept to understand the stylization of performance provide evidence of its reliability.

Roth-Gordon (2009) demonstrates the effects of enregistering slang in negotiating stigmatized agency, voice and affirmative citizenship amidst increasing sociopolitical dynamics such as crime, drugs and gratuitous violence in *favelas* (shantytowns). The use of slang outside the favela (shantytown) of Rio de Janeiro denotes anguish and shame. It marks the speaker as a lesser than middle-class Brazilian citizen. While this is often a disadvantage there are advantages when it is used. Roth-Gordon argues that in the context of Rio de Janeiro slang usage not only demarcates those living in the physical space(s) of the *favela* (shantytown), but that the enregisterment of slang is producing new dichotomies of citizenship, that challenges more established notions of citizenship in the larger political context of Brazil as a modern nation-state. Roth-Gordon demonstrates how middle-class families insert slang into their Portuguese to enforce their privileged status in that society. This leads to "the exclusionary nature of citizenship" that she finds in the modern nation-state that is Brazil.

The entextualization of agency and voice, as reported by Roth-Gordon, forms part of the enregisterment of dialects in performances, which in turn carry implications for how symbolic power and the legitimation of cultural capital is received and perceived (cf. Bourdieu, 1979; 1991). Certainly in the context of Brazil, a country that has had historically a large marginalized population, the unequal distribution of resources (linguistic and symbolic) provide the space to not only enforce but also challenge authoritative forms of power and citizenship.

In her study on the processes involved whereby a dialect or variety as a register receives better status, Dong (2010) demonstrates how the enregisterment of Putonghua in China, a 'common speech' practice, evolved through "stereotypical indexical attributes" in metadiscursive practices (cf. Dong, 2011). Drawing on examples of metapragmatic activities, Dong demonstrates with reference to a

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newspaper article how typical metasigns of Putonghua utterances are associated with "register-based images of persons" that reproduce stereotypical images of inequality and the legitimating of the language "...remarkably mediated by typifying and evaluative remarks of its speakers and non-speakers" (Dong, 2010: 274).

Newell (2009) has traced the processes of the enregisterment of modernity in Côte d'Ivoire taking place in two languages, French and Nouchi (an urban patois), and how this process produces and reproduces Ivorian national identity. Nouchi especially has been branded by the Ivorian government "as the crass and corrupted speech of criminal youth" (Newell, 2009: 157). However, according to Newell, this speech form has "migrated from a language of 'marginals' and 'delinquents' to popular discourses where it has become "an important contested sign in a popular struggle to redefine what it means to be Ivorian, a struggle that has unfortunately metastasized into a civil crisis, delegitimizing the state, transforming the postcolonial relationship with France, and throwing the very definition of citizenship into question" (Newell, 2009: 158-9).

The recent work of Zane Goebel (2009; 2011) in the multilingual setting of Indonesia demonstrates how the enregisterment of language in the context of language education and television is serving to reproduce the relationship between language and ethnicity in Indonesia. The author illustrates poignantly how domains such as the education system and media capitalize indexical links between language and ethnicity in order to establish a new order of identity construction. Moreover, linking language to performable social persona is often plugged into a system of a semiotic register that enregisters both an enforced reality of standard competence for an imagined citizenship, and at the same time leads to contestations of linguistic agency. As Goebel (2008: 56) argues, "...semiotic registers are always emerging rather than remaining static and that the actual make-up of each category will contain a different constellation of signs in different times and places...".

The notion enregisterment is a useful analytical notion for this study to the extent that it offers insights into how interactions between speakers, on different social and cultural occasions that take place in and around popular spaces of Hip-

Hop and Tshisa-Nyama give rise to linguistic, semiotic and pragmatic register formations. It thus helps reveal the 'constituting possibilities' of such spaces. In the analyzes of entextualized genres and ways of being multilingual through stylized performances, this study demonstrates how in the end the permanency created by the enregisterment of shared registers, varieties and dialects in popular spaces of Hip-Hop and Tshisa-Nyama provides a form of legitimacy to marginalized multilingual practices. This in turn predisposes conditions favorable to the expression of marginalized agency and voice, that is, multilingual citizenship.

2.6 Summary: A post-structuralist analysis of Multilingualism

The core analytical notions presented here will help us pry open how multilingual speakers in popular spaces contribute to how place itself is constituted, at the same time as they constitute their local identities in place. In the process, we gain insights into how these speakers, negotiate non-authoritative and marginal discourses in popular spaces, as they strive to have their agency be recognized, and their voice legitimized (Blommaert, 2005). This study will suggest that it is these very processes of building voice and agency in particular places that comprise the ontological ingredients for the development of the registers, repertoires and established forms of speech that will come to permeate urban settings in late-modern Cape Town. These late-modern *languagers* (Lytra and Jørgenson, 2008: 5) are finding new, creative and transgressive ways to combine structural features to 'language meaning' (Pietikäinen *et al*, 2008; Juffermans, 2010), and in so doing, demonstrate degrees of poly-lingual behaviour that have significant implications for how we understand their social trajectories and mobilities, and how repertoires voice (and agency) emerge in late-modernity. Moreover, because their discursive actions matter to them, to quote Blommaert (2005: 78) at length, "we have to look into mapping of form onto function, for mobility of resources is lodged precisely in the capacity to realize intended or conventional functions with resources across different contexts, to keep control over entextualization processes. Such processes

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develop in reference to orders of indexicality that emanate from centering institutions, in a polycentric and stratified system that regulates access to resources as well as to contextualising spaces".

Thus, I take a perspective on multilingualism as a set of semiotic resources (Blommaert, 2010: 102). This stance is broadly employed to approach the way multilingual speakers manage, contest and negotiate orders of multilingual interaction in Cape Town, using the vantage point of processes of stylization, entextualization and enregisterment.

Chapter 3
Research Methodology

3.0 Introduction

This is an ethnographic study of multilingualism conducted according to the multi-sited paradigm with due consideration to the reflexivity and positionality of the researcher. In an effort to understand the performance and practice of multilingualism, and to trace the enregisterment of languages, the study focuses on two popular spaces as ethnographic sites that were deemed to structure encounters with multilingualism in different ways, namely Hip-Hop and Tshisa-Nyama. With its spatially sensitive and flexible *modus operandi*, the study is built around triangulations of a variety of different types of data. In what follows, I will describe some important characteristics of these popular spaces that motivated their inclusion in this study, and that account for why the paradigm of multi-sited ethnographic research was judged as most appropriate. As will be apparent, the study rests heavily on the multi-sited work of George Marcus (1995; 1998), Ulf Hannerz (1996; 2003) and a collection of essays in Michael Burawoy *et al* (2000) in particular. In what follows, I discuss the selection of the two field sites (see Section 3.2), and of the challenges in the collection and preparation of the data for analysis (see Section 3.3).

3.1 Multi-Sited Ethnography as Paradigm

Ethnography is a form of knowledge and a way of gathering knowledge. It is, to follow Clifford Geertz (1986), an ontology, epistemology and methodology. As an epistemology, ethnography informs us that knowledge about people and society is concerned about human intention and meaning. As an ontology, it leads us to expect that the world is made up of practices and semiotics. As a methodology in its

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incipiency, ethnography was typically, but not exclusively, seen as involving what is commonly referred to as field techniques, such as note taking, audio-visual recording, interviews, and observations, to collect a variety of information. Ethographic methodology was captured in the ideal of participant-observation of random and mundane social and cultural activities (Gupta and Ferguson, 1997), and in the idea of a retreat from the familiar to unfamiliar, for longer periods of time. This requirement meant that the researcher had to typically spend time of up to months to a year in her or his chosen research site: the world of the 'Other', "the alter ego the West constructed for itself" (Trouillot, 1991: 28; cited in Stacey, 1991: 688). Once in place, the village, institution, desert island, became a 'fieldsite' construed as a particular social regime to be carefully packaged and scrutinized. In a classic study defining the field of ethnography, Geertz (1975) provided poignant suggestions as to how the other's world was to be approached. In essence, what the ethnographer does is to offer the reader "thick description" of a world probably unknown to her or him (Geertz, 1975: 6). Thrust into the fray of *others'* cultural and traditional assortment, the ethnographer gradually coheres but never faithfully synchronizes what he/she and the *other* shares (Fabian, 1983), but at best "...attune themselves to the horizons and rhythms of their subjects' existence" (Burawoy, 2000: 40).

The world has moved on since the beginnings of ethnography, and with it, so has the idea of how to study people and their societies. As a result of globalization, involving the rapid and extensive transportation, migration and movement of peoples, traditional ethnography has been perforce to develop alternative approaches in order to document social and linguistic contact phenomena on the move. One such method is multi-sited ethnography which is the foundational approach for this study.

3.1.1 Why Multi-sited Ethnography?

Increasingly, communication within and between speech communities is subject to various global processes and practices, such as transnational migration, the

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expansion and diffusion of various types of media, the growth of telecommunications that allow speakers to participate as dispersed selves in multiple spaces simultaneously, and, of course, the integration of economies of different scale, and the availability of cheap travel (Pennycook, 2010). As Burawoy *et al* (2000) put it, today's ethnographer finds him/herself in multiple contexts that are always influenced by 'global processes' (Wittel, 2000). A multi-sited ethnographer seeks to canvas the spatial production of human activity in a single ethnographic project, cognizant that to understand a cultural formation in a new world system of order within a single site ethnographic project is inadequate. Marcus (1998: 90) states, "[m]ulti-sited research is designed around chains, paths, threads, conjunctions, or juxtapositions of locations...". Thus, the object to be scrutinized or studied cannot be described in terms of a single site, because it is part of a whole and universal world-system (Marcus, 1995; cf. Wallerstein, 2004). What this means is that the multi-site ethnographer studies multiple sites to make connections and find patterns that emerge from such sites.

Essentially, the multi-sited ethnographer follows people, connections, associations and relationships across different spaces. The key concept here is 'follow' (Marcus, 1998): this is both the task of the multi-sited ethnographer and the tool used to gather the necessary data wherever people congregate and conduct social, linguistic and cultural activities in spaces that are 'non-contiguous'. These spaces comprise of local spaces that are fully indexed with global processes or global phenomena. Global activities form an important part of the local as people make *translocal connectivities* possible (Ma, 2002). What is then documented by the multi-sited ethnographer are the global activities that occur in parallel with and related to local activities, which in one way are different, but in other ways the same. The multi-sited ethnographic narratives that we construct, according to Marcus, allow us to expose how local worlds belong to a larger order or system. Time and again we return to the idea of global processes that make possible mutual critical commentary on local actions by social actors.

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The choice of a multi-sited ethnography approach was thus deemed ideal for this study. Aware of the global forces emerging and interrupting longstanding social and traditional routines in late-modern Cape Town, I wanted to use fieldwork of the multi-sited kind, to follow Blommaert and Dong (2010: 8), to explore the production and circulation of multilingual performances across popular spaces of Hip-Hop and Tshisa-Nyama. When we take issues of scaling and the constitutive force of late-modernity and globalization into consideration, a focus on a single ethnographic site to understand the totality and systematicity of multilingualism would be unreasonably limiting. Here, multi-sited ethnography is a much better candidate because it allows us to demonstrate how language communities are interlinked as a result of processes of late-modernity and globalization (Marcus, 1998). Multi-sited ethnography makes provision for investigating how late-modern linguistic practices 'travel' across different socially produced spaces (or remain docile); how these spaces and the interactions they host incorporate and structure forms of language adopted from elsewhere (such as transcultural registers of Hip Hop); the circulation of registers; the scaling of spaces, and the negotiation of multilingualism in different places. It allows us to see how the non-contiguous spaces of Hip Hop and Tshisa-Nyama are part of one and the same system of translocalism.

In late-modernity, the object of the multi-sited ethnographer is mobile, moving, is in flow and spatially dispersed. In order to account for the object, the ethnographer therefore needs to *be and become* one (so to speak) with the object in participant-observation, as in ethnography generally. What this means is that the multi-sited ethnographer needs to reflexively experience with the research participants their understanding and practice of their worlds and spaces. In this study, I followed multilingual youth and mapped their practices and performances of language, specifically their use of registers, varieties, styles and emerging linguistic forms and features of multilingualism in the two spaces. During that process I sought to understand and present the link from "linguistic form to linguistic practice in a number of sites" (Heller, 2008: 252), in order to examine "the total linguistic fact" (Silverstein, 1985: 38). The focus was on the circulation of non-authoritative and

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marginalized discourses and how these become enregistered in the performativity of scale and space (Kaiser and Nikiforova, 2007), recognizing that space does not precede human activity but is rather produced by human activity.

3.2 A Multi-sited Ethnography of Popular Spaces

Late-modernity poses many opportunities for sociolinguists to understand novel structurations, distributions and uptakes of multilingualism. It also presents problems with respect to choosing an appropriate methodology to document that distribution and uptake. Even though a multi-sited ethnography is undoubtedly the preferred approach to capture the dynamics of globalized movement and transport of linguistic forms, the question remains on what basis the actual sites should be chosen. In this section of the chapter, I present the rationale for choosing the two field sites, Mzoli's Meat (for Tshisa-Nyama) and Club Stones (for Hip-Hop), where I traced multilingualism *in situ*.

There are two main parameters for the emphasis of this study on choosing popular spaces that were distinct in terms of scale. This is the idea that multilingualism – as any language practice – is far from a unitary or singular phenomenon. Firstly, different modalities predispose to different forms of linguistic organization and privilege different genres and registers of language, as well as the stylizations that are possible and the entextualizations that are preferred. And, secondly, messages are subject to chains of resemiotization (Idema, 2006) and processes of enregisterment as they are transported across modalities and contexts by multilingual speakers'.

The second parameter is the nature of place as an affordance and an assemblage for social life. As Urry reminds us, "people do not encounter a set of objective things in the environment, but different surfaces and different objects relative to a human organism provide an affordance" and "given that humans are corporeal, sensuous, technologically extended and mobile beings, the 'objects' afford possibilities and resistances" (2007: 51). On the notion of assemblage, he states "different forms of

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ability (e.g. physical, virtual) create assemblages that make and contingently maintain social connectivities across varied social distances". Blommaert, Slembrouck and Collins talk of space as an affordance for different types of language use: Stroud and Mpendukana (2009) show how different types of space – what they term 'spaces of luxury and spaces of necessity' – construed in terms of movement, gaze and the artifacts and forms of signage that populate these spaces, produce different forms of multilingual mix. Thus, popular spaces comprise particular spatializations of multilingualism in circulation. In the late-modern context of Cape Town, what is especially characteristic of Hip Hop and Tshisa-Nyama is the way in which they are organized or assembled according to specific practices of neo-liberal consumption. Both popular spaces are commercial spaces, although they differ with respect to scale, and as we shall note below, the scale level at each space is reproduced in a variety of different linguistic and non-linguistic ways. As a consequence, language repertoires in general and multilingual practices in particular are subject to different formative processes in each of the popular spaces, reflecting different syncretisms of local and translocal/global features and processes. This is the primary motivation for choosing these two spaces, as the fact of their differing with respect to features of scale fed into my research questions in a way that neither of them would have if I had studied each particular space as a separate and distinct site. In both these cases, the difference in scale could be expected to find resonance in the types of multilingual practices found (stylization and entextualization) and in the processes of enregisterment.

In my year-long research conducted at Mzoli's Meat and Club Stones, I came to understand that my own mobility reflected how those settings afforded, assembled and spatialized practices of consumption and language. Each context is constituted by both local and global dynamics, although in different ways, which I assumed would in turn contribute to different emerging forms of multilingualism. In the case of Club Stones, for instance, a local venue where the Hip-Hop practices and performances mainly took place, global Hip-Hop was downscaled and made local, and this process was produced, reproduced and reinforced in performance. In

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contrast to Stones, young people at Mzoli's Meat encountered multilingualism through material (semiotic) resources and interactional frames, both inside and outside the popular restaurant proper, that in many respects were upscaled and translocal in flavor, characterized by a significant ingredient of non-local patrons and an aspiring middle-class black elite. Thus, were we to uncover any new forms of speech that young speakers in late-modern contexts may be investing in (Rampton, 2011), then the multi-sited paradigm should offer the opportunity to explore how these new forms of multilingualism and 'the systematicity of language' (Rampton, 2009) changes meaningfully as it circulates across spatial sites hosting different cultural and racial groupings in encounter.

Two further aspects of each place that motivated their choice from the perspective of scale effect and affordance is the music played at each venue, and the way in which each space was architecturally and semiotically constituted as upscaled or downscaled through signage and other semiotic artifacts, such as spatial and architectural layout of the venues. Popular spaces are continuously shaped into a brimming mix of multiple and co-occurring sounds and music, that is soundscapes, that I suspected could hold significant implications for the description and analysis of the stylization, entextualization and enregisterment of multilingualism. In both settings, Club Stones and Mzoli's Meat, music figures as a central part of the spatialization of multilingualism. The music that was played and performed by artists, and consumed by young people, was both Rap music and House music, of which the latter was played more often in Mzoli's Meat than in Stones. This opened up both spaces to the upscaling and downscaling and performance of different musical genres. My visits to Stones on a Wednesday night, for instance, would normally coincide with an on-stage event as young people would interact with emcees in the performance of rap music, such as the 'call and response' performance that requires the audience to vocally acknowledge the lyrical poet rhyming on stage (Bradley, 2009). Rap music was also played at Mzoli's, but not as frequently, as House Music was the source for breaking out new dance moves.

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The circulation of multisemiotic materialities in both popular spaces of similar design and linguistic framing provided another rationale for designing a multi-sited ethnography of popular spaces (Stroud and Mpendukana, 2009). In both field sites, I initially observed that a number of signs were inscribed in various forms of (global) English, and local African languages. This was indicative of the multilingual landscapes in which both Mzoli's Meat and Club Stones were situated. Documenting the multilingual signage in those settings, allowed me to give yet another dimension on how the different sites were predominantly locally oriented or translocally presented. Signage and other public semiotic artifacts, especially commercial signage, structure desire for consumption and aspiration for life-styles around the production of particular types of identity and social categorization (Alexander, Dawson and Ichharam, 2006). One would expect these identities, aspirations and desires to be mediated in different ways in variable multilingual practices.

Despite attempting to choose sites that stood out as predominantly local or translocal, in the analysis chapters I demonstrate that neither popular space is completely local or reterritorialized as only global, but that the erratic nature of individual and societal multilingual practices (cf. Deumert, 2011) assemble scales that are both multiple and co-occurring. What this means is that a performance can both be local and global at the same time - glocal. Unpacking the value invested in the scaling of the respective popular spaces by multilingual speakers, it became important to document times and instances when they were scaled as predominantly global or local, or in-between (*glocal*), and the implications this had for the performance and practice of multilingualism, and Hip-Hop and Tshisa-Nyama culture. Club Stones, the setting for the performance of Hip-Hop played host to a regular Hip-Hop show, "Stepping Stones to Hip-Hop", every Wednesday night, and there I witnessed the scaling of a truly global culture become localized through different varieties, speech forms and registers. In contrast to Stones, multilingual interactions at Mzoli's Meat were embedded in layered and complex translocal interactional frames. The restaurant itself, marketing Tshisa-Nyama culture, is a local event that has been made global. The venue has been upscaled in a variety of

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ways. On every university campus in Cape Town and in almost every tourism brochure section on township tours, Mzoli's Meat is advertised as the premium township restaurant where tourists can taste, feel and experience "township life". As a result, the place has a steady stream of township tourists who as part of their Urban Cape Town itinerary visit Mzoli's to get an opportunity to image and imagine township life. A quick Google search reveals that Mzoli's Meat has a diverse following of European and American fans. Furthermore, there is a Wikipedia page devoted to the restaurant. The creator of the famed online encyclopedia visited as a tourist and found the delectable taste and feel of the local black culture too irresistible to not write about, making the local place more global. In addition, a year or so ago British Chef Jamie Oliver dedicated a couple of pages in his popular food magazine to Mzoli's Meat in a themed number on exotic foods to enjoy in post-colonial/post-apartheid settings. The whole framing of the place by Mr. Oliver was in total dedicated to setting scenes of local encounter – with the addition of high-definition pictures – for a global audience: scaling Mzoli's up to the truly global. As a result of this upscaling of Mzoli's as a local event I was motivated to unpack what I saw as the scaled and layered nature of multilingual practices of the place.

Recent research in the sociolinguistics of mobility (Collins, Slembrouck and Baynham, 2010; Dong, 2011) suggests that fragments of language, discourses, and identities travel with whole dialects that are used to navigate semiotic interstices of migrant and commercial spaces in the enregistering of processes of globalization and superdiversity (the diversification of diversity) (see Vertovec, 2007); such as consumption practices, new media and new modes of travelling. In a multi-sited paradigm of popular spaces, the links between language and social categories at various scales can be investigated. In this sense, popular spaces are a mix of mainstream and non-dominant languages, varieties and registers linked to fraught social categories (race, ethnicity and gender relations). Looking across sites at how young people talked about gender relations, entanglements with different ethnic groups, and differences between racial groups (cf. Bucholtz, 2011; Morgan and Warren, 2011; Alim, Lee and Mason, 2011), could be expected to reveal how

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multilingual practices negotiate similar and/or different tensions with respect to contested social categories. I expected to find evidence of such practices across stylized multilingual practices at the level of crossing of codes and forms, but also in the process of enregistering accents and humor in on stage performances, face-to-face talk and gesture phrasings (Brookes, 2004; 2005; Havilland, 2006). Insights such as these could further contribute to the idea that more stable forms of multilingual practice become enregistered with the development of voice and agency in conjunction with the voicing of particular social concerns, and the spaces that offer affordances for their treatment. Thence, in order to understand how issues of race, gender and ethnicity fed into affiliations or representations of place discourses, and the form of linguistic practices, multi-sited ethnography would offer the best route to trace and demonstrate this. By designing this study as a multi-sited ethnographic project about multilingualism in popular spaces, I thus hoped that place and language would come together in ways that ultimately could speak to agency, and voice, that is, multilingual citizenship.

3.3 Procedure: Data Generation, Organization and Analysis

In conducting this multi-sited ethnographic project, I drew on a range of methods (participant-observation, observation notes, interviews, video and audio recordings, photographic records of linguistic landscapes) to construct written accounts of multilingualism and build an archive of *behavioral repertoires* (Hymes, 1981: 84; also cited in Blommaert and Dong, 2010) and *interactional frames* (Goffman, 1974) in popular spaces of Hip-Hop and Tshisa-Nyama. Conducting participant-observation in popular spaces for me has not only been an ocular experience, but very much an aural one (Forsey, 2010: 569). As a researcher engaged in participant-observation, I not only built an archive of "the droppings of talk" (Moerman, 1988: 8), but I also observed with others in popular spaces and experienced and engaged in multilingual communication – and moved through soundscapes. In this section of the chapter, I provide an overview of the nature of my fieldwork in Club Stones and

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Mzoli's Meat, presenting the different methods utilized to collect the data (3.3.1), a description of the data organization and analysis that followed (3.3.2), and some reflections on reflexivity and my position as a researcher in the field (3.3.3).

3.3.1 Methods used in the Field

My fieldwork consisted of more than 9 months of participant-observation in popular spaces of Hip-Hop and Tshisa-Nyama. Initially, I gauged the general atmosphere of the sites: conducting preliminary observations, and later, I used a video camera to capture interactions and introduced a Dictaphone with a very powerful microphone to conduct interviews with patrons.

After extensive time out in the field, I decided to probe some research participants to clarify themes, events and happenings in my research sites. I had great difficulty in interviewing patrons and youth at Mzoli's Meat because of environmental factors such as noise, surrounding talk and the music that enveloped the place. This greatly reduced the effectiveness of the interviews and the quality of some recordings. In Club Stones, noise and music too played an equally dominant role in conducting effective interviews. As such, I had to follow people and request that they at their convenience sit down with me and have a (interview) conversation. At times this happened during the Hip-Hop show on the balcony of Stones, but most happened during the day, with some at the Menace Mansion and others in the greater area of Bellville.

Every Wednesday night I attended the Suburban Menace Hip-Hop show, "Stepping Stones to Hip-Hip", in Club Stones, and during that time I talked to patrons, emcees, b-boys, b-girls, turntablists', graffiti writers, Hip-Hop fans, entertainment journalists and curious onlookers who came to the club for the first time. I conducted interviews with Hip-Hop fans, rappers, and the management of Club Stones using an audio recorder to document the event, also gathering promotional posters, mixtape cds, and photographs of the Hip-Hop show. Even multilingual Hip-Hop performances and practices in the Suburban Menace's house,

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The Menace Mansion were squirreled away as data. While the Hip-Hop spaces were a field site where I could easily situate myself as a researcher, I experienced much difficulty, initially, at Mzoli's Meat (see section 3.3.3. below).

Video footage and photographs allowed me to reflect and confirm the breaks, starts and bordering of popular spaces. The introduction of a video camera to capture performance and performative events allowed better recall during the participant-observation process. Out of video recordings an archive of 'raw data' was used as input and support to the analysis and interpretation phases.

In both Mzoli's Meat and Club Stones, youth, patrons and customers imaged themselves by taking photos of their experiences. I requested, for instance, copies from a professional event photography company, Thunda.com that hosts photographs of events on its website. I asked research participants in both research sites to provide me with information of how they see the world.

3.3.2 Data Organization and Analysis

In preparing the data for analyses, I first collated a popular spaces archive according to the timeline I set out during the process of collecting video and audio material. After such a task, I then made a number of decisions with respect to the study of the data, following transcription conventions. In the sections, which follow, I explain my decisions, the reasons and the challenges I faced.

For the Hip Hop performances, transcriptions were compiled highlighting features such as relations between lines and groups of lines based on the lyrical and rhyme-poetic equivalences. This involved unpacking divisions of stress, tone, pitch, accent, mono-, bi- and multisyllable rendition, alliteration and other sorts of equivalence. The renditions of such performances were mainly represented using the conventions of *ethnopoetics* (Hymes, 1996; 1981; 2004; Blommaert, 2010). I also followed conventions suggested by discourse theorists (Ochs, 1979; Bucholtz, 2000), sociolinguists (Vigouroux, 2007) and linguistic anthropologists (Schieffelin,

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2005; 1998; 1995) to construct my own codes and keys to navigate the reader through the analyses.

I faced a particularly difficult task of transcribing multilingual performances because the languages that I can competently write down are English and Afrikaans. However, I employed secondary transcribers and translators who were familiar with languages such as isiXhosa, and registers such as Sabela and Tsotsitaal. Throughout the transcription of performances I was confronted with what to transcribe. Do I transcribe every activity? Or, do I transcribe only the rap performances in club Stones and stand-up performances, for instance, in Mzoli's Meat? With time, it became clear that every verbal and non-verbal aspect that was video recorded needed to be written down to reflect on spatial and place interactions. In essence, this was every element that potentially could be thought to influence performances. I transcribed what was said by individuals and groups in conversation, and attempted to get clarity on what was said through, multiple, retrospective conversations with relevant participants. In one instance I found myself after the Hip-Hop show at the Menace Mansion. A group of Suburban Menace fans gathered and had overlapping conversations amidst a freestyle battle session. This multiply layered interaction also had to be transcribed. In cases where the volume of data of performance and interviewing became overwhelming, I employed a secondary professional transcriber to assist in writing down the performances with my assistance.

After shifting through ethnographic notes, field notes, asides, commentaries and the video, photograph and audio archives I collated, following the theoretical approach, I attempted to construct the social, cultural and linguistic world of Mzoli's Meat and the Hip-Hop show in club Stones. In other words, I created ethnographies of multilingualism in popular spaces. As such the process I followed to analyze the data can be described as follows:

The first step was to study and understand the performances in Club Stones and Mzoli's Meat by exhaustively listening, watching and checking (and confirming) the transcriptions. I made sure every key was comprehensive enough to confirm what

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the video and audio recordings were reflecting. I then grouped the video recordings of the performances in one data set, apart from the audio recordings (a different data set), and photographs (another data set).

My analysis was done along the lines of micro interactional frames which reflect the macro-spatial orders of popular spaces. In Club Stones there were beer drinking competitions, cipha performances, the performance of rap music, and the DJ performances, which led to extended performative activities at the Menace Mansion. In the case of Mzoli's Meat, there were performances along the lines of stand-up comedy, indigenous performances, and the performance of talk in purchasing meat and the collection of meat. I then searched the audio archive by unpacking the interview transcripts, and sampling the audio interactional transcripts in order to get at the motivations behind the choices in multilingual practices among my informants.

3.3.3 Reflexivity, Position and Privilege

One of the main preoccupations of much ethnography, whether single site or more, has been the advancement of reflexive narrations by the researcher 'Reflexivity' (Geertz, 1984), or to be reflexive, is to admit to "self-perceptions, methodological setback, and mental states...that result[ed] from asymmetrical power distributions" (Heath and Street, 2008: 123). Writing social and cultural worlds into being, the multi-sited ethnographer becomes aware of the unavoidable presence of the self. Haglund (2005: 30-31) argues that in light of the subjective process of ethnographic research, "[e]thnographers must therefore recognize the implications of their own presence in the process and include their own practice, their social and historical basis and themselves in their analyses of the situations they study". I have made this mode of reflexivity part of my broader multi-sited ethnographic project of popular spaces. Later in this chapter (section 3.3.3) I will provide some details of my own sociolinguistic and socioeconomic biography and how race, place, space and/or

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language led to a constant negotiation with research participants (of similar and different racial backgrounds) during my fieldwork.

In the processes of collecting data, organizing the data and analyses, I continuously consulted my field notes and transcripts of performances and talk. Among these activities, I constantly questioned reflexively my role as a researcher in the field and in the interpretation of my data. In this section of the chapter, I will devote some space to the concerns of my role as ethnographer. Because I approached my field sites with bias, being an inexperienced ethnographer, I will discuss the decisions I made in the participant-observation process in Club Stones and Mzoli's Meat. To understand the bias, we will briefly detour into my social, class and racial background in order to explicate how I negotiated entry into my field sites with my research participants.

The role of reflexivity is an aspect of multi-sited ethnography that allows the reader to follow the subjective decisions and encounters of the researcher's identity (cf. Duranti, 1997). In multi-sited research, the depth of subjectivity can become much deeper and considered (Hannerz, 2003) with time. It reveals the difference between recording objective observations and subjective encounters to such an extent that some warn ethnographers "not to surrender" to the ethnography (Wacquant, 2010).

Following Blommaert and Dong (2010), I found that earlier attempts at participant observation made me brutally aware that doing fieldwork would prove to be a learning experience. In the participant-observation process of this research project I was thoroughly scrutinized as an *outsider* and *insider* (Ramanathan, 2009). When I observed others, I was also being observed. In addition, during the last stages of my ethnography I was always expected to conform, adjust and to literally act out *expected behaviour* in the respective popular spaces. I had to adjust to the rhythms (Lefebvre, 1991: 177) of my participants and often had to make concessions to negotiate situations that turned precarious because of linguistic and racial misunderstanding. As an ethnographer, an outsider, my social, linguistic, class

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and racial background either validated me or pushed me to the margins of just observing social and linguistic interaction.

While traditional ethnography was perhaps often about conducting fieldwork outside familiar surroundings, much recent ethnography has turned its sights precisely on the familiar. In my case, working with popular spaces meant working in the township environments where I grew up and still live. Townships in South Africa are at the coal face of poverty and violence (Dlamini, 2009) and recent research suggests that in the post-apartheid political, social and economic climate relatively little has changed for its inhabitants in this regard (Ross, 2009; Bray, Gooskens, Moses, Kahn and Seekings, 2010). The generation of South Africans born in the 80s, 90s and today are still experiencing the debilitating effects of racial discrimination and structural marginalization (Jansen, 2010). In this study, I myself was forced to relive the experience of discrimination and marginalization, as well as that of privilege, because as a young, so-called 'coloured' academic, I confronted barriers of a racial nature when entering the predominantly black community of Gugulethu, and had to cross hurdles of social class when interacting with the coloured community of Kuils River.

In Brazil, Goldstein's (2003) study on laughter is a cogent account of the extreme poverty and racial marginalization that residents face in the Favelas, and the impact it makes on outsiders – especially ethnographers – whose race differs to that of the research participants. The author shows how laughter is used to negotiate the inequalities of the Favelas and transgressions, such as rape, violence and gang wars. In a similar, but different way, my observations in Club Stones and Mzoli's Meat were embroiled in subtle and not so subtle confrontations of race, language, and place, because of where I came from, that is, the particular township, and the 'race' I belong to, and even the languages I spoke. In Kuils River, this was negotiated through being 'adopted' as a Hip Hop pet PhD. In Gugulethu, I was designated a brother 'kaffir'.

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3.3.3.1 *Social Background and Class*

I grew up in a Coloured Township on the Cape Flats of Cape Town (Adhikari, 2005; 2009; Erasmus, 2001), Bishop Lavis, named after a white Anglican Minister, Bishop Sydney Warren Lavis, who campaigned vociferously to change the plight of township dwellers. Initially, Bishop Lavis was a homogenous community built by funding channelled to a housing committee chaired by the latter Saint (Smith, 1994; Blau, 1982). By the time I conducted my fieldwork for this study, my township had changed significantly due to in-migration by foreign nationals and other South African citizens seeking better employment in urban areas. Today, it features a network of diversity - even linguistic superdiversity (Vertovec, 2010; Blommaert and Rampton, 2011) - although everyday life in Bishop Lavis is still defined by poverty, gender discrimination, drugs, gangsterism, violence and racial prejudice.

Bishop Lavis is also defined by popular culture, widespread religious practices and ethnic tolerance. Growing up in a diverse neighbourhood and a working class family home, I was exposed to the growing multiculturalism, and precarious and tough social and cultural interactions in Lavis often based on violence and discrimination, which influenced the way I saw the world and to some extent shaped my habitus (Bourdieu, 1980) as a young Coloured man living in a Coloured township. Thus, my social upbringing influenced the questions I pose, interpretations I made and analysis I concluded. I am implicated in every step of the participant-observation process and data generation.

3.3.3.2 *Participant-Observation in Multilingual Popular Spaces*

Initially, I tried to adjust fully to my field sites by on the one hand emulating full behavioural essence of a Hip-Hop head in Club Stones and the Menace Mansion and, on the other hand, a fully participating patron at Mzoli's. For instance, the youth in club Stones and at the Menace Mansion framed me for quite some time as an outsider looking in. In other words, what I did, what I said, always influenced the

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way a conversation and topic went, where it got adjusted or recycled, and in what language. In Club Stones, there were very few foreigners but many people with video cameras. And even though Suburban Menace (my main Hip-Hop informants) did not divulge my *researcher role* on stage, during the platform event (the Hip-Hop show), at a later stage I came to learn that almost everybody on the floor was made aware that I was conducting a PhD on language and Hip-Hop in the club. At Mzoli's Meat, I found that I could interact with youth and patrons in a way that allowed me to be up front about my role as a researcher because of the multicultural and multiracial diversity.

As I reached the stage of writing up the ethnography of field work, it became even more apparent to me that when we "do research": that is to say, the "languaging of it, the representations of *others and ourselves in it*, the genres we have available to us in the writing process, as well as the difficulties inherent in intermeshing our "researcher" voices with those about which we are writing and speaking" (Ramanathan, 2005: 292) (italicized for emphasis).

I was acutely aware of my position as a researcher and the privilege that is attached to doing research in the sites that I chose. I was, according to McCorkel and Myers (2003: 226), working and reworking my own identity as a privileged researcher in relation to my informants and participants: my "positionality" affected this studies ethnographic fieldwork in many ways because my "power, privilege, and position remain[ed] salient" (ibid: 229). As such, I tried to fit in and attenuate my participants' views about my position as a researcher from the University of the Western Cape.

Conducting ethnographic research in Club Stones on rap and Hip-Hop presented few obstacles because as a fan of Hip-Hop and a coloured male living on the Cape Flats, I found myself easily accepted in that place. However, when my identity as a researcher from the University of the Western Cape became known to the wider Hip-Hop community in the Club, I expected some initial shock to this because I was a privileged outsider that held symbolic capital in direct opposition to what the emcees and Hip-Hop heads were striving for. As a result, my name was frequently

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mentioned in cipha performances where I was physically and emotionally denigrated by emcees through clever rhymes and lyrics, although not by members of MobCoW family. I was also frequently referred to in face to face conversations as "that PhD guy". Only after a couple of months, I learned I was accepted by main informants (Suburban Menace) and talked about with a certain fondness. I was even referred to by them as "our PhD candidate". Suburban Menace took me as one of their own to be put on display against other rival emcees.

As a bilingual male who spoke the local variety Kaaps as a first language, I resembled the everydayness of bilingual communication one frequently discovers among Cape Town coloureds on the Cape Flats. I was easily accepted because I was coloured, and even though I never probed it, I believed there was always an implicit acceptance of me in part because I spoke those two languages very well, and was racially complimentary. While my bilingualism, defined along these lines, provided a fair state of linguistic security, I was also recognized as one of the *ouens* (one of the streetmart guys – see Salo, 2007) because I could perform everyday communication in the Prison register, Sabela.

Mzoli's Meat, on the other hand, was on the on the surface, a place where local residents of the township often found a retreat from reality of everyday poverty and inequality of Gugulethu. But every weekend, the new middle-class Blacks or entrepreneurial black South Africans would return to visit with their fancy cars, to have a taste of the cheap but good life that Tshisa-Nyama culture had to offer, and to experience a sense of nostalgia (cf. Dlamini, 2009). Many other South African citizens from surrounding township places do the same. Weekends would also see the influx of township tourists, (often) White foreigners or young guest students at the city's universities. Thus, while spending considerable time at the popular restaurant, during the week and almost every weekend, I had the opportunity to interview patrons from all walks of life. From students (foreign and domestic); foreign and local tourists; gay and lesbian activists spreading the message of safe sex and HIV/AIDS; to the staff at Mzoli's Meat, staff of big companies promoting products, and panhandlers siphoning as much change as they can from willing

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patrons and tourists. I made many observations about the social interactions of patrons at the communal area, which at times, I have to admit, was difficult to penetrate given the nature of interaction around the eating tables. Patrons and tourists were reluctant to talk to me at times, but I was generally received warmly by the locals who regularly patronized Mzoli's. Unlike Club Stones, Mzoli's Meat always attracted new patrons and one could never distinguish between those patrons who came to the restaurant regularly and those who did not.

As ethnographers, we are considered "invaders" of space and place (Heath and Street, 2008). We move among strangers and befriend them. What we do and say and the information we collect have ethical implications not only for the researcher, but for her and his participants as well. In this study, my endeavour was to collect data about multilingualism in Club Stones and Mzoli's Meat, and, of course, at the same time, to respect their integrity. Therefore, any information that may identify my informants has been removed to protect their identities.

In the chapters, which follow, I go on to demonstrate, analyse and discuss how young speakers' perform and practice multilingualism in popular spaces of Hip-Hop and Tshisa-Nyama.
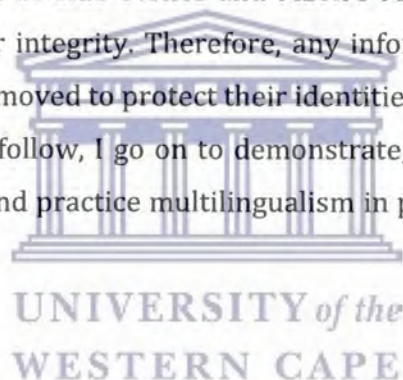
TRANSCRIPTION KEY:

... (Pause)

= = (Overlap)

/ (End of Speech Phrase/Lyric)

Kaaps phrases (Bold)

Sabela phrases (Red)

Standard Afrikaans phrases (Upper Case)

<u>IsiXhosa phrases</u> (Bold Underlined)

Tsotsitaal phrases (Bold Aqua Blue)
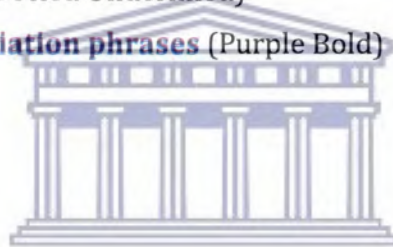
<u>African-American English phrases</u> (Underlined)

<u>*South-African English phrases*</u> (Italics Underlined)

<u>Standard English phrases</u> (Dotted Underlined)

British Received Pronunciation phrases (Purple Bold)

Italics (Translation)

Part 2

Popular Spaces of Hip-Hop

UNIVERSITY *of the*
WESTERN CAPE

Chapter 4
Club Stones, Emcees and a Hip-Hop Show

4.0 Introduction

In this chapter, I set the scene for a more detailed analysis of multilingual practices in the context of agency and voice in chapters 5 and 6 with respect to Hip Hop. I do this by sketching the ethnographic context of Club Stones in terms of the practices and processes that make Club Stones into a local and downscaled place that provides particular types of normativities and affordances for how multiple languages are used. In Chapter 2, we noted that place is principally space with meaning and significance, semiotically constructed through specific interactional routines, uses of language, the design and unfolding of linguistic landscapes, and infrastructures in the forms of buildings, furnishings and spatial designs. Here, I discuss these assemblages of practices and processes with respect to Club Stones as a locally construed, downscaled place that shapes, and is shaped by, constructions of identity, locality and forms of authenticity that are set in motion and appropriated within the local Hip-Hop culture in Cape Town. In the next section I offer a brief topographic description of Club Stones as an important spatial vector for understanding the context in which the local downscaling of Hip-Hop occurs and is given meaning, and the sorts of multilingual practices and performances which emerged in that place, for example, how multilingual rap biographies are carefully hewn into appropriate local repertoires.

4.1 Getting Local Money: Colluding with Stones and Colliding with Local Hip-Hop

The venue for the Hip-Hop and rap performances studied in this thesis is Club Stones and it shares a rich legacy of hosting Hip-Hop and rap performance events in

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Cape Town. Ever since rap was practiced in private and public spaces, such as public parks, malls, backyards, and street corners, and moved into clubs, places like Club Stones (Kuilsriver) have been a commercial accommodation for the cultural element.

Plate 4.1 Club Stones (Kuilsriver)

Driving on Voortrekker Road, out of the Northern Suburbs of Cape Town, toward van Riebeeck road, Club Stones is seen pocketed away from the main road between a busy market of food stores and fast-food takeaways. Just before the main parking area, a fast food restaurant that is famous for its burgers is found by a busy intersection. Proceeding past this junction is the turn off into the parking area of Club Stones and its commercial neighbours. Like an L shaped building, the vicinity is a perimeter with a central parking bay. This is for patrons, shoppers, vagrants and the general public. When parked, Club Stones is noticeable on the far left corner of its commercial competition. Next to the club is a small food chain store that provides the basic consumables for the general public. This is partnered with a hardware store, a liquor store, a fast food pizza chain store and a fast food burger chain store. All of these stores open early in the morning (around 09H00) and close at 18H00 for

the latest. Club Stones (Kuilsriver), however, opens its doors from 10h00 till 02H00 the next day.

Plate 4.2 Lil Holmes and Researcher

Club Stones' (Kuilsriver) architectural plan and physical space is simple. There are two entrances. As one approaches the venue from the parking bay area, one is greeted by a narrow doorway. Contiguous to this entrance is a booth, where the cashier can be found seated during events. At this point of the club security, personnel physically search patrons and party revellers for any threatening and harmful objects, which, if found, are left under the booth by the cashier. Patrons' coats and jackets are also stored away there, although this is generally not encouraged by the management for fear of theft.

The average cover charge is a mere R30 and when paying, the cashier banks it in a red tin cash flow box (see Plate 4.4). Beyond this point, after being subjected to frisking by the club's security personal, one walks up a narrow staircase that leads into the Club proper. Once there, the patron is met by a series of well-placed pool tables, and to the right is a door that leads onto the balcony overlooking the parking bay.

Before every event the balcony door is kept closed in order to force patrons to fill up available space. The pool table area surrounds the main bar. This is the centre of

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the first part of the upper deck of the club. Located in this section of the club is a stage for performances, male and female toilets and an administration office.

A wooden arch divides the central area from the back area of the club. The latter area is spatially made up of five sections that manage the flow of patrons. Through the arch, on the right side, a VIP space is found. This space is cordoned off by a security rope, carefully monitored by staff and security personnel, before and during shows or events. Across from the VIP space, over the dance floor, a second but smaller bar can be found and towards the end of that bar a DJ box and a second (main) stage. At the very back of the club is a small storage room where various products, equipment and furniture are kept.

Stroud and Wee suggest that late-modern situations of language contact offer up the conditions for linguistic and visual consumption where "a variety of actors and modes of acquisition determine what comprises multilingual resources and their meanings, with an emerging polycentricity and heterogeneity in the multilingual landscapes" (2011: 206). In Club Stones, we are able to read off from the physical and semiotic environment a significant amount of information on what 'forms' of multilingualism are 'afforded' by the venue, and how these are linked to the local commercial environment which provides the actual blueprint for Stones everyday functioning (consider for instance how tourist brochures, tourist websites and cottage industries promote and sell their businesses).

In essence, Club Stones is in many ways an industry for the production of and commodification of 'locality'. Besides Hip Hop in this regard, that is one of the main drivers of this production of the local as we shall see below, there are a variety of other events that contribute to the production of locality. One such is, for example, the tradition of old and young residents of Kuilsriver of hosting birthday parties through the club, where the birthday boy or girl is encouraged to bring along a number of friends that are spoiled with drinks and a playlist of songs of their choosing. Another is the conscious, strategic attempt on behalf of Club Stones' management to tap into the rich cultural and linguistic networks of young people by hosting local Hip-Hop, House Music and Karaoke competitions that are set off

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against each in terms of the amount of revenue they can generate. The local flavour of the patronage and the interactional regimes and likely language choices this predisposes can be seen in plate 4.3.

In its physical design, Club Stones is a building that 'enunciates' a particular language of commercialism. According to Markus and Cameron (2002: 7), "/b/uildings, it seems, do not explain themselves. While something like the contrast between light and dark in a Gothic cathedral may be apprehended directly, the *significance* of that contrast is not apprehended directly. Rather it is apprehended with the assistance of language, in the primary and literal sense of that term" (italics in original). The significant *local-cum-commercial* ethos of the Club is evident in most of the posters and material signage in the club itself – that is to say, the semiotic artefacts found near the pool table areas, the bars and stage areas. These comprise predominantly framed pictures of fans enjoying their moment at Stones. In the plate below (Plate 4.3), we find such an example where in the upper-right hand corner of the plate a neatly arranged collage of patronship suggests to us that those frequenting Club Stones are predominantly local and everyday speakers of Kaaps (see section 4.2.2 below). The collage also allows us to speculate on the typical types of social and historical trajectories of the patrons, mediated by the interactional regimes of boisterous enjoyment, partying and music gossip that are frozen in the photographs and that frame their language practices.

Plate 4.3 Signs and collage

In the physical spaces of the building, English dominates both official and unofficial signage. For example, below the exit sign on the upper-left hand corner – standard emergency protocol – we find two signs, Club Stones' operations and patronship policy and a Castle Beer logo. The policy is in English and details the do's and don'ts to patrons, who, as with people reading fine-print in general, do not bother to read it (see Blommaert, 2010; on our inattention to reading internet policy). The Castle Beer sign is also in English, although once again not a primary semiotic attended to in this context. The effect, in terms of Stroud and Wee's (2006, 2012) notion of sociolinguistic consumption is to position English as a language less constrained and less direct, that is, as peripheral, and to highlight the incidental nature of its acquisition and use. The paucity of English signage generally, the collapsing of the genres of official protocol and commercial drink signage, and the placement of English in the corridors and marginal areas of movement and flow of patrons, such as doorways and corridors, drives home its peripheral and temporary status as a 'visiting' semiotic from the world at large. In this venue, multilingual repertoires are construed around the locality of different varieties of Afrikaans and more recently introduced African languages.

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This local flavour of the Club is especially visible if one looks at the administrative structure (staff) of the club who are predominantly coloured and male. Stones generally employ bartenders, bouncers and cleaners from the local community of Kuilsriver. Some, if not all of them have lived all their life in the community, and exhibit a particular profile of multilingual repertoires, in terms of a 'compartmentalized' and distinct repertoire of (some variety of) English and Afrikaans (which we can see them as having multiple monolingualisms). This enforces a perception of multilingualism where multilingual practices in local spaces and places emerge as neatly carved multiple monolingualisms in communication.
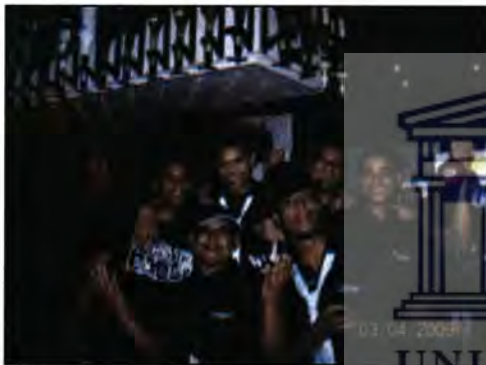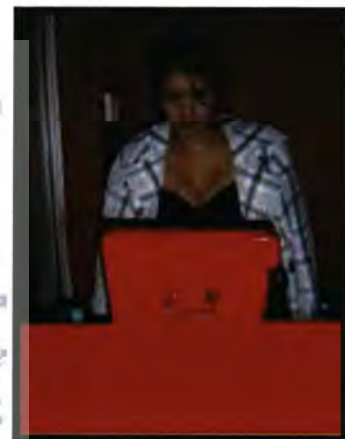

Plate 4.4 Bar Staff, Club Stones

Plate 4.5 Cashier at Front Door

Plate 4.6 First Flight of Stairs

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Among patrons, a mixture of English and Kaaps is used in dealing with requests for drinks and other consumables. The audience and patrons who attend the Hip-Hop show usually use either Afrikaans or English. Whereas most of the employees live in the historically coloured area cordoned off by the then Groups Area Act of apartheid, in contrast, the audience members that frequently attend the Hip-Hop show on a Wednesday night are not only from the community of Kuilsriver, but come as far as Mitchell's Plain, Bellville, central Cape Town, and even Johannesburg. Most of them have Afrikaans as one of the dominant features of their repertoires, which may include more than two or three languages.

The cultivation of commercial and local patronage is also a feature of the website. For instance, an official photographer who immortalizes the party spirit of events captures each event at Club Stones. The partying friends, regular patrons, and party revellers later have the opportunity to visit the website, view the pictures and/or download them.

Stroud and Wee (2006, 2012) coin the notion of sociolinguistic consumption to account for various types of language repertoires. Similar to Blommaert and Backus' (2011) notion of 'repertoire', this notion recognizes how different tactics and trajectories underlie a complex matrix of different forms of linguistic mastery. Club Stones is in all respects – linguistic landscape, interactional regimes, etc., – a space that affords an *incidental* status to English and a more varied mastery of varieties of Afrikaans, emerging out of the insertion of commercial forms and functions in already existing multilingual repertoires (Blommaert and Backus, 2011). Perhaps what is most interesting, however, is that the multilingual repertoire highlighted here is a form of *iconic* organization. According to Irvine and Gal (2000: 37)

> Iconization... involves a transformation of the sign relationship between the linguistic features (or varieties) and the social images with which they are linked. Linguistic features that index social groups or activities appear to be iconic representations of them, as if

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a linguistic feature somehow depicted or displayed a social group's inherent nature or essence.

We see this iconic type of repertoire, standing for the local, being nurtured in other aspects of language and semiotics at Club Stones.

4.2 Commercial Multilingual Repertoires

As we have seen, the organizing principle behind the layout of physical space as well as its semiotics is that of commercialization, on the one hand, and the promotion of local linguistic and interactional regimes on the other. The commercial and the local have exerted a formative influence on the multilingual repertoires of the artists themselves. Clubs such as Stones have always been a mainstay for Hip-Hop and rap shows. However, like many clubs, Stones needs to generate money and make a profit. Many of the DJs and emcees recognized this because in the passing months of conducting the research for this project, a number of them that I interviewed were quite vocal about the superficial commercial relationship between Suburban Menace (my main informants) and Club Stones. The relationship started in 2008 when Mseeq, one of the longest serving members of Suburban Menace, floated the idea that the group needed a platform to perform the art of rap in front of an audience. A number of venues were thoroughly scrutinized and eventually it was decided to approach Club Stones management. Mseeq said that the initial motivation to perform in front of an audience was inspired by the idea of converting their Hip-Hop and rap talent into financial rewards:

> *...We went not because of our rapping abilities we did go to the Stones owners and say, "listen to this ad can we have a platform?" We used business skills, business skills, human skills, how to communicate with human beings, and that created a platform for those Emcees to come.*

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We shall briefly review how the pressure of commercialization of Hip Hop, combined with the predominant linguistic and interactional regimes of locality and Kaaps on the local market. We also consider the pressures from artists who felt that Club Stones was a sell out to commercialism led to the gradual and conscious cultivation of local multilingual repertoires and the descaling of the genre of Hip Hop performances over time.

4.2.1 Cross-linguistic Commercial Fertilization in the local

By business definition, Club Stones is a commercial venture that generates revenue out of entertainment events, such as birthdays and Ding. It follows a particular commercial philosophy and this is stated explicitly on its main website (www.stones.co.za):

Welcome to Stones

A Stones venue is everything that urban nightlife should be - each store offers dynamic DJs and dance floors balanced with a sexy and elegant lounge life and shick, friendly service. Stones regularly host top DJs, bands, comedians, and entertainers from across the county and abroad. We also aim to add fabulous value to your nights out through our weekly promotions, theme nights, ladies' nights, student nights and giveaways. Our extensive schedule of events has something for everyone. Because of the relaxed quality and enjoyable environment, many of our regular patrons use Stones for their parties and corporate functions. The stores can be booked for any occasion, including product launches, team building endeavours, seminars and movie premiere nights. Our friendly staff are happy to co-ordinate your event, our bars offer huge variety of beverages, premium whiskeys, cocktail mixers and a delightful shooter menu, and our big screens and projector facilities accommodate any presentation and video screening needs. All of this makes us the perfect venue for special events.

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For all the branches in parts of South Africa – Western Cape, Gauteng (Johannesburg), Free State and Garden Route (Mossel Bay), Stones' stores seek to meet the goals described above and play host to commercial events: The goal of a Stones is to generate revenue, for the advancement of the company. The relationship between Club Stones and Suburban Menace was constructed on the edifice of a commercial contract. As a result of a business meeting, Club Stones agreed to provide Suburban Menace with the necessary space to promote and profit from staging a Hip-Hop show, while; on the other hand, Suburban Menace had to reciprocate by producing the desired audience-cum-patrons for Stones (Kuilsriver) every Wednesday night. If they failed to do so, they would forego their part of a night's profit, either from bar sales, or the door. This deal was initially beneficial for all parties, for Suburban Menace, their record label MobCoW productions and Stones (Kuilsriver). Thus, on the surface, the relationship between Club Stones and rap group Suburban Menace was about the promotion of Hip-Hop and rap music on a Wednesday night. However, at base the relationship established between the two parties was principally a commercial one.

Suburban Menace used Club Stones to offer their fans lyrical ingenuity printed on mixtape cds, clothing attire such as Hip-Hop caps and T-shirts, bearing their record label's logo. And within weeks of confirming the business deal with Club Stones, the rap group firmly established their Hip-Hop show, a small fan base, as well as attracted rap artists from all over the Cape Flats to enjoy live rap music performances. By selling their own merchandise during the Hip-Hop show, Suburban Menace and Club Stones became an overnight sensation. The group as a whole grasped the opportunity to turn their Hip-Hop and rap talent (cultural capital) into something more tangible (economic capital), and to reap some financial benefit. It wasn't just about having a stage in a club to perform rap music or about having quality microphones and sound. It was because Club Stones was "a bit more mainstream" than other venues around Cape Town's clubbing scene, Mseeq put it to me:

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Stones want to make money, man. And that's what we provide them with.
We told them that, we went to them, we would like to get a night for one
show. This was not supposed to be a weekly event, we just wanted to have
a concert. Suburban Menace needed the space to display their music to the
people and Stones was saying their Saturday's were good, Friday nights
are good, their Sunday nights are good, Thursday nights okay, Wednesday
nights we say, 'fuck!' it doesn't matter to us, any night can be a Monday
night, we can make it happen and that's what we did. And we proved it. So
we when we started making more money for them on a Wednesday night
then on a Thursday night even some Friday nights we beat them, we told
them, 'do you guys even realize that you can't take a House DJ to become
DJ on a Wednesday night and he will make this happen for you like this,
do you even realize that?' and they like, you know that but that puts us
now again hip hop is again on the outside so hip hop is not a Friday and a
Saturday night the main party is on its on a Wednesday night and yet it
stands strong that's the strength of hip hop.

But amidst the great fanfare over the show, conflict began to emerge from within the
local Hip-Hop community in Cape Town. Emcee Kriprip (pseudonym), for example,
was of the opinion that the majority of the patrons and fans who attended the show
were not real Hip-Hop heads and Stones management and Suburban Menace pushed
for the entertainment value of rap music and not the discourse of *upliftment* and
each one, teach one philosophy (see Warner, 2007; Ariefdien and Burgess, 2011). As
such Kriptip stated Suburban Menace needed to be reproved for pushing
commercial aspects of global Hip-Hop culture, because even though Stones is

...a good venue but the people controlling this functions is not educated
enough to involve hip hop's total upliftment because exactly what they do,
what they seen on TV and hacked just like that to bring it and make their
business work, that's what I believe man. And I have seen that I've been

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exploited, bra. I have been battling for nothing, I have won battles and lost knowing I've won it, I mean like what is that? So I think there is no real heads there's that just crowds that like to party and you put up a show for it basically, entertainment. Hip-hop can be entertainment but then again its missing...missing the roots of Hip-Hop. Hip-hop itself man it's just not entertainment, it is a social upliftment bra, that's what hip hop is, okay? No one can judge each other and say you have to rap like that and you emcee like that, give this poetically whatever. How I feel you have to be equal in hip hop man as event organizers or anything you have to be equal. You can never state you may be physically or psychologically to get exploitation done you can't do that man. You have to balance Stones. Stones is a place for battles, no doubt...Stones is a place for battles but no they also need real hip hop heads that know about battles and because now you see emcees on different levels of knowledge they have to accommodate the crowd so if the crowd loves explicit, hardcore swearing that's what you have to give to win man, you see? So I think Stones' venue is good but it's not the ultimate place to have Hip-Hop practiced.

While Suburban Menace and their relationship with Club Stones enraged many artists, nobody could turn down the opportunity presented by the rap group for excellent local exposure of their music in front of a Hip-Hop audience. Emcees' participation in the Hip-Hop show was crucial to the success of creating a local show, despite dissenting voices, who accused Suburban Menace for not pushing and developing the Hip-Hop culture further than Stones, or greater Cape Town. Questions were being asked whether clubs like Stones were the 'right' and 'proper' locality for such an endeavour. And as my research progressed tensions were brought to boiling point.

These issues had a significant impact on the local scaling of the Hip-Hop show. At first English was used to convey the localness of the Hip-Hop show but some of the emcees were upset because they felt linguistically marginalized and excluded from

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accessing it. The linguistic rubrics cube introduced here is a type of multilingualism based on commercial discourses, values and investments (cf. Wee, 2008; Heller, 2007). According to Wee (2002: 1118), groups like Suburban Menace, in ways almost similar to states, are "motivated by the recognition that the 'right' linguistic repertoire can serve as an important economic resource". The non-native English performer remains on the margins. As such, the type of multilingualism is a type of vertical multilingualism in practice (Mansour, 1993) that denies the incursion, negotiation or imposition (cf. Dor, 2004) of heritage (horizontal) types of multilingualism, such as NamaXam rap performances.

Suburban Menace quickly remediated this anxiety by introducing many of the events of the show in local languages such as Afrikaans and its language varieties and registers such as Kaaps and Sabela. This move toward the inclusion of local languages was also expressed on Facebook pages by designing a fan page where supporters of Suburban Menace could stylize their fan-ship and engage in debates often initiated by the group in different languages.

Most significantly, the decision to form the MobCoW family as a multilingual group and to include mostly local emcees who performed their lyrics in local language varieties, was, of course, never really at the expense of *excluding* local English varieties such as Black South African English and Cape Coloured South African English (Mesthrie, 1992), which remained in good stead (linguistically and symbolically). Thus, when Suburban Menace performed the Hip-Hop show in Club Stones, they sought to perform a downscaling of global Hip-Hop; this they did by inviting local emcees on to the stage and introducing emcees to local audience members for rap performances. Central to this was a valuation of multilingualism and local indexicalities embedded in counter-discourse, but a counter discourse that was itself scripted by consumerism.

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4.2.2 Multilingual Repertoires of Rap

In this sub-section of the chapter, I refer to an approach to multilingual repertoires and linguistic biographies developed by Blommaert and Backus (2011), who in turn refer their inspiration back to Hymes and Gumperz and their pioneering work on the performance and practice of linguistic repertoires. In this sub-section, I want to highlight some of the specific trajectories that the multilingual repertoires of individual emcees took and underline the nature of each emcee's social and historical trajectory and enculturation into the local Hip-Hop spaces. I do this to demonstrate "that mobility affects both the form and the function of the mobile objects" (Blommaert, 2012, to appear), that is, language (s) in this case.

The linguistic biographies of each emcee described below reveal the trajectory and management of multilingual repertoires prepared in their socially mobile lives for transmodal interaction in popular space of Hip-Hop. Thus far, we have suggested that multilingualism means very different things in different spatial affordances and at very different times. At the level of the individual emcee, a complementary understanding of multilingual repertoires, those "indexical biographies" (Blommaert and Backus, 2012, forthcoming) will help us to further unpack how a focus on repertoires "amounts to analysing the social and cultural itineraries followed by people, how they manoeuvred and navigated them, and how they placed themselves into the various social arenas they inhabited or visited in their lives." (Blommaert and Backus, 2011: 22). What is particularly interesting here, is that the very arrangement of repertoires, the chronology of their make-up and the indexical values and significant events associated with the participating languages is subject to reorganization and re-indexicalization in the narrating event itself. In other words, what we find here is how the very interaction of talking about repertoires against the current backdrop of local and commercial Club Stones shows how the individual emcees have come to perceive and interpret their repertoires in such terms, increasing over time.

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Emcees' multilingual repertoires are 'hybrid, translingual and plural', and are the main form of capital they have access to that allows them to successfully participate, in stylizing and performing a distinct local and commercial self. Emcees affiliated to MobCoW benefited from the insertion of non-standard language varieties, accents, and stereotypes into discourses of commercialism worked out with Club Stones and Suburban Menace. This allowed them to make global Hip-Hop local and enregister fully local personae during the Hip-Hop show in conjunction with "...having deeply internalized the regularities of a [local commercial] game" (Bourdieu, 1998: 98).

In 2008 Suburban Menace consisted of four members plus Mseeq, their producer. However, in 2009, the group grew to more than six members that included an all-male conglomerate of emcees and as such MobCoW family became established. Furthermore, Suburban Menace and MobCoW productions used the opportunities presented by the Hip-Hop show in Club Stones to tap into a diverse network of emcees. No strict recruitment procedures were pursued, but potential members were evaluated according to their rap music styles, their representation of local place, that is, they had to always represent Kuilsriver Hip-Hop, the quality of their freestyle rap battles (ciphas) and their linguistic repertoires. They would avoid already established rap groups but graded each individual emcee, who intended to showcase (perform) their rap music and styles, in terms of investment and marketability potential.

Suburban Menace recruited what they thought were the cream of the crop of emcees that performed during the Hip-Hop show, "Stepping Stones to Hip-Hop". As far as Worcester, word got around of the Wednesday night show. Their message was simple and attractive: If emcees wanted to expose their talent in the local Hip-Hop community, then they should come to Stones to showcase their rap music. Prizes would be up for grabs and usually this would be money or a recording exchange with MobCoW productions.

The network of emcees recruited by Suburban Menace was provided with mentorship, especially where it concerned the writing of rap songs and performing of those songs. It provided the family members with free consumable products such

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as T-shirts, Hip-Hop caps; photo shoot sessions for promotional posters; performances in clubs and other venues across the Cape Peninsula; free alcoholic beverages at the bar; and a small amount of money for public transport. This allowed for the stylization of Selves, not only through a variety of commercially valuable multilingual practices, but also by means of the self-conscious endowment of the body with objects on a self that range from buying dress styles (Hodkinson, 2002: 131), or exchanging grassroots ways of writing the Nike swish sign on shoes (Hebdige, 1979): all practices which form part of the display of the material fetishization and commodification of Hip-Hop as a spectacle (Debord, 2002).

For MobCoW emcees, belonging to a rap crew became an important part of identifying with local practices of rap performance genres and discourses in Kuilsriver. As noted earlier, language had a core role to play here. Although English was the preferred language to rap in for family members like M.D.K, Lil Holmes and MoB, there was space to perform in Kaaps, the antilinguistic registers Sabela and Tsotsitaal (Mesthrie, 2008; Hurst, 2010), and other languages and varieties such as Sesotho, isiZulu and isiXhosa. MobCoW consisted of the most linguistically diverse emcees in and around the community of Kuilsriver. This was indicative of how language was used by the emcees and to tap into the groups' multilingual diversity in the pursuit of inclusive group agency and authenticity.

I will now briefly discuss the social and historical trajectory of some of the members' multilingual biographies. Limited space permits me to discuss them all.

Emcee Bracen Kayle is a former member of an independent record label that operates out in Bellville, North to Kuilsriver. As a MobCoW family member, he brings to the conglomerate a style that is witty and conscious rising. Influenced by pioneering Hip-Hop artists in Cape Town such as King Jamo (see a detailed description of the important contribution King Jamo made to local Hip-Hop in Cape Town, Warner, 2007), Bracen sees his relationship with rap and Hip-Hop as a natural progression of his human state. As a young emcee, he was often exposed to many rappers, graffiti writers and DJs. And as a multilingual emcee who speaks English, Afrikaans and German, Bracen's long term involvement in making rap music

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stems from a constant policing by people who saw the need to control his life. He found Hip-Hop as a way to express his frustration and at the same time a medium for freedom of speech. He has used that freedom of expression to elevate himself to a respectable Hip-Hop head and freestyle lyrical battle emcee in Club Stones.

Narc is an Afrikaans-English bilingual emcee and has been immensely influenced by the practice of Hip-Hop from a very young age. At the age of twelve he wrote his first four lines of rhymes. His style of rap is based on East Coast rap in the United States of America, in particular, the style of rap promoted by Bad Boy Records and Notorious BIG. As a young emcee he aspired to imitate the rap styles of The Locks, Mace, Flat Rob, Craig Mack and many more affiliated to the Bad Boy crew lead by Sean "Puffy" Combs. Promoted into high school, he felt an affinity to West Coast gangsta rap. In particular, the rap music he found most attractive was that of Snoop Doggy Dog, Dr Dre, and Tupac Shakur. When he arrived in high school he knew a handful of pupils who were "into rap". Attending a former model C school and an almost all white school, he met MoB and Mseeq who influenced him to perform rap music. He says that he first shied away from performing rap in front of school pupils for fear of recrimination or shame, because "Out of this white school and even the coloured guys would look at you and laugh, "*What the fuck! Are you serious? Now be like, what are you fucking serious". So never say to anyone look here! I rap. Never, brought it out. I never spat a verse like in a* cipha, *that kind of thing. Like these guys do, I never ever done something like that.*" (Emphasis in original)

After finishing his Matric and graduating from high school, Narc worked in a fast-food restaurant but not before he dropped out of the race to complete his pharmacy degree. This meant a brief hiatus from practicing rap but Narc never stopped writing lyrics and rhymes. Leaving school disconnected him from MoB and Mseeq who introduced him to rap music. However, while working at the restaurant, he by happenstance met Mseeq again and another emcee named Lil Holmes. Narc immediately reconnected with old friends and other emcees. His dream of becoming a rap star seemed pursuable once more, because, as he put it to me, "*I had these dreams of becoming a rap star and you look at these guys on the music video and you*

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think you don't believe you can get there at. Actually you don't believe you just love to
be that and ja I spoke to Mseeq and we started sitting...reading stuff and rap stuff and
whatever shit". However, then talking about achieving a dream made it seemed less tangible and less graspable and Narc decided to go on a work stint in London. While there, he never disconnected himself from the rap performance activities that Mseeq, MoB and Lil Holmes planned back home. In fact, he increasingly became agitated about the need to re-join the three emcees to pursue a rap career. Eventually, when the name Suburban Menace was formed into a full-fledge rap group, Narc found himself in South Africa, Cape Town, standing in a recording booth performing lyrical poetry into a microphone.

During the formation of Suburban Menace, Emcee M.D.K became the last member to join the group. A bilingual Afrikaans-English speaker, M.D.K recalled his rise to performing rap music as very different to any one member in the group. He decided to be part of the Hip-Hop culture when others introduced him to Tupac and Notorious BIG's rap music. Amidst the great fanfare created by Hip-Hop in the 90s, M.D.K found that to express his ideas about life as a young coloured male came with writing lyrics and rhymes. MDK is an English battle Emcee.

Another inclusion into the MobCoW family has been Emcee Cole. The freestyle battle champion of African Hip-Hop Indaba, 2009, Cole is an Afrikaans/English bilingual emcee who frequently engaged in cipha battles and rap performances at the start of the Suburban Menace Hip-Hop show. He was one of the first emcees to perform in the show from the very beginning. As an unsigned artist, he used to freestyle rap on the weekends, hanging out on the corner, to blow off steam. Before joining MobCoW family, Cole's rise to rap fame in the local Hip-Hop community of Cape Town brought him much acclaim. He rarely lost a freestyle battle match in Kaaps, but he struggles with performances in English. Thus far, he produced four albums, all in the local dialect, Kaaps.

These linguistic biographies are indicative of how almost all the emcees above have centralised in the trajectory of their social and cultural writing lyrical poetry and rhymes. They all resist mainstream discourses, and do so by using non-standard

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languages, language varieties and registers that function to stylize their Hip-Hop Selves. They actively also work and rework on a daily basis the range of their communicate repertoires in practices and performances.

Compared to the rest, the most multilingually virtuous emcee in MobCoW is Baza Lo. At the beginning of conducting research for this study, I just missed out on Baza Lo's debut performance. One Wednesday evening, I had the opportunity to correct this and after Baza's performance, I interviewed some of the patrons and Hip-Hop fans gathered outside on the balcony of Stones. During an interview with a female Hip-Hop fan, the question about Baza's (multilingual) performance came up and the answer I received from the fans made a comparison of other members of the MobCoW family who performed with him. The fan said: "*They [the emcees] communicate in pretty much their own language and the language that they think the people want to hear. They do English and Afrikaans, kombuis [kitchen] English[9] is extremely popular, they swear and they do hand gestures or make actions for dramatic effect or to just get the point across. And then there is Baza. Not sure what language that is*".

Baza performs rap music in not only Kaaps, but isiXhosa, SeSotho, isiZulu and Tsotsitaal. He is a young emcee and on one occasion, when I interviewed Mseeq about Baza, he (Mseeq) took the chance to reflect on his performance:

> *Last night, Chuck was on stage beat boxing and Baza was spitting in Sotho, nobody understood what they were saying, but everybody understood that something special was happening. That was enough for them, you understand? It's the same thing, Baza is our little experiment, his like our little experiment nobody understands what he raps but the emotion he carries forth. It's like a beat nobody understands and it moves you unfortunately. We know our plans with Baza…*

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[9] My interpretation is that the fan is referring here to African-American English.

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In our interview, Baza explained to me that when he performs his rap music, for the audience to decode his style, he indicates through material objects, such as cloths, whether he will rhyme or lyricize in English or in a language such as Sotho or isiXhosa:

Umm, ja, hoe kan ek se. **Soes ekke nuh, ek rep in Sotho in, sien djy**. Umm ja, basically as ek in Sotho **dingese** kom, ek sien, ek maak 'n voorbeeld, ek gaan 'n gig doen in Sotho in, nuh, **en daar is like mense**, hulle, die way ek dress, hoe kan ek se umm, **ek gie my culture klere** wat ek aan het, dan gaan hulle sien, ok, die way ek spit, hoe kan ek, **djy wiet** mos spit nuh, en kleredrag gaan ook saam. Basically, wat ek wil vir jou se nuh, as ek, as ek my drag aanhet, ek maak 'n voorbeeld ek, hoe kan ek se my Sotho klere aan en wat wat ek ek is op die stage, **wat gaan djy dink**. **Sien djy, wat gaan djy dink as djy sien ek het dai hoed op. Djy wiet mos**, en ek kom op die stage, wat gat djy dink ek gaan spit. Obvious, Sotho. **Sien djy**, hoe kan ek, dit speel ook 'n groot rol. Die kleredrag gaan ook saam.

Umm, how can I put it. Like me, I rap in Sotho, you see. Umm, yes, basically if I rap in Sotho, you see, let me make an example. If I go do a gig in Sotho, nuh, and there's people. How can I put it? The way I dress, how can I, I put on my culture clothes, then the people will see what I spit. You know, spit and the way you dress go together. Basically, what I mean nuh, if I have my culture clothes on, my Sotho clothes, on stage, then what are you going to think. What are you going to think if I wear a cap. You know that when I come on the stage, you know what I'm going to spit. Obvious, Sotho. You see, Sotho plays a big role, as well as my clothes.

In the branding of MobCoW family as a local rap group, the individual Hip-Hop biographies of the emcees offer insight into the downscaling processes of global Hip-

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Hop. In the first instance, the rap fan who expressed her views about Baza Lo's multilingualism acknowledged that he and others were aware of the transmodal semiotics (cf. Pennycook, 2007) of the Hip-Hop space in Club Stones, to such an extent that they perform in languages assumingly spoken by audience members.

What is particularly interesting about the transmodal performances in the Hip-Hop show is how the emcees are themselves aware of what to do to construct transgressive meaning. Although performing in more than one local language is important, it is not the only channel that transmits meaning about local rap identities or rap styles. Mseeq's response about Chuck beat-boxing and Baza spitting in Sotho, while on stage, for instance, provide important evidence here. Their transidiomatic performance, on stage, is framed by the rap producer as special. It is therefore not an anomaly or a different channel because it is Baza's *stylization of language and rap*: "a beat nobody understands and it moves you unfortunately": a very local beat of which most young multilingual speakers in Club Stones are consciously aware of.

To summarise, then, what we find in the above description of emcee multilingual biographies is the stylization of multilingual repertoires that stems from the individual emcee diachronically assembling (DeLando, 2006) and inserting a range of styles (linguistic and non-linguistic) and "ad lib range of identity styling practices" (Blommaert, 2012, to appear) to be drawn upon at particular time period (later tonight on stage), in a particular place (on the corner) or during a live performance of rap music (touring with the crew). The different linguistic biographies I am able to share and the multilingual repertoires built into such profiles reveal much about how both antilinguistic registers such as Sabela and Tsotsitaal, and varieties of language such as Kaaps, are co-usable to a language variety on the periphery of the world system such as 'South African English', co-existing with 'Hip-Hop English' in practice and performance. Some of them may not have 'enough' (Blommaert and Varis, 2011) communicative competence in a particular language, register or style – if we enforce a classical understanding of language competence – but they nonetheless have enough of a repertoire to "defy

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existing dominant orders of indexicality in using language" (Blommaert, 2012: 8); as they "opt in and out of identity categories, often on the basis of topic, interlocutor or event type, deploying elements from what can best be described as an 'identity repertoire'".

4.3 Summary

In this chapter, I have described the topographical layout of Club Stones and its spatial affordance in terms of the practice and performance of multilingualism. The first part of the chapter focused on how Club Stones as a commercial entity brands itself for the community of Kuilsriver and for the patrons who consume its linguistic and semiotic artefacts. The website of the company has a particular understanding of multilingualism in the communities across the country and this allows them to assume what types of languages, language varieties and registers need to be drawn on to sell their products. In particular, we saw that inside the club, material signage consists of a collage of consumerist experience or dialogically placed signs that offer a variety of meanings and functions. The second part of the chapter discussed how commercial repertoires emerge as incidental and iconic forms of multilingualism utilized as part of the larger performativity of local Hip-Hop but also as part of non-linguistic processes of stylization. In the next couple of chapters, I aim to demonstrate how the stylization of multilingualism, the enregistering of personae through braggadocio and the performance of locality in Cipha battles contribute to our understanding of local linguistic voice as agency and new orders of multilingual interaction in late-modern Cape Town.

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Chapter 5

Multilingual Braggadocio, Intertextuality and Voice

5.0 Introduction

Alim (2009: 16) urges us to understand the intricacies of language, multilingualism and identity in localities where global Hip-Hop are used and serve as the discursive ingredients for the contextualization and recontextualization of voice (Bauman, 2004). Scott (1999: 215), likewise, asks us to consider seriously the peripheral nature of marginalized voices and how they are implicated in performance genres (see also Pennycook and Mitchell, 2009: 40). Here I want to illustrate, how through a local scale-leveling of rap genres, global Hip-Hop is reconfigured and recalibrated by emcees in the context of Club Stones. The broader cross-cultural terrains in which they find themselves and of which they find the need to lyricize and rhyme about is that of Cape Town and its outlaying townships. Cape Town to them can best be understood as an urban network of intertextual diversities that yield different intercultural voices (Bauman, 2004), deepened by diversities with even smaller and unexpected forms of diversities (Stroud and Jegels, 2012), such as new forms of migrant groupings in the township; the diversification of racially homogenous areas; new forms of mobilities; new modes of Selves, et cetera. I argue that emcees draw on intercultural voices to represent a version of their own *voice as agency*, as a *consequence* of being local and being a local multilingual speaker in a mobile Hip-Hop community as *new spaces for agency are forced and forged* in a transgressive semiotics of marginalized voices (Wünderlich, 2006). This is a type of transgressive semiotics that opens up new spaces through popular spaces for marginalized voices to be heard, who are not normally recognized in the mainstream, to be heard: those (1) "...self-aware voices—that are now beginning to discover their own collective power of analysis both within and across borders" (Sarkar, 2009: 142) and (2)

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"...poetic voices...of a new multilingual, multiracial urban generation seemingly left out of the language planners' calculations..." (Sarkar, 2009: 153).

This chapter is an analysis of the intertextuality of rap braggadocio (genre) performance by MobCoW family members in Club Stones. The aim here is to analyse how those emcees entextualize the genre of braggadocio and link local varieties of language and registers to an intertextual gap (hiatus) in the interest of 'keeping it real' (cf. below, Section 5.3). In the next section (Section 5.1), I offer a brief definition and description of braggadocio, followed by a discussion of the practice of sampling and intertextuality in Hip-Hop. This is followed by the presentation, description and analysis of a multivocal strip of transcribed braggadocio performance that focuses on the stylization and languaging of multilingualism by emcees affiliated to MobCoW. I conclude this section by attempting to draw out preliminary threads and implications about the enregistering of voice as agency in the performance of braggadocio.

5.1 Performing Multilingual Braggadocio

Suburban Menace was the first rap group out of the MobCoW family (crew) to perform every night during the Hip-Hop shows. The MobCoW family was packaged and polished for a regular showdown in Club Stones. There fans and Hip-Hop heads were treated to new ways of using local languages that express emerging rap styles and identities in the form of Suburban Menace's Mixtape Volumes. Rumour-mongers had it that the MobCoW family had become firmly established, and was now well known for monthly releases of mixtape cds, and emcees of the family were guaranteed that fans and Hip-Hop peers were listening to their lyrical poetry (Bradley, 2009). For a while, the family members would only record in the studio. However, later the emcees decided that they would perform together, on a stage, and in front of a local audience. They had to *represent* the family (be authentically MobCoW) in every performance. They did so successfully and they *kept it real*.

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One example of representation and keeping it real came in the performance of the rap genre *braggadocio*. In global Hip-Hop, celebrating rap styles and boasting about success is a ubiquitous practice across many localities (Rose, 2008). An emcee performing on-stage would often key topics (intertextual relations) such as his/her sexual exploits, physical attractiveness, accumulation of money, how much *swagger* (coolness) she or he has and how linguistically skilled he or she is, and lyrically wax about this. This genre of rap performance is *Braggadocio* (bragging or bravado). According to Smitherman (1997: 12-13), a frequent commentator on African-American English,

> Braggadocio is richly interwoven into the everyday AAL conversational context, and it is ritualized in the toasts, longstanding epics from the oral tradition. "Shine", "Stage-o-Lee", "Dolemite", "the Signifying Monkey", and other well-known toasts are rendered with clever rhymes, puns, and culturally toned experiences, and references from a fresh and new perspective.

Braggadocio requires creative and artistic skill, clever multivocal (Higgins, 2009: 112) languaging (Jørgenson, 2009), and the gift of the gab to brag about exploits, promote particular rap styles, and represent place and rap groups (crews). It is, as Higgins (2009: 113) put it, a form of "self-praise" which "echo[es] both local and global cultural practices at the same time".

In the performance of lyrical content and rhyming, emcees continuously use braggadocio to performatively index aspects of *keeping it real* and *representin'* (processes of authenticity). Emcees may use braggadocio to disrespect (*diss*) their fellow Hip-Hop peers or relegate them to the margins by negating their "...attributes [physical or otherwise] while praising one's own" (Keyes, 2002: 137). Sometimes this leads to trouble with other emcees, especially among different crews.

Braggadocio draws on varieties of language, registers, speech styles, and social aspects of life in the township – the socio-linguistic ingredients for staging voice in
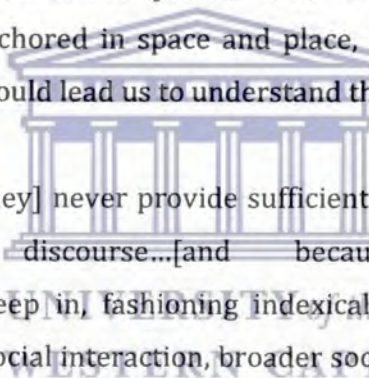
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multilingual modes and with strategic use of intertextual relations between different performances of the braggadocio genre. A genre that allows emcees to bend, blend and mix words, phrases and registers comprising polysemic features and salient socio-phonetic features of local multilingual repertoires. In particular, performances of braggadocio employ highly heteroglossic (Androutsopolous, 2006) forms of stylization because

> The word in language is half someone else's. It becomes 'one's own' only when the speaker populates it with his own intention, his own accent, when he appropriates the word, adapting it to his own semantic and expressive intention. Prior to this moment of appropriation, the word does not exist in a neutral and impersonal language (it is not, after all, out of a dictionary that the speakers gets his words!) but rather it exists in other people's mouths, in other people's contexts, serving other people's intentions: it is from there that one must take the word, and make it one's own. (Bakhtin, 1981: 293-294)

In this making other speakers' words our own, the performance of braggadocio has always been a multivocal performance that drew on personae and discourses since the inception of Hip-Hop in and outside America. Commenting on the local appropriation of the discursive features of braggadocio, Pennay (2002: 124) describes how German rap crew *Rödelheim Hartreim Projeckt* developed their rap style by amalgamating braggadocio lyrics and rhyming with particular sound sampling to satisfy a German Hip-Hop fan listenership: "Their sound is a mixture of rap braggadocio with laid-back grooves and slick production and makes use of their regional accents (a marker of class as well as geography)". Similarly, Forman (2004: 209) describes, how during the urban genesis of Hip-Hop the rap style of emcee Mix-A-Lot was filled with braggadocio lyrics of which the content adopt "a purely capitalist discourse of monetary and material accumulation, reproducing the terms of success and prosperity that conform both to dominant social values and to the

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value system inherent within the rap industry". Present day emcees seem to continuously develop this rap genre.

For the purpose of this chapter, and specifically for approaching braggadocio as a performance genre, I will define the notion of genre generally as a system of orders of indexicalities of social processes at work in performance. Furthermore, genre will be taken to mean, on the one hand, to draw on Blommaert, a "complex of communicative formal features that makes a particular communicative event recognizable as an instance of a type" (2008: 43; also cited in Pennycook, 2010: 112); and on the other hand, "...a social category...made up by people in their social encounters" which at one point or another are formed into a coherent text that "...gives us insights into the make-up of the social world in which it was made..." (Kress, 2003: 100; also cited in Pennycook, 2010: 117). The focus on genre as socially constituted and anchored in space and place, and subjected to the scale-leveling of performances should lead us to understand that

> ...all genres leak...[they] never provide sufficient means of producing and receiving discourse...[and because]...elements of contextualization creep in, fashioning indexical connections to the ongoing discourse, social interaction, broader social relations, and the particular historical juncture(s) at which the discourse is produced and received. (Briggs and Bauman, 1992: 149)

What Briggs and Bauman suggests then is that genres are never complete when used in performance and talk. It also suggests that genres are uneven and thus offers us an opportunity to approach braggadocio not only as socially constituted, as shaped by the everyday languaging of multilingualism by emcees, but also as being a significant locus for studying and understanding multilingual practices, and their social foundations, generally. As such, an analysis of how braggadocio operates within the local context of Hip-Hop provides an understanding of the delocalization of it in processes of sampling, but also how sampling contributes or impacts on

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processes of intertextual gapping, and how *keeping it real* and *linguistic virtuosity* are used as metrics for evaluation of the genre in the local. While the data below demonstrates very little audience participation, as say compared to the analysis of Ciphas in the next chapter, what does become evident is that the sampling of texts in the braggadocio performed by each emcee are set up as intertextual dialogues of texts, resemiotized and/or remediated for the performance of the genre in the local.

In a moment, we will see how braggadocio unfolds among the emcees affiliated to MobCoW. But in order for us to move to that point a discussion of sampling practices in Hip-Hop and the intertextual nature of texts (genres) suffices.

5.2 Sampling and Intertextuality

Two concepts, *sampling* and *intertextuality*, are important to clarify in order for us to understand how the stylization of voice is accomplished in different varieties of language and how voices become entextualized in performances of braggadocio.

Sampling is the meshing together of sounds and styles by selectively adopting various existing sounds, beats, styles and personae (Forman and Neal, 2004) in order to produce mimesis and hybridity. Rap music, as it developed lyrically and musically, has always been about sampling, and emcees have customarily defined their particular artistic profiles in terms of their specific individual poly-lingual and polysemic practices. The manner in which sampling practices have developed since the inception of Hip-Hop and rap music in the 1970s has changed significantly, with the speed of change fueled by present-day globalization. With the development of technology, the internet, and file sharing (see Haupt, 2008), all neoliberal characteristics of global capitalism, what is digitally sampled became part of the local practices of "the relentless sampling of sonic and verbal archives" (Potter, 1995: 53; also cited in Pennycook, 2007b) (cf. Richardson, 2006). That in turn, according to Rose, has given rise to "a process of cultural literacy and intertextual reference" (Rose, 1994: 89). This leads Shusterman (2004: 530) to argue that

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...an informed and sympathetic close reading will reveal in many rap songs not only the cleverly potent vernacular expression of keen insights but also forms of linguistic subtlety and multiple levels of meaning, whose polysemic complexity, ambiguity, and intertextuality can sometimes rival that of high art's so-called open work.

Taking this call seriously, Appert (2011: 16) most recently demonstrated that developments in sampling allowed for the indigenization of global Hip-Hop to flow into Senegal, allowing "Senegalese youth [to] draw on both the social function and the performance style of the griot to create overlapping musical, social, and generic intertextualities". This rings true for a number of other localities throughout Africa (cf. Künzler, 2011, on Mali and Burkino Faso; Mbaye, 2011, on West Africa; and Mose, 2011, on Kenya).

Haupt (2008: 76) argues that since the 1980s, sampling practices within Hip-Hop have provided the impetus for marginalized persons to claim some form of voice as agency, and that made them "...realise that any media representation could be appropriated and recontextualized in order to produce meanings that compete with hegemonic perspectives". His argument was that the voices of the multitude – captured in the poetics of the emcee, the modern day griot - are an assemblage of grassroots politics blended with new transmodal technologies. In a similar way, but specifically related to language, Roth-Gordon (2009) in her study notes how conversational sampling among young multilingual Brazilians occured when they drew on familiar phrases of Hip-Hop in their conversations, how they performed rap music and their accurate usage of famous lyrics. To her conversational sampling can be understood simply as the "seamless integration of rap lyrics into everyday speech" (Roth-Gordon, 2009: 64). She points out those speakers in the Favela 'recycle' songs and lyrics by using language to recontextualize global Hip-Hop for local participation in their communities (Roth-Gordon, 2009: 64). At its simplest, conversational sampling comprises a cornucopia of global texts about Hip-Hop (and

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its elements) and how bits of discourses of Hip-Hop at different scale-levels are transformed into *relocalized* genres (Pennycook, 2010).
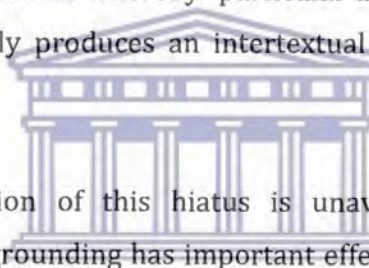
In many local contexts both in and outside the United States, when emcees use different languages to perform rap genres, they generally sample an African-American voice through the use of African-American English (AAE) (Androutsopolous, 2009: 58). Sampling practices operate at different scale-levels, in various localities, and with various complexities.

The way emcees display their voices and personae in braggadocio rests fundamentally on deploying creative practices of intertextuality. Sampling and conversational sampling (Roth-Gordon 2009) is one form of such intertextuality in the context of Hip-Hop. According to Bauman, intertextuality is the "relational orientation of a text to other texts" (2004: 4). The concern for Bauman is about the generic intertextuality as organizing principles for describing and illustrating how certain texts (genres) are taken on and manufactured. For Bauman, intertextuality does not simply mean the adoption or adaption of linguistic features of a language, but suggests that texts and its features are historically traceable across cultures and to genres of those cultures (Androutsopolous, 2009: 45). As such, intertextuality resembles the iterability of texts as well as how they are reiterated in linguistic practices and performances such as parody and play (cf. also Chapter 8 and 9 in this study). We find intertextuality at the interplay or nexus of dialogue that exists between texts. This is captured most powerfully by Bakhtin (1986: 162): texts are constantly negotiated in their use together as part of contexts and it is there where they speak to each other in dialogic ways, coming into contact as texts, because behind every text is a complexity of "...personalities and not of things" (also cited in Bauman, 2004: 4).

Thus, the question I pose here is not so much whose voice is put on display by the emcee on stage, but rather how voice is enregistered as agency in the recontextualization of multilingualism and texts (genres). In other words, a close study of the linguistic means for sampling should reveal to us how different forms of multilingualism result from the promotion of marginalized voices. Expressed

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alternatively, how localization is managed and encoded in local linguistic resources give insight into specific 'local' forms of multilingualism.
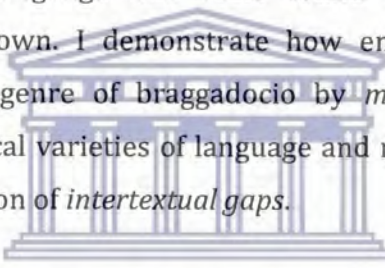
In this chapter, the approach I take to the way emcees sample from everyday texts circulating in and outside popular spaces, how their performances is indicative of intertextual sampling, and how they localize the space through sampling and delocalize genre, is based on adopting (and applying) the notion of intertextual gap to the performance of braggadocio as an incomplete genre relocalized. An *intertextual gap* is the notion used by Briggs and Bauman (1992) to study the nature of how voice is structured in uncompleted genres (Hymes, 1972) and it helps us to understand the process multilingual speakers undertake to break through into genre performance. As they define it, the uncompleted parts of a generic model of any genre make way for a process whereby "particular utterances" are linked to that model and "thus necessarily produces an intertextual gap" (Briggs and Bauman, 1992: 149). Furthermore:

Although the creation of this hiatus is unavoidable, its relative suppression or foregrounding has important effects. On the one hand, texts framed in some genres attempt to achieve generic transparency by *minimizing* the distance between texts and genres, thus rendering discourse maximally interpretable through the use of generic precedents. This approach sustains highly conservative, traditionalizing modes of creating textual authority. On the other hand, *maximizing* and highlighting these intertextual gaps underlies strategies for building authority through claims of individual creativity and innovation (such as are common in 20th-century Western literature), resistance to the hegemonic structures associated with established genres, and other motives for distancing oneself from textual precedents. (Emphasis in original)

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The processing of intertextual gaps is thus about what forms and functions of language and multilingualism fit or do not fit in the uncompleted parts of the generic model of a genre (cf. Briggs and Bauman, 1992: 150), and how speakers exploit the 'inherent dialogicality' (multivocality) of the model. Thus, the questions I pose here are: how do emcees sample local varieties of language and registers to stage what they believe to be their particular stylization of voice and personae in their local context? Also, how can the genre notion help us understand the specific social dynamics here?

In the following section, I will demonstrate how emcees' intertextual performance is indicative of everyday conversations about Hip-Hop and marginal agency as they perform the genre braggadocio. Those performances connect global hip-hop to the uses of language and voice found in the 'everydayness' of multilingualism in Cape Town. I demonstrate how emcees recontextualize the generic structures of the genre of braggadocio by *maximizing* its intertextual potential, and by linking local varieties of language and registers through strategic manipulation and exploitation of *intertextual gaps*.

5.3 A MobCoW Performance: Voices in Intertextual Gaps

On 19 March 2009, Lil Holmes and CC hosted the Hip-Hop show in Club Stones. In this event, local emcees de-emphasized the use of English as a global language that has for a large part defined the genre braggadocio, by linking non-dominant varieties of language and registers to produce a "secondary genre" (Bakhtin, 1986: 62) – a local intertextual braggadocio - that is deliberately set up to normalize (enregister) their voice as agency, as they "absorb and digest various primary (simple) genres" (Bakhtin, 1986: 62). In their performance, MobCoW linked particular forms of speech and antilinguistic registers (Mesthrie, 2008) to the generic model of braggadocio – maximizing its *intertextual gaps* (Briggs and Bauman, 1992) – and recontextualizing the genre in the local. The intertextual gap, we see, opens up as one of the leading emcee performs braggadocio.

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The evening started with a set programme: booked rappers and emcees to perform, drinking games, and promotions. At about 21H00, Lil Holmes stepped on stage and opened the show. DJ Earl Scratch faded the music and Lil Holmes presented the first act for the evening, under the theme, "No Stones Unturned"[10]. He quips, "Once again Wednesday nights, Suburban Menace in the house. I got my boys Boesmankamp in the house tonight, some tight emcees. I want to give some thanks to Wendell, the main Hustler. *Hy sponser vanaand se event for ons* (He is sponsoring tonight's event for us). His laces is 20 bucks, hey, and a mixtape is 30 bucks." The audience listened attentively.

After Boesmankamp's performance, Lil Holmes readied the audience for the performances by the MobCoW family, by asking whether they were ready for Suburban Menace and other emcees, to which the audience replied with loud cheers. He then turned to DJ Earl Scratch and motioned him to play the rap music (beats). Just at that point, MoB and M.D.K stepped on stage, with their microphones in hand and shaking their heads to the music, to open the performance. Emcee M.D.K's performance was largely inaudible because of technical difficulties but hurriedly MoB continued the performance, bragging lyrically:

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[10] Suburban Menace was sometimes forced by Club Stones management to rethink the promotion of the Hip-Hop show. Therefore, at times they would follow the theme, "No Stones Unturned", to reflect that they are still committed to the commercial relationship between them and the Club. In this theme the mention of the crew or of Hip-Hop is explicitly omitted, an indication of the deteriorating and encroaching relationship between the two parties.

Start and Opening: Rap Performance

MoB:

1   *Ok*/
2   *Let me do this M.D.K*/
3   *Come on*/
4   *Yeah*/
5   *After all it's a man's world*/
6   *But her universe*/
7   *And my verse*/
8   *Every sixteen I call it* [inaudible]/
9   *And I'm hard to cross*/
10   *Like a boarder*/
11   *Bottomless lines*/
12   *Serving me*/
13   *Kind of a tall order*/
14   *Till we slaughter*/
15   *So don't mess around*/
16   *Because we don't drop bombs*/
17   *We shoot mortars*/
18   *And you know we'll be lauded*/
19   *Applauded*/
20   *Can switch lanes quicker*/
21   *Than* [inaudible]/
22   *Can switch flows quicker*/
23   *Than a rubber*/
24   *So fuck the tide*/
25   *We stay above water*/
26   *We deliver flawless shows*/
27   *The best sixteen*/
28   *And entertainment*/
29   *Stay consistent*/
30   *Stop all the payments*/
31   *Still a man's world*/
32   *But girls make it excited*/
33s *I write my own rhymes*/
34   *In bed I resort to bitings*/
35   *It's my life*/
36   *I stay behind bars*/
37   *Serve out my sentence*/
38   *Hand me the pen*/
39   *I'll still be comprehensive*/

Plate 5.1 MoB Gesturing about himself

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The performance above by MoB shows him to be the proverbial lyricist whose lyrical style is inspired by his sexual escapades with women. He strokes his rap ego by comparing his lyrical virtuosity with that of his womanizing in a man's world. There is an obvious playfulness to his performance and we discover that the emcee prides himself on being a very good lyricist, an attractive emcee, and someone who chases *the paper* (the money) for the rap group Suburban Menace. His performance of braggadocio is a hustling style and captures three themes. Firstly, he makes the world of the female exotic in relation to his own (from lines 5-8, 31-34). Secondly, he sings his own praises about individual lyrical brilliance (from lines 9 to 13, 20-23 and 36-39). Thirdly, he boasts about the MobCoW crew by keeping it real and representin' the lyrical unity of the group (from lines 14-19, and 24-30).

MoB uses English to make ironic statements that offer commentary on the overwhelming dominance of being male in the Hip-Hop culture. In his understanding, the female is the 'universe' that overwhelms his small world. Relations with females are important to him as much as recording sixteen bars of music, as he performs, "and my verse every sixteen I call it universe".

MoB's performance turns repeatedly to re-emphasize the importance of relations with the opposite sex as a rapper. Although it is "still a man's world" (line 31), men alone cannot manage it. Instead, it is girls who liven up and excite this male world, especially the world of emcees in the Hip-Hop culture (line 32).

What we find in MoB's performance is an emphasis on or enforcing of, his rap groups' lyrical coherence, linguistic virtuosity, work ethic, and Hip-Hop cultural philosophy. He expresses the risk rival groups take in confronting his family members, by informing the audience that MobCoW will "slaughter" (line 14) lyrically any rapper and emcee who dares to cross their path. Forewarning, "So don't mess around" (line 15), MoB makes clear that when MobCoW emcees need to respond to competition, the response will be relentless and lyrically explosive (see lines 16 and 17).

MoB boasts about staying consistent in the face of adversity and complains about the financial difficulties that so often plague non-commercially signed emcees. By

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taking an aggressive tone and body comportment, he dismisses encroaching adversity and disaffection largely because he and the family always find new ways to navigate the rough financial seas ("We stay above water/We deliver flawless shows/", lines 24 to 26).

Part of doing rap braggadocio well lies in the overall artful performance of self-assertion (Higgins, 2009: 113). In MoB's case, the emcee self-asserts and samples a style of braggadocio in English that stands out from the rest of the MobCoW family, in an attempt to present a form of *self-based authenticity* (Wee, 2008). Firstly, he argues that nobody can assail him lyrically because he is "hard to cross/like a border" (lines 9 and 10). He has 'bottomless' lyrics and rhymes (line 11). In addition, if any rapper and emcee should be foolish enough to step up and challenge him to a lyrical battle, they would invariably lose (lines 12 and 13). In this way, he needs his audience to understand that he is unique lyrically and more importantly, he is an individual emcee who is able to rap over any type of music for as long as it takes, and more so than any member in his crew (see lines 20 to 23).

More interestingly, the emcee samples an African-American voice by performing largely his lyrics in African-American English. The transcription of MoB's performance of braggadocio above is reflective of this and we could entertain the idea of whether it is not in South African English or Coloured English (Mesthrie, 1992). However, when I recorded the transcription from my on-stage video recordings, MoB performed an African-American accent as a way to, on the one hand, entextualize his rap persona, and on the other hand, de-scale the genre of braggadocio in the local that allowed him to link his linguistic virtuosity in that accent. MoB of course demonstrates that not only do we find the intertextual sampling of AAE accents in everyday conversations about Hip-Hop – where we find emcees often bragging about their exploits and endeavours – but also that what he achieves with braggadocio is to delocalize the genre in an AAE accent.

By delocalizing the genre in an AAE accent, the emcee moves to promote how emcees and perhaps Hip-Hop fans in general language multilingualism in their sampling and conversational sampling practices in Club Stones. This suggests that

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the use of AAE accent in the local, whether it is talking about Hip-Hop related issues or in performing about issues to boast, as we see here, the languaging of multilingualism based on AAE accent use forces an intertextual gap with other local varieties. Thus, for the emcee, keeping it real is to perform his lyrics in an AAE accent and sampling from everyday talk about braggadocio that typifies emcee conversations. In other words, it is normative to use AAE accents in talk and it is normative to see it unfold in onstage events such as braggadocio.

Following MoB's performance, there is an intertextual link made to the next emcee's performance in the sampling of a text atypical of global Hip-Hop braggadocio: *call and response*[11]. M.D.K (who remained quiet on stage) joins MoB:

Call and Response:

M.D.K:

40   Yeah!/
41   Yeah!/

MoB:

42   *Make some noise!*/
43   *Emcee Cole!*/
44   [the audience cheers and claps while Emcee Cole comes on stage]

Emcee Cole:

45   *One two, one two*/

MoB:

46   Yoh, we got Emcee Cole in the building!/

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[11]Smitherman states call and response is "spontaneous verbal and nonverbal interaction between speaker and listener in which all the speaker's statements ("call") are punctuated by expressions ("responses") from the listener" (1977: 104).

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The short call and response here between emcees M.D.K and MoB is a way to introduce the upcoming performance by emcee Cole. This is prominent throughout the data of on-stage performances by the MobCoW family. Firstly, M.D.K affirmed the effectiveness of MoB's performance in two turns with the verbal cue, 'Yeah'. Secondly, MoB immediately elicited noise from the audience as a way to introduce emcee Cole. While this interaction is accomplished in English, the audience responds by fulfilling their role in this staged event by responding "...indirectly, glancingly, following alongside, as it were, cheering on" (Goffman, 1974: 127).

A call and response here serves as a generic framing of braggadocio, and we note how MoB opens his performance of the genre through a variety of English. The performance is on-stage and therefore one might say that the call and response initiated after his performance created certain expectations from the audience - and other emcees – that some of the same lyrical content might be performed or other types of intertextual relations introduced. The audience anticipates that emcee Cole will perform braggadocio lyrics that reveal his style, linguistic virtuosity, and much of the same sexual escapades mentioned by MoB. Furthermore, they anticipate that the call and response, as a relational aspect of the genre braggadocio, will prepare the way for Emcee Cole to reframe his braggadocio performance also through English, given his linguistic expression of "One two, one two" which is always a discursive move in Hip-Hop that follows, "Mic check". But as becomes apparent below, the emcee instead used the stage event to manipulate the intertextual gap by choosing to sample his braggadocio as a combination of everyday texts based on a local variety of Afrikaans, Kaaps, that is, by tapping into the local multilingual normativities of Kuilsriver.

Rap Performance:

Emcee Cole:

47   Ja/
          Yes/

48   Is ja!
          Oh yes!

49   [the audience cheers]

50   **Julle is excited jong/**
          You are guys are excited/

51   **La't dai beat in kom/**
          Bring in the beat

52   **La't dai beat in kom/**
          Bring in the beat

53   One two, one two/

54   Is ja almal/
          Oh yes everybody

55   Die's parana[12] opgetek/
          The parana's opened up

56   **En wannee' skarrel die cat/**
          And when the cat hustles

57   Om 'n kroon te maak/
          To make money

58   En dai is hoe ek dwala in jou bek/
          That's how I run across your mouth

59   **Die's impossible flows/**
          This is impossible flows

60   Ek wil 'n hospital bou/
          I want to build a hospital

61   Vir al die beseerde Emcees/
          For every hurt Emcee

62   Kyk hoe verpos is julle nou/
          Look at how forlorn right now

63   **Die's 'n klomp mad goete's/**   (pointing to MOB and M.D.K)
          These guys are mad performers

64   [inaudible]

65   La't die vloere nou laat bless/
          Blessing the floor

66   **Maak die stage warm/**
          Warming up the stage

67   En berei soes change Labarang/
          And prepare like change to Labarang

68   **Julle kan my nie vriet 'ie/**
          You can't consume me

Plate 5.2 Emcee Cole Gesturing into Audience

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[12] A Parana is a type of fresh water fish.

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69	Ek's soes vark vleis op Labarang/
	I'm like Pork on Labarang
70	[inaudible]
71	Right, die tyd stoot/
	Right, time's ticking
72	**Djy se djy's groot/**
	You say you mature
73	Djy's a pikining[13]/
	You still a boy
74	Wat nog toet wys word/
	That becomes conscious of the pussy
75	[the audience cheers!]
76	*One two, One two/*
77	**Bo oppie track/**
	On the track/
78	My gazi[14] hoe djy gecheck/
	My brother, how did you check
79	[inaudible]/
80	**Ek rep my plek/**
	I represent' my place
81	Dan staan my tande/
	My teeth stand up
82	Soe uit my bek/ [lifts hand up into the dark lit air to motion, up]
	Like this out my mouth
83	[the audience cheers!]
84	**Dan ons move met respek/**
	Then we'll move with respect

Cole starts his performance with almost ten initiatory lines of a call and response with the audience (see lines 47 to 54). He then raps about how he works for money and that it is necessary to *hustle* (work). He hustles on his own like a cat on the prowl, and is always poised for unexpected things to come. The emcee, it would seem, is symbolically on the prowl, ready to pounce on vulnerable fish (the rival rap groups). He describes a fresh water fish (*Parana*, line 55), by way of analogy and

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[13] The word Emcee Cole utters here is *Pikinini* (meaning, boy, not adult) used in Bantu languages, the prison register Sabela and Kaaps.

[14] The form *gazi* is used in Bantu languages across the sociolinguistic landscape of South Africa. The form is mostly present in the urban landscape. On the one hand, gazi translate as *blood* and is present in the register of Sabela and Tsotsitaal used by the Number Gangs in South African prisons (cf. Hurst, 2009). On the other hand, when used in a phrase such as, *My gazi* (in Afrikaans or English) or My *gazilam* (isiXhosa), it means *my brother*. In the townships of Cape Town where it is most commonly used the form circulates and recurs with ambiguous meanings. MC Cole's use of the form relates to the second meaning, with positive connotations.

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commentary on his being comprehensive to everybody: fleshed open and made edible for consumption by audience members. We note that Emcee Cole's braggadocio lyrics are devoid of any content that explicitly (or implicitly) refers to his sexual escapades with women.

Emcee Cole's performance of his braggadocio lyrics in a local language variety delights the audience, and he acknowledges their elation: "You guys are excited" (line 50). He discursively recontextualized the start of his braggadocio by making the local audience part of his overall performance (line 54). From lines 55 to 58, a number of linguistic forms appear in his lyrics that are indicative of local multilingual practices in Cape Town. He toasts his particular style of rap by enregistering local words, such as *dwala*, which means to *interrupt, to make quiet*, or to speak out of turn by interrupting others. It forms part of registers shared among youth on the Cape Flats who encounter multilingualism not only in Hip-Hop genres on stage, but hear it outside such spaces. This includes registers such as Sabela and Tsotsitaal (where the word *dwala* is most commonly used). *Dwala* links to his further use of the word "kroon" (money), which is also closely associated with the communicative practices of multilingual youth on the Cape Flats. At one point in his performance, he uses the linguistic form Labarang[15] to index Islamic ritual celebrations to boast about his individual lyrical and linguistic creativity in Kaaps. By using the word 'pork', he conveys the image that his style is taboo, not to be replicated, because it is lyrically "matter out of place" (Douglas, 1966), as he rhymes emcees can't consume him, he's like pork on Labarang (lines 68 to 69). He also degrades the physical prowess of the imaginary opponent, from lines 71 to 74, by using time as a metric to enforce a degrading of that opponent (Right, die tyd stoot/Djy se dy's groot", line 71 and 72), by accusing the imaginary opponent of being a 'pikining' (boy) (line 73) "Wat nog toet wys word" (line 74). In the last nine lines of his performance, Emcee Cole further enforces and enhances his image as a very good lyricist. He brags he is able to represent on any beat (instrumental); "Bo

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[15] Labarang (Eid ul-Fitr) signals the festival of breaking fast and the end of the fast in the Muslim community around the world. The word Labarang is derived from Malay and/or Javanese and denoting.

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op die track/My gazi hoe djy gecheck/Ek rep my plek", lines 78 to 80. Emcee Cole accomplishes representation through Kaaps lyrics and rhymes. Particularly, he suggests that the audience members and his fellow peers are in privileged position to witness his representation, as he closes his braggadocio: "Dan staan my tande/Soe uit my bek/Dan ons move met respek", lines 81, 82 and 84. We find that Emcee Cole's entextualization of rap braggadocio through Kaaps provides an anchoring - or keying – for non-authoritative and marginalized varieties of language and register that are the discursively recontextualized conditions for the enregistering of voice as agency, charted along the lines of linguistic creativity and intertextuality. This we find is evident in the use of the form *gazi*, for instance, a linguistic form not only used in Sabela, or only used by the audience co-authoring or co-sampling the intertextuality of the genre. He uses the register as a linguistic catalyst to revalue the peripheral textualization of Kaaps and Sabela.

The sampling of Kaaps and Sabela instead of English or African-American English (or the accent) by Emcee Cole, to comment on issues of rap identity and addressing others in the audience, is a significant intertextual move of alteration and resignification for both the scaling of braggadocio in the local and the stylization of that language variety and register. It is also important for the audience as it becomes evident that while the textualization of Kaaps has always been minimized in the classroom, print newspapers, radio and many other discursive contexts (cf. Hendricks, 2012) of a familiar kind, it is in the context of a popular space such as Hip-Hop where it is linked to a genre that has historically been performed in English. The same is true of sampling the register Sabela: a speech form used by a community of speakers, highly marginalized because of their criminal way of life, that are cross-linguistically transferred and poly-languaged into the speech of multilingual youth on the Cape Flats; which is linked to braggadocio for very different purposes and performed in creative and constructive ways.

After Emcee Cole's performance, MoB, who stayed on stage during his whole performance, initiated a call and response with the audience, giving time for the next performer – Emcee Narc in the back of the platform – to take centre stage:

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Call and Response

MoB:

85   *Make some noise*!/
86   Audience: [the audience cheers!!]
87   *Ok*/
88   *Can we bring Chuck back on to the stage*?/
       [Motions to Chuck and Baza but Narc comes instead]
89   *Make some noise for N-A-R-C* (spells Narc)!/

Narc:

90   *Yeah!*/
91   *Put your hands up*/
92   *I say put your hands up*/
93   *Yeah!*/
94   *Uh*/

MoB:

95   *Come on*/
96   *Come on*/
97   *Yeah*/

Performance

Narc:

98   *Yeah*/
99   *Yeah*/
100   *I got a superrag man*/
101   *Call me superswag man*/
102   *And I spit this shit*/
103   *Like I just won a grandslam*/
104   *Yeah*/
105   *I'm a Caped Crusader*/
106   *And I don't* [inaudible]/
107   *I don't hate you haters*/
108   [inaudible] *for me*/
109   *To make my paper*/
110   [inaudible]/
111   *Music is my saviour*/
112   *I'm what music gave*/
113   *Yeah*/
114   *Alright*/
115   *Ok*/

Plate 5.3 Emcee Narc Swagging the audience

124

116	*I don't hate/*
117	*No way/*
118	*I just let these motherfuckas/*
119	*Get a thirst of my swag/*
120	*I smoke them quicker than a drag/*
121	*Cause you struggle with the basics/*
122	*I keep it real/*
123	*You guys are living in a matrix/*

The sampling of call and response to serve as a structural transitional feature that prepares for a switch between different forms of braggadocio is not commonly found in the local practice of Hip-Hop in Cape Town, let alone written about (Ariefdien and Burgess, 2011). What is interesting though is how it is used by MoB above to serve the double function of bringing in, or introducing, rap figures and personae to the stage while at the same time managing the audience. Such a practice is not new in the history of global Hip-Hop, but what is less common is the way it anchors the various intertextual relations expressed by the emcees in their performance of braggadocio. In most cases, emcees would perform braggadocio alone on stage, but in the local downscaling of the genre, MoB has entextualized call and response as an important sample of multivocal braggadocio performing.

Another sampling of everyday texts in Hip-Hop that are forged and linked to the intertextual gap of the unfolding braggadocio is that of *swagger* or the performance of swag. The word *swag* was created by Shakespeare to define upper class aesthetics and tastes (cf. Kearns, accessed 01 November 2010, see Bibliography for link). According to Kearns (2010: 1), swagger is the

> ...mindset of fearing nothing, complete self-determination above and beyond any laws, moral codes or social norms, and the intention to back all of this up without hesitation, by any means necessary, be it wealth, weapons or woman.

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The emcees' motivation for sampling swagger is, as Narc himself says, to keep it real against emcees who struggle with the basics of braggadocio performing (line 121 to 122). It is clear what Narc means by keeping it real. He represents his style of braggadocio but stylize a rap persona in the local context of Kuilsriver Hip-Hop that others perceive as authentic. Although it would seem a trivial social act, swag is often misunderstood outside the cultural world of Hip-Hop as inspiring conventional differences and for enforcing seemingly simplistic stylizations among Hip-Hop heads themselves (Rose, 2008). However, I argue that swag is a form of sampling that becomes decontextualized, is iterable, and contributes to the overall coherence of braggadocio (Pennycook, 2007b) in local contexts.

Thus far in the multivocal braggadocio we have seen uses of different Global and World Englishes (AAE versus South African English) to emphasize particular aspects of an emcee's rap personae, such as their linguistic virtuosity, and their local sampling of texts that lead them to stylize themselves in local varieties of language and registers. We have also seen how local language varieties and registers used in braggadocio performance sub subjects the genre to local multilingual normativities. In Narc's performance, we see how different intertextual relations brought together in the sampling of swagger lyrics.

Firstly, although it is obvious that his performance is in a variety of English, with a fair amount of AAE languaging in the lyrical structure, the linguistic strategies he employs to insert the sample swagger lyrics into the broader structure of the braggadocio makes for interesting reflection. Secondly, we see how he bends the word 'supperag' (line 100) so that it rhymes with 'superswag' (101). These lyrics and others demonstrate to us that the way in which the emcee entextualize swag, as a sampled text, suggests changes forged in the braggadocio reflects a change in social relationships that allow for particular types of multilingual languaging.

One single intertextual theme runs through Narc's lyrical content, namely the present or future jealousy from his fellow Hip-Hop heads, whom he termed *haters*, and boasting about his *swagger*. The term 'hater' is linked to the celebration of commercial success among emcees' in Hip-Hop communities across the world.

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According to Perry (2004: 48), who comments on Hip-Hop in the USA, player hating is "...thrown at those imagined to be envious of one's wealth or abundant suitors" (see also Boyd, 2004: 114). Thus the sampling of swagger text by the emcee localizes the braggadocio even further and at the same time suggests that in order to refrain from direct confrontation with him and his crew, to keep it real, they need haters because without them the crew cannot "make [the] paper" (line 109).

As regards the widening of the intertextual gap, we could argue at this point that Narc performance in English is minimizing this because he performatively synchronizes with MoB's performance. However, this is not the case, I want to argue, because Narc's entire lyrical structure is outlined by content toasting his *swagger*, which implies that the genre structure is changing as a result of this inclusion, irrespective of whether his whole performance was accomplished in English or not. Nevertheless, the sampling of swagger lyrics (as text) here is by definition an intertextual feature often overlooked because it is associated with the performative discourses that flowed out of the Southern part of America. Therefore, its use indexes Country style Hip-Hop and Pimping culture - complex linguistic practices and stylizations that are excellently captured on rapper Nelly's album *Country Grammar* (2000).

Thus, for over three interconnected and multivocal performances by very different personae, we can note that the important intertextual relations of braggadocio is to brag about individual rap style, linguistic virtuosity, keeping it real and representing your rap crew. The last two performances maximized even further the intertextual gap in the unfolding braggadocio. After Narc's performance ended, MoB returned to again sample a call and response and further enforce the incompleteness of the braggadocio.

The last two emcees to close off the performance were Chuck and Baza Lo. As they stepped onto the stage, many expectations were on them as this was the first time they performed together. There was great anticipation in the air and many of the family members hoped the combination of Baza Lo, a Xhosa/Sotho multilingual emcee, and Chuck (an emcee with language knowledge of Kaaps/Sabela) would not

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only contribute to the racial diversity of the group, but also complement the multilingualism of the crew. Once again, the call and response structure paved the way:

Call and Response:

Narc:

124   _Ok_/
125   _No way_/
126   _I get okay_/
127   _I need cash ok_/

MoB:

128   _Alright_/

Narc:

129   _Ok_/

Performance:

Chuck:

130   _Alright_/
131   _ok_/
132   _I don't dance_/
133   _no way_/
134   _I just..._/
135   **My style is fokkel**/
         My style is nothing
136   **My broe'**/
         My brother
137   Djy sal wat mens kan tokkel/
         You'll have to speak up
138   Djy sal moet koppel/
         You need to connect
139   **Sterk Emcees moet kophou**/
         Tough Emcees keep up
140   I'm strong for ghettos/
         I'm strong for the ghettos
141   **Soe verlap in die ghettos**/
         So downtrodden in the ghettos
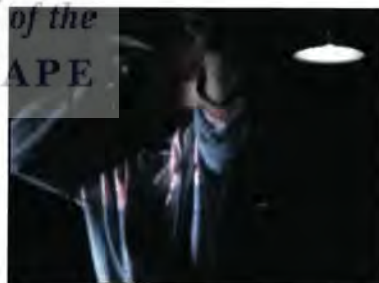
5.4 Chuck points (warns) into the audience (line 138)

128

142 **Emcees maak verplette/**
Emcees I murder

143 Maar belieg kapettos/
I lied I axe you

144 "Ek moet my bek hou"/
I must shut Plate

145 **Terror se soe/**
Terror said so

146 Ek se, **"Nie, I let go"**/
I say, "No, I let go"

147 Want ek het jou/
Cause I got you

148 **Djy lat my waarheid/**
I'll be true

149 Maar uithou/
Gotto keep at it

150 Verstaan jou ma/
Understand your mother

151 **Djy dra bra van kan** dikhou/
You wear a bra 'cause you persistent

152 **Ko' haal jou piel/**
Come get your dick

153 **Die string het jou flow/**
My string got your flow

154 [inaudible] **my beat** kannie uithou/
[inaudible] my beat last longer

155 Volwassenes/
Mature Adults

156 Masters
Masters

157 **Wat djy ko' dophou/**
You need to observe

158 **Anders sal djy nooit kan getuig van the Chuck (Ou)/**
Otherwise you'll bear witness of Chuck (Ou)

159 **Die only true Emcee/**
The only true Emcee

160 **Wat die laities nou gan vashou/**
Keeping the attention of the kids

161 [inaudible]/

162 In die Filistyn/
In Philistine

163 **Emcees op julle getrain/**
Trained on Emcees

164 **My style is freestyle/**
My style is freestyle

165 **And my stuil will remain/**
And my style will remain

The performance by emcee Chuck above can be considered a combination of more sampling of everyday texts absorbed in the generic structure of braggadocio performed by his fellow crew members. As with the previous emcees, the audience expects Chuck to draw, by way of performance, on texts that have already been sampled (bragging, metaphors, idiomatic expressions, et cetera). We see, however, in Chuck's performance a significantly different form of sampling, which impacts specifically on the intertextuality of braggadocio performance in the local generally.

At the beginning of his performance, Chuck is addressing someone in the audience, or somebody out of sight – who it is, is not immediately clear. He starts performing almost simultaneously when the call and response finishes, suggesting he's not an emcee that dances to a beat or a tune (line 132): 'no way'! His proclamation of 'not dancing' is significant, and links intertextually to an incident at the 1995 Source Awards in New York, that further fuelled the East Coast versus West Coast trouble amongst American Hip-Hop artists. The incident saw Death Row Records CEO Suge Knight (representing the East Side) *dissing* New York based Bad Boy Records manager Sean "Puffy" Combs who dances in his music videos Knight suggested New York city-based artists defect to his label, saying: "Any of you artists who want to be an artist and stay a star, and don't want to worry about their label's executive producer, all up in the videos, all on the record, dancing...". Suge's statement, on the one hand, piled more wood on the already hot coastal lyrical fire. On the other hand, he tried to emasculate Mr Combs at the time through a form of tough masculine ideology, in contrast to his muscular build. We read above that Chuck's initial few lyrics above have historical significance that is scaled to the local context for his fans and other Hip-Hop heads. He pre-empts a tough masculine ideology to emcees and the audience present in Stones: that his style is nothing (line 135) compared to his tough masculinity. Thus, the simple yet significant performative move that Chuck accomplishes is to link at the outset a different *gender perspective* (based on ideologies of sexed texts, cf. Baker, 2008) into the general structure of the braggadocio.

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From lines 136 to 138, it is still unclear who he is addressing, but what is clear is that he uses a number of Sabela phrases to suggest whoever addresses him lyrically will have to speak up (line 137) if s/he wanted to connect to his braggadocio (line 138). Only after these lyrical lines do we understand that his audience are all the tough emcees in the audience, who also apparently need to keep up (line 139).

By opening his performance in Kaaps and the register Sabela, Chuck's use of words such as "koppel" set the stage for a lyrical battle with an emcee that is not center stage or front stage but in the audience, as he warned: "Sterk Emcees moet kophou" (Tough Emcees need to keep up), (line 139). The sampling of these lyrics is set in the general structure of the local braggadocio as Chuck raps that he is not a stereotypical emcee where it concerns representin' his place because he is "strong for ghettos", line 140. He is also mindful of what is "verlap in die ghettos" (what is downtrodden in the ghettos, line 141). He refers to his socioeconomic condition and attempts to relate to audience members who are also downtrodden in the ghettos. In this way, Chuck toasts a particular style of rap by keeping it real in representing his place by referencing 'ghetto' and to emphasize the inequalities in townships. According to Gerard and Sidnell (2003: 282), emcees "...offer spatial descriptions that include place-names, these are often received with expressions of appreciation (for example, applause), and as such these descriptions provide opportunities for audience members to engage as active participants". Here we see clearly how the emcee uses keeping it real and linguistic virtuosity as metrics for evaluating what types of sampling fit or do not fit in the relocalizing of the braggadocio, as the sampling of a different text is introduced in his performance.

Chuck entextualizes a sampling of beef in subsequent lyrics performed in Kaaps and Sabela (from lines 144 to 154). [16] Firstly, the emcee gives the impression that someone else started beef with him by saying he needed to shut up. In line 144, we see him perform the quoted phrase sampled from an earlier conversation by Terror

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[16] According to Smitherman (2000: 65), beef can be understood as "conflict, squabble, a problem" between rap groups and crews over one or particular issue. Similarly, Fitzpatrick (2005: 6) states that "...beef is a long-standing disagreement between individuals or groups. The different sides in a beef may use battling as a way to defame the other side, although this is not necessary".

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MC, a veteran emcee in the local Hip-Hop community of Cape Town. That infuriated Chuck because if Terror had a problem with him they could have settled it on stage: one of the normal ways of settling beef. Secondly, as a result, he has Chuck replying with beef lyrics in a braggadocio performative frame, letting go with attacking rhymes (line 146), but refraining from any physical encounters (lines 148 to 149). Interestingly, performing in Kaaps and Sabela, Chuck mediates his beef by entextualizing discourse aspects of tough masculine ideology in his lyrics. He subjects Terror MC to a vicious emasculating attack by suggesting he wears a brassiere, freestyling that the emcee walks around with a castrated phallus. As a result, Chuck moves out of the beef genre to perform braggadocio lyrics to suggest to Terror and the audience that he is the only true Emcee (line 159) and his style (of braggadocio) will remain (line 165).

Considering the above analysis and comments, I would like to point out that Chuck is the only member in MobCoW family that has had significant exposure to the register Sabela. His rap style incorporates the physical mannerisms and gesturing that is often associated with the Number Gangs in Cape Town[17]. His entextualization of rap braggadocio is uniquely different from the more globally scaled performances by MoB and Narc: His is scaled down to the extreme local. His is in Sabela, which shares a lot of the vocabulary with Kaaps, resonates with emcee Cole's performance, and this sets him apart from the rest of his family members. This is clear in the way we see an overlap of lyrics of braggadocio and beef, which on the surface seem disorganized and not neatly packaged. Be that as it may, it seems to the emcee an encouraging way of performing his braggadocio, linking Sabela and Kaaps to the local generic model of the genre, and thus widening further the intertextual gap left by emcee Cole.

The final performance of braggadocio was that of emcee Baza Lo. For the first time, we find no call and response, but an abrupt move of the emcee performing straight after Chuck, with no overlap:

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[17] The Number gangs are a well known feature of South African prison life. There are three groupings: the 28s, 26s and 27s (cf. Steinberg, 2004)

132

Performance:

Baza:

166   **Baza, Baza lo, phum' enkonzweni/**
This is Baza, Baza, straight out of church.

167   **Gcwala ngifun' ozong'tshela/**
Recognize I want who's going to tell me –

168   I wanna hear ozong'tshela/
I want to hear who's going to tell me.

169   **Yes, xa ungamkele ngwana woza uzong'thola/**
Yes, if you've accepted me girl come get me.

170   **Lana ngipeth' uBaza, Baza, bheka ngubani ozo ndicrossa?/**
Hear I have Baza, Baza, who is going cross me?

171   **Ngithi ng'rap apha/**
I say I rap here.

172   [inaudible]/

173   **Lapha mfana abang'funi/**
They don't want me here dude,

174   **ukuthi vel uzong'thola/**
because they know they'll get me. -

175   Hahaha/

176   **Kuhleli zona zodwa/**
Only they are sitting here.

177   **Apha ng'hleli nabantwana vele uzogcwala, yes!/**
Here I'm sitting with girls, of course you'll appreciate. – Yes!

178   **S'pheth' ighetto mfethu/**
We own the ghetto (hood) my friend.

179   **Abantwana bathi "Sifun' ukuth' uvele uzovithola"/**
Girls say "We want you to come and get it."

180   **Izokuphel' imali yotwala, vele ng'lapha ebackdoor/**
Money for alcohol is going to end I'm here at the backdoor.

181   Ek willie praat van jou/
I don't want to talk about you.

182   **S'phth' i-check nou/**
We have the checks now.

183   Staan op, my penis, vele san' uzoythola/
Stand up on my penis, of course, you will get it.

184   Abantwana ba-"skriekie" - ek, believe uzothola/
Girls are "skriekie" – I believe you will get.

185   En hy's skaam van jou/
And he's shy of you.

186   **Abantwana sbathol'/**
Girls we shall get.

187   [inaudible]

133

188   *Ghetto Style baba!/*
189   *Ghetto Style baba!/*

Plate 5.5 Baza posing on Stage with Chuck (line 188)

Bazo Lo is performing in isiXhosa, English and Kaaps. He is the only emcee on stage able to perform lyrics in all three varieties of language. As his performance unfolds from line 166, it is difficult to discern whether he samples one or another intertextual relation absorbed in the braggadocio by his crew members. It is challenging to understand whether he samples swagger or beef texts. One could argue that he is performing a themeless braggadocio, and perhaps that would be the whole point of his performance. However, on the surface of his braggadocio's supposed incoherence, Baza Lo's lyrics entextualize an ekasi style of rap that is linked to the practice of Spaza Rap (a new rap genre circulating on the Cape Flats). Spaza rap uses isiXhosa, a variety of English and Kaaps to comment on the realities of black township life, celebrates, and criticises the politics of the new black middle class. Of course, Baza Lo does not seem to do the latter but rather the former. In so doing, he introduces into the generic model of braggadocio, and through a stylization of isiXhosa, English and Kaaps, a decontextualization and descaling of the *gangsta-pimp-hoe* discourse prevalent in global Hip-Hop (Rose, 2008; Sharpley-Whiting, 2007) and in turn samples for the benefit of the audience an ekasi streetmart persona (cf. previous chapter of interview with me and Baza where he describes his process of performing for the audience). The task Baza Lo challenges us with is to read his personae as an intertextual and interpersonal event (Goffman, 1983: 8). According to Agha (2007: 239), "Like any semiotic activity the activity of reading persons has a text-in-context organization in any given interpersonal

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encounter; it is shaped by text-level indexical effects. But it is also mediated by stereotypes of indexicality, namely stereotypic social images associated with discrete signs that specify default ways of reading persons who display them".

Firstly, the linguistic strategies Baza employs in his lyrics are mediations about his persona, "Baza, Baza" (line 166), a tough ekasi guy who is street smart about girls and about rap. Similar to Chuck's performance, we find that Baza metapragmatically suggests that "Baza, Baza" is the guy that nobody should attempt to assail (line 170). Secondly, the emcee suggests that in the context of Club Stones, he feels out of place. Although he performs that he raps here, it is difficult for him to do so because nobody wants him in the place (from lines 171-173). Recall in the previous chapter the interview with one of the fans who said that they don't understand what Baza raps about. That he is a beat that nobody understands. In his live performance above, Baza reflects on some of his audience members not able to understand him because he performs in isiXhosa. Who "they are sitting here" (line 174) are, is an intriguing enforcement of the idea of feeling out of place. The emcee, however, shrugs this off his shoulders and suggests that he is made to feel accepted because of all the girls seated near and around him (line 177). The celebration of money and success is a global aspect of Hip-Hop, but in the case of Baza's braggadocio performance, we clearly see a number of intertextual relations of a locally scaled nature sampled into the generic model of that genre.

The remaining lyrics in Baza's performance, from lines 180 to 189, is an enforcing of stereopyical images of girls and how they are the allure of Baza, the ekasi rap personae. He toasts this style of rap as an enregistered "Ghetto Style" in performance. The reference to the Ghetto reinforces the image of gangsta-pimp-hoe and at the same time recontextualizes the braggadocio performance space as one where Ghetto style is allowed. The emcee's performance mediates a semiotics of feeling out of place, a messy compilation of lyrics brought out in performance, but we nonetheless see him attempt opening up conditions for an ekasi persona to be accommodated by the braggadocio. Thus, we can conclude the analysis of the above multivocal performance as such: the intertextual gap opened by MoB at the

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beginning of the performance, stylized through English, has been maximized fully by local varieties of language and registers.

5.4 Summary

In the beginning of the chapter, I organized my argument about the enregistering of voice as agency around recent pronouncements in language and hip-hop literature. I pointed out that the emcees above draw constantly on the cross-cultural terrains of Cape Town and its outlaying townships to highlight the nature of marginalized voice and agency. These are intercultural voices shaped by recent intensities of deepening diversities and the performance of new forms of selves. Because of those diversities, *sui generis*, the creative predilection of emcees is to force open and forge new spaces for marginalized voices in a transgressive semiotics almost never recognized in the mainstream. In this chapter, voice as performed through braggadocio, *tout court*, centres on intertextual relations and personae. Those personae are exaggerated by the performativity of rap texts absorbed in the general model of braggadocio and suggest that larger processes are drawn on to display them as socially constitutive of marginalized voices on the periphery of Cape Town, creatively assembled in the staged event.

I approached braggadocio as an uncompleted genre being relocalized by the emcees in the local. I introduced the notion of sampling and conversational sampling and intertextual gap as a way to account for the creative and performative processes emcees would undertake to enregister their voice as agency. Specifically, in the multivocal performing of braggadocio, each emcee emphasised different but similar ways of doing so. They did so by sampling everyday texts, stylizing local forms of language varieties and register, but also resemiotized the function of certain varieties of language (such as the use of AAE accent) and registers in the entextualization of braggadocio. This allowed them to relocalize the genre but also to promote their authenticity by keeping it real, displaying unique linguistic virtuosity and representing all metrics for evaluating the genre.

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In the final chapter of this study, I will attempt to draw these aspects together to demonstrate the implications for the study of multilingualism. In the next chapter, I aim to present an analysis of cipha performing (freestyle rap battles) and how a shared sense of locality emerges in the way emcees draw on transmodal and transidiomatic resources to bid against and for linguistic agency.
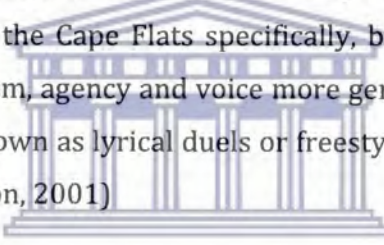
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Chapter 6
Performing Rap Ciphas and Locality

6.0 Introduction

The study of Hip-Hop in Cape Town has traditionally focused on the narratives and poetics of resistance, race and counter-hegemonic agency in the context of apartheid and the early days of post-apartheid. Despite this attention, Hip-Hop *cipha* performances remain relatively under-researched (see for instance, Haupt, 1996; Watkins, 2000, Warner, 2007). This chapter suggest that cipha performances display linguistic and discursive features that not only are of particular interest to rap music and Hip-Hop on the Cape Flats specifically, but that also speak to core issues around multilingualism, agency and voice more generally. Ciphas also spelled as *cypher* or *ciphers*, and known as lyrical duels or freestyle battles, are according to Alim (2009: 1, citing Peterson, 2001)

> ...marvellous speech events. They are inviting and also very challenging. They have become a litmus test for modern day griots. Ciphas are the innovative formats for battles (the ritual of rhyming is informed by the physical arrangement of Hip-Hop).

Cipha performance is a type of performative discourse that is borne out of emcees combining of freestyle lyrics, rhyming, linguistic ability and sampling of various rap music styles. It is a type of rap performance that displays linguistic and discursive features that speak to core issues around the rap personae, and the embodiment of multilingualism, agency and voice. Cipha performances have always attracted a huge audience and were an enormous success in displaying emcees' linguistic and discursive abilities in Club Stones. Much ciphing in Cape Town uses two or more

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languages to convey information of place, identity, rap style and interaction with the audience. The languages used between the emcees and the audience, in this case, are a variety of English, African-American English (AAE) and Kaaps. The cipha exchange is far from a mere performance of rapping virtuosity, but constitutes an engagement with global forms to create a sense of a shared locality, and thereby agency. This chapter suggests that the way emcees use their language in Club Stones and, the Hip-Hop show offers up a typical example of how youth on the Cape Flats use English and Kaaps to interact with each other in not only Hip-Hop spaces but in other spaces as well. In this chapter, I demonstrate and analyse the processes of entextualization with respect to cipha performances in Club Stones.

6.1 Introducing Cipha Performing

In the data I analysed here, a salient feature of the discourse is how aspects of space, both *local-spatial* coordinates as well as non-local spatial elements, are *entextualized* in the actual performance of a rap cipha between two emcees on stage and in a natural language situation defined by cipha performing. Core features of local space is what binds participants together around a common understanding of the local *bric a brac* of happenings and reference points they share, and the people they know, and how languages or varieties of language, together with aspects of audience presence and transmodal features of the interaction (such as an ongoing TV program) are variously referenced multilingually and incorporated into the performance. Both these facets of the rap cipha are essential to the co-construction of locality. Moreover, in the cipha performances studied here, the battle between protagonists are in fact nothing less than competitive bids, whereby elements and forms from different languages and different entextualization(s) are offered up by the protagonists as candidates indexical of the register of rap.

In the examples that I will comment on in a moment, I have focused on how locality emerges in cipha performances by means of verbal cueing, representing place, disrespecting (*dissing*), of (deictic) reference to local coordinates, by

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transposing or recontextualizing transidiomatic phrases, and by incorporating local proxemics and audience reactions through commentary and response. I argue that competition around acceptable linguistic forms and framings (metalinguistic disputes) of locality comprise the very micro-processes behind the formation of new registers. At the same time, these registers create the semiotic space for the exercise of agency and voice through multilingual practices, that is, multilingual citizenship.

6.1.1 Emcee Keaton versus Emcee Phoenix

On a typical Wednesday night, cipha performances start at 22H00 and end around 00H00. On the night of the cipha battle between rappers Keaton and Phoenix, club Stones attracted a large audience of youth for the Suburban Menace Hip-Hop show[18].

Before every cipha performance, emcees sign up to a clipboard but do not necessarily know who their opponent will be. Only at the start of the cipha performances will a cipha mediator (or time-keeper), usually this was Mseeq, call the emcees on stage. The performance would last 60 seconds and within that time emcees have to outperform their opponent. In order to initiate the cipha performance, the mediator uses a coin-toss to decide which emcee will start first. The cipha performances, which formed part of the Suburban Menace, 'Stepping Stones to Hip-Hop" show in club Stones were different from street ciphas[19].

Keaton and Phoenix are two emcees who had never met prior to their lyrical duel that night at Club Stones, and they never thought to ask each other from which township or part of Cape Town they hailed. However, as emcees they have a great deal in common in the way of creativity, lyrical style and Hip-Hop musical tastes. Keaton, on the one hand, is in his early 20s and has practiced rap since his early school days, but only recently started to freestyle battle (cipha). He is fluent in

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[18] The name Suburban Menace is itself indicative of what is happening in performing locality.

[19] In street ciphas the rules are much more relaxed in terms of who "falls off" the (imagined) stage and who "jumps in" the cipha circle (space). There is no mediator that imposes a rule as a divide. In street ciphas it is the audience (see Lee, 2009a; 2009b for excellent examples).

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Kaaps and English, is able to rap in both languages, and understands the street register Sabela. He knows more than two languages – is multilingual. Born and raised in the historically demarcated area for coloureds and blacks in Kuilsriver, Keaton is considered a veteran emcee in the Hip-Hop community of Kuilsriver. In addition, since the start of the Suburban Menace Hip-Hop show, "Stepping Stones to Hip-Hop", he has capitalized on the valuable opportunities offered to perform his rap music and attempt to cipha battle (which he earlier would have shied away from). Keaton is an unsigned artist and his record for winning cipha battles has been dismally poor, which many attribute to his inexperience in cipha performances. Phoenix, on the other hand, is a MobCoW family member and a veteran emcee and has since the start of the Wednesday night Hip-Hop show attracted a small audience who support him and want him to win. In the early 20s, Phoenix has been actively involved as a battle emcee for more than eight years in the Hip-Hop community of Kuilsriver. His first major performance was at ""Spoeg Jam" Afrikaans Hip-Hop" (Spitting Jam Afrikaans Hip-Hop). He lives in Kuilsriver and views himself as a rap artist and a student of life. His aspiration is to become *the* Afrikaans rapper in South Africa and a household name. Many Hip-Hop heads and fans know him as Phoenix but he also has another alias, Charlie Raplin. Thus far, the highlight of his career has been the achievement of being crowned the "Heal the Hood" best artist award. Phoenix, a fluent speaker of Kaaps and a variety of English, has (like Keaton) been exposed to Sabela in the community of Kuilsriver and is also multilingual. Hip-Hop music has had a huge influence in his life and he boasts of someone having "a sharp mind that took to rhyming". He writes rap lyrics and records frequently. In club Stones he has established the reputation for the best comical style of rap and has recently signed up to the independent label CapCol.

6.1.1.1 Analyzing first round of cipha performance: entextualizing the discourse of verbal cueing, biting rhymes and representin'

At the beginning of the first round of the cipha performance Mseeq (the cipha mediator) first called to the stage the inexperienced Keaton, followed by the veteran Phoenix. Mseeq asked for a coin from the audience, and asked Keaton, as the more junior lyricist, to choose heads or tails. Keaton chose heads but Phoenix won the toss, electing Keaton to begin the lyrical duel:

Round 1 of Cipha

Keaton:

1	Yoh, yoh...yoh, yoh/
2	**Ek gat Engels spit, nuh/**
3	**Julle verstaan SMEngelS/**
4	**Hie' gat ek/**
5	[...]
6	*My favourate colour is red/*
7	*Like a bloodshed/*
8	*With purple haze/*
9	*When I shoot the sucker dead/*
10	*I'm rolling in a/*
11	*Shish kebab/*
12	*When I woke this morning I was a lost soul/*
13	*Cause I got* [inaudible]/
14	*And a sore throat/*
15	*A wardrobe with an army robe/*
16	*In a* [inaudible] *signing autographs/*
17	*I just remembered that I'm absent-minded* [inaudible]/
18	*That it crossed my mind/*
19	*I can't rhyme it/*
20	*I freestyle every verse I spit/*

Keaton began his performance with a verbal cue used commonly as a turn-taking element in cipha battles, "Yoh, yoh...yoh, yoh" [line 1]. The use of this particular verbal cue is more commonly found in the rap and language practices of African American English (AAE). Keaton's use of it in this context suggests that he is tapping into transnational forms in, what one can presume, is an attempt to promote himself

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as a credible emcee with a translocal identity, and somebody who is able to meaningfully perform ciphas, rather than the inexperienced rapper he is in reality.

Another feature of Keaton's cipha is how he violates a basic rule requiring him to perform *battle* lyrics and rhymes (punch-lines), comprising a personal attack on his opponent (that is, disrespecting him), including viscous commentary on his opponent's verbal or non-verbal comportment. Although clearly expected of a cipha battle, Keaton does not do this. He rhymes about being a protagonist in a series of events, where: (1) he talks about his favourite colour, other colours and his ability to draw colour through violence from others (lines 6-9); (2) that he is driving around in a vehicle that is as attractive as a shish kebab dinner (lines 10-11); (3) that he is lost because of a 'sore throat' (4) that he has a wardrobe full of choices, even his coat of arms (lines 12-15); and (5) that even though he is able to think off the top of his head, he still performs freestyle lyrics (lines 16-20). Noticeable is the constant meta-reflection on his person rather than the expected entextualization of interpersonal and combative relationships.

The lyrical content is managed largely through the use of English, although it is evident that Keaton is attempting to engage and appeal to both English and Afrikaans speakers among the audience. In lines 2 to 4, he rhymes: "ek gat Engels spit [*I'm going to perform in English*], nuh, julle verstaan [You understand] SMEngelS. Hie' gat ek. [*Here I go*]". The form SMS (short message service) is commonly associated with the linguistic practices of texting (the combination of acronyms, short phrases and icons usually used in social networking *Real Time Chats* (RTC)). Keaton builds his lyrical content around this form of semiosis, thus assuming that those in the audience who practice texting or frequently visit social networking sites such as Facebook will understand this. And this is what comes out in the example: "julle verstaan [You understand] SMEngelS" [Line 3]. This is an important line as the emcee recognises interaction with audience members figure as an important part of cipha battles; audience members are the assessors of good cipha performances, as well as significant co-constructers of them.

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A feature of Keaton's performance is that many of the lyrics that he performs are from rapper Eminem's song "Cum on Everybody" off the *Slim Shady LP* (1999). Rappers frown on this practice as it is seen as *biting rhymes* [plagiarism] (see definition in Smitherman, 2006). Lee (2009b: 316) states that an emcee would be accused of not only plagiarism but inherit the dubious reputation of "spitting writtens". This audience (by enacting censorship and monitoring) is intrinsically involved in the ongoing emergence of Keaton's cipha performance itself. Towards the end of his performance, many of the audience members started to *booh him off stage*. His attempt to be lauded as an emcee was slowly slipping beyond his grasp. To make matters worse, Keaton's competitor Phoenix added insult to injury by turning his back on Keaton, whereupon Keaton was *boohed* even louder. And while the music faded into the background, Mseeq had this to say to Phoenix:

Mseeq:

21 **Ooh, djy draai jou rug/**
Ooh, you turn your back
22 **Lyk my djy wil in die hol geëet word/**
It looks like you want to be fucked in the ass
23 Waar's 28?/
Where's 28?
24 **Is 28 in die building?/** *Is 28 in the building?*
25 [Laughs]/
26 **Dai's 'n facebook joke/**
That's a facebook joke
27 **Ok, Phoenix is djy gereed?/**
Ok, Phoenix are you ready?
28 **Is djy gereed Phoenix?/**
Are you ready Phoenix?
29 **Ok, [name of DJ] sit die man se mic hard genoeg/**
Ok, [name f DJ] increase the volume for the man's mic

Mseeq says *Ooh, you turned your back. It looks like you want to be fucked in the ass. Where's 28? Is 28 in the building? [Laugh]* [Lines 21 to 25]. With his words, he is entextualizing practices and knowledge associated with street ciphas and the homosexual normative encounters of the Number gangs in Cape Town. He continues

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with the statement: *"That's a facebook joke"* [line 26], thereby recognizing the function of the social networking site to link locals and friends. In his interruption, Mseeq makes reference to a variety of features essential to the contribution of a shared sense of locality, namely; (1) the identification with 28 (in the use of the number 28) and the use of *Sabela* (an admixture of isiXhosa, Kaaps, Zulu, non-verbal gang signs), and (2) the language and discursive practices used on Facebook. Thus in a single linguistic interchange - which preceded Phoenix's first round cipha performance as a response to Keaton – Mseeq entextualized both linguistic and non-linguistic aspects for local spatialization. This communicative action *rescaled* (Blommaert, Collins and Slembrouck, 2005) Keaton's entextualization of verbal cues and lyrical content in AAE, even though Keaton had attempted to align himself with transcultural Hip-Hop. And Mseeq contributed to a scale-jumping with his rejoinder by commenting on Keaton's performance, by bringing in local identities and local discourses and community practices through the use of Kaaps.

With respect to each of the features highlighted in Mseeq's interruption, Keaton is guilty of violating some of the fundamental principles of rap performance. Not only does he choose to rap in AAE instead of Kaaps, he *spits writtens*. This latter feature suggests how it is *improvisation*, rather than intertextuality, that contributes to the locality. Improvisation of course is by its very nature a situated practice, dependent on the local context. And finally, by erasing all references to the immediate context – such as choosing not to refer abusively to his protagonist – Keaton once again fails to contribute to the construction of locality. It is precisely his failure to anchor his performance in the local that earns Keaton the audience's derision.

It was now Phoenix's turn to respond to Keaton:

Phoenix:

30   Yoh, yoh, is ja/
     Yoh yoh, yes
31   **Kuila ruk die ding ja/**
     Kuila keeps it rocking yes
32   **Kuila ruk die ding ja/**

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	Kuila keeps it rocking yes
33	**Kuila ruk die ding ja/**
	Kuila keeps it rocking yes
34	Jy! Jy!/
	Yes! Yes!
35	Ek kom met 'n sword in/
	I come with a sword
36	Ek druk hom binne 'n bord in/
	I'll drive it through you like through a wooden board
37	**Ek sal die bra hop-tail/**
	I will jump on this guy
38	**Dan kap sy gevriet in by Jordon/**
	And slice his face like [Michael] Jordon
39	**Ja, tjek 'it uit, ja/**
	Yes, check it out, yes
40	**Kyk hoe lyk djy my broe'/**
	Look at you brother
41	**Djy het nie eens geld nie/**
	You don't even have money
42	**Vir jou sal ek wen soes Liverpool teen Chelsea/**
	I will win against you like Liverpool against Chelsea
43	Is ja/
	Oh, yes
44	**Djy's gefok ja/**
	You're fucked yes
45	**My broe djy kan kans drobba/**
	My brother, you can't even drobba
46	**My broe djy lyk met 'n fake hare amper soes Drogba/**
	My brother, you have fake hair like Drogba

Like Keaton, Phoenix initiates his performance through verbal cues (evident in line 30, 34, 39 and 43). However, what makes his performance different to Keaton's from the outset is a sampling of AAE verbal cueing code-mixed with a local form of verbal cueing in Kaaps (see lines 30, 34 and 39). He commences the performance with "Yoh, yoh" and ends the verbal cue with "ja", thereby introducing Kaaps into a position in cipha battles that has not been experienced before. In other words, Phoenix (re)entextualized the previous use of African American English verbal cueing by Keaton in a more poetically and aesthetically pleasing format, with a clear, local anchoring. His lyrical content is neatly constructed and between lines 31 and

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33 he rhymes the phrase, "Kuila ruk die ding ja"[20], paralinguistically waving the audience members to participate in the call and response. Phoenix entextualized the phrase intentionally to enact, what is commonly referred to in the global Hip-Hop communities as, *representing your place* (see Smitherman, 2006). Morgan (2009: 72) states that

> To represent in Hip-Hop is not simply to identify with a city, neighbourhood, school, and so on. It is also a discursive turn – it is the symbols, memory, participants, and objects and details that together produce art of the space and time. Representing rebuilds and reinvigorates the space by making it Hip-Hop. Representing accomplished through a fantastical and complex system of indexicality – literally pointing to and shouts out place, people, and events when an interaction is framed around important referential symbols and contexts.

Because Phoenix is from Kuilsriver, he used the majority local audience from the community to rally behind his performance. These phrases are repeated in no more than two lines and preceded the verbal cue, "Jy! Jy!" (Line 34) performed with a slight rise in pitch, all provocatively directed at Keaton.
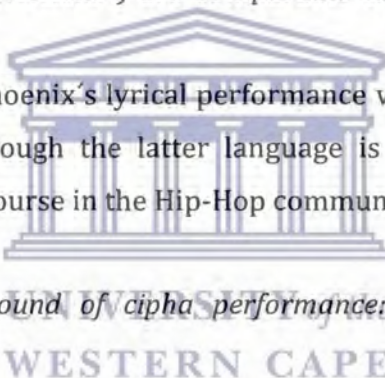
Phoenix continues his lyrics monologically in Kaaps. His use of the phrases such as "Ek kom met 'n sword in" [I come with a sword] (line 35), "druk hom" [drive it through you] (line 36), and words such as "hop-tail" (line 37) and "smash" (line 38) are lyricised to exact the necessary violence commonly expressed in cipha battles through Kaaps. For example, he draws on the discourse of poverty to denigrate the rap identity of Keaton by comparing him to someone who has poor taste in clothes and no money (lines 40-41); always backing the losing team of a match (line 42). Buoyed by his lyrical creativity – and cheered on by members of the audience –

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[20] "Kuila" is the Kaaps reference to the community and location of Kuilsriver.

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Phoenix continued to assail his opponent who he lyricised as forlorn [Djy's gefok ja] (see line 44) and unable to bounce back ['...kan kans drobba] (line 45).

The lyric in line 42 had been formulated with direct reference to Keaton's prior performance. Initially, Phoenix turned his back and looked up to the television set, watching the football game between Liverpool Football Club (FC) and Chelsea FC. The lyric in line 45 is inspired by the dribbling ability and running passes of footballer Didier Drogba – an aspect of the match that Phoenix quickly studied and rhymed into lyrics, thereby inserting it into the pace of the performance as a transmodal instance of local space. This lyrical attack in Kaaps on Keaton, is insinuating that Keaton is unable to respond to his cipha battle rhymes because he "kan kans drobba" and identifies Keaton in line 45 as a fake emcee whose lyrical performance (assumingly "writtens") are comparable to the fake hair on football star Didier Drogba's head.

As mentioned, most of Phoenix's lyrical performance was managed in the Kaaps. His use of verbal cues through the latter language is unique and currently an emerging performative discourse in the Hip-Hop community of Cape Town.

6.1.1.2 Analyzing second round of cipha performance: entextualizing disrespect (dissing)

In the previous performance, Keaton and Phoenix performed very different ciphas. For Keaton, the upscaled and global use of AAE for verbal cueing was the language variety he thought to be more useful to infiltrate the space and placate the linguistic sensibilities of audience members. This was not well received and his opponent, Phoenix, used his failure to score a win. In the next performance - the second round - Keaton's performance reveals two things: (1) his understanding that he must perform cipha battle rhymes, and not rap about himself; and (2) his realization that he must do cipha lyrics in a language variety or register that would earn him a win. In the second round, the audience attempt to influence the emcees' performance even more explicitly and loudly than before (see lines 38, 40 to 42). Their goal is to

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put pressure on Keaton to cipha perform in what they consider to be the correct language. Because he started the first round Keaton also began the second round. He entextualized the discourse of disrespecting (*dissing*) with an excessive use of expletives in Kaaps (see phrases in bold[21]):

Round 2 of Cipha

Keaton:		Audience Members:
47		Afrikaans man!
48	Is julle reg?/	
	Are you ready?	
49		Ja!
50		Doen Siebela!
		Do Sabela!
51		Djy jou naai!
		You Mothafucka!
52	Vir hom ek sal sy **Masse Poes**/	
	For him I'm going to Muthafucking	
53	se **fokking** bek ba's/	
	Fuck his mouth up	
54	Ek sal sy **fokken** afkap/	
	I will fucking axe him up	
55	en dan smetterig smeer/	
	And grease him good	
56	Ek **fokking** rhyme/	
	I fucking rhyme	
57	want ek probee'/	
	Cause I try	
58	Ek reppie/	
	I don't just rap	
59	want ekke rep soe' **fokkien** wheck/	
	I rap so fucking whack	
60	Wat?/	
	What?	
61	hie' kom ek deur/	
	I'm coming through	
62	ek kom deur met respek/	
	I'm coming through with respect	
63	ek briek sy **fokking** nek/	
	I break his fucking neck	

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[21] The transcription key is not applied in this performance instance as I want to highlight emcee Keaton's unique response to his opponent.

64	ek slat my skoen somme binne/
	I kick my shoe till
65	in sy bek/
	In his mouth
66	Ek worry nie/
	I don't worry
67	want ekke nie worry/
	Cause I don't worry
68	en hy's **fokking** geworried/
	Cause he's fucking worried
69	want hy is dik gesplif aan die Darry/
	Cause he's high on hash
70	ja/
	yes
71	die **fokking**.../
	The fucking...

In this round, Keaton appeared to have become aware how freestyle battle rhyming in AAE was limiting his ability to get the audience members to engage with him, just as his use of *biting of rhymes* had not been received very well by the audience and his opponent. His response is thus to introduce linguistic forms in Kaaps and use the register of intimidation through Sabela to disrespect Phoenix. His use of phrases such as *cunt* (Poes) and *breaking your fucking mouth* (fokking bek ba's) to violently attack his opponent: "Vir hom ek sal sy Masse Poes se fokking bek ba's/Ek sal sy fokken afkap en dan smetterig smeer/Ek fokking rhyme want ek probeer" (Translation: *For him I'm going to Muthafucking fuck his mouth shut. I will fucking axe him and grease him good. I fucking rhyme 'cause I try*). What is particularly salient about Keaton's lyrical content is that in the second round he employs forms of language with more masculine and underground connotations that in a sense are indexical of the co-constructed locality of club Stones and the use of Kaaps. Keaton thus attempts to accommodate what he perceives to be his audience's wishes, thus hoping to negate the impact of his first round cipha performance. This appears to find some satisfaction among audience members, although Mseeq policed Keaton saying:

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Mseeq:

72	*Whoooo!/*
73	*Keaton/*
74	**as djy Afrikaans rap/**
	If you're going to rap in Afrikaans
75	**dan moet djy wiet wat djy sê jong/**
	Then you must know what you are going to say
76	**Jou Masse frikken.../**
	Your Motha freaking...
77	**djy is dan net net dit.../**
	You are this this and that...
78	**kom Pheonix let's go/**
	Come Pheonix let's go

Mseeq admonishes Keaton when he points out that there are norms to rapping and rhyming Kaaps Afrikaans, when he emphasizes, *"Keaton, if you're going to rap in Afrikaans then you must know what you going to say, brother. Your Motha freaking...you are this this and that"*, and is thus not directly commenting on Keaton's use of Kaaps and the forms adapted in the emcee's lyrical content.

Phoenix continued to skilfully close of the cipha between him and Keaton:

Phoenix:		**Audience Members:**
79	**Uh, tjek 'it uit. Tjek 'it uit/**	
	Uh, check it out. Check it out	
80	**Kuila!/**	
81		Hosh!
82	Hosh, o's represent/	
	Cool, we represent	
83		Jy!
84	Met die pen/	
	With the pen	
85	met die slet/	
	With the slut	
86		Tsais!
87	djy moet ken/	
	You must recognize	
88	*Uh/*	
89	**djy's 'n disaster/**	
	You're a disaster	
90	ek is die Master/	

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I'm the Master

91 **As ekke klaa' is/**
When I'm done

92 **dan lien djy by iemand 'n plaster/**
You'll need a plaster

93 [...]

94 Hy is die flow/
He's the flow

95 **djy moet onthou/**
You must remember

96 vir jou gooi ek soes vleis op die braai/
I'll throw you like meat on the braai

97 **want djy is rou/**
Because you're raw

98 [...]

99 **Djy bly my gryp/**
You grab me all the time

100 **djy is 'n meit/**
You're a hore

101 **lyk my ek moet hom** weer hop-tail/
It seems I'll have to hop-tail him again

102 en vir hom die keer ryp/
And rape him again

Phoenix's final performance above is bare of expletives. He started his second round cipha performance in an almost identical way to his first round, as can be seen from the way he uses verbal cueing (see line 70 and 79). With the exception of a few omissions in lines 84 and 90, the performance here shows both improvisation and a clever use of freestyle lyrics. In the first round, Phoenix performed 'representing'. In this round, he initially appears to be preparing a repeat of 'representing', (see line 71), but instead of producing intimidating rhymes and lyrics, he switches instead over to a lyrical meta-reflection on the creative process preceding a cipha performance.

Audience engagement and co-construction in Phoenix's performance comes out in the way they offer greetings in Kaaps and Sabela, the two most common varieties and registers on the Cape Flats. "Hosh!" (line 72) is a socially acceptable way of greeting among multilingual youth on the Cape Flats, and used to exclaim a person's presence. On the other hand, it is also an invitation to engage in talk commonly

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associated with Sabela. The use of the lexical form "Tsais!" has multiple meanings but is here used by audience members to emphasise that Phoenix must push Keaton "off-stage" because he fails to construct good cipha rhymes. The manner in which "tsais" is used is further suggestive of the desire that audience members signaled earlier to have Kaaps as a central part of the evolving register. It subsequently becomes clear that Phoenix, by refraining from picking up on these words, choosing rather to remain comical in his rap style and refusing to succumb to consistent pressure from the audience, shows himself once again to be a better emcee than Keaton.

The penultimate lyrical turns in Phoenix's final performance are innovative and improvised to further denigrate the young emcee Keaton. In clearly organized turns of four stanzas, Phoenix reflects on Keaton's previous performances in the cipha (lines 80-83); that he is much too young to rhyme against him (Phoenix) (lines 85-88); and that he has been feminized (lines 91-94). Phoenix makes it clear that any young rapper who cipha against him will always be a disaster ("djy's n disaster", line 80), because he is a better emcee ("n Master", line 81). His performance is always threatening and hurtful ("As ekke klaa' is/dan lien djy by iemand 'n plaster", lines 82-83). He informs the audience that Keaton thinks he can rhyme ("hy is die flow", line 85) but because Phoenix is the master, his lyrics are better and Keaton must remember that he is still a young emcee that *will* fail ("djy moet onthou/vir jou gooi ek soes vleis op die braai/want djy is rou", lines 86-88).

In the last lines of his performance, Phoenix feminizes Keaton. He does this by making reference to how Keaton was pulling on his clothes in order to add 'paralinguistic value' to his use of expletives. What Phoenix points out is that Keaton in reality just wanted to hold him ("Djy bly my gryp", line 91); that he is a woman ("djy is 'n meit, line 92); and because Keaton continued with the action Phoenix must win the second round ("lyk my ek moet hom weer hop-tail/en vir hom die keer ryp", lines 93-94). In this way, Phoenix thus ended the cipha performance as the winner.

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6.2 Summary

In this chapter we have experienced how space and the emergence of a shared sense of locality are important in navigating semiotic modes that occur simultaneously and are brought into the cipha performances between emcee Keaton and emcee Phoenix. In this context, language is an important resource for scaling space but not the only meaning-making practice to win a cipha. We saw in this chapter that both emcees took full advantage of the semiotic phenomena occuring on-stage, but were also aware that the transmodal design of Hip-Hop had as a central part of its make-up the audience as an important dynamic for successfully performing ciphas. The fact that the audience insisted on the use of particular varieties provide much evidence to the multilingualism and transmodality of the Hip-Hop show in Club Stones.

In the following three chapters we will see how multilingualism in the popular space of Tshisa-Nyama is afforded, and in which ways multilingual practices differ in Mzoli's meat form those we find at Club Stones.

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Part 3

Popular Spaces of Tshisa-Nyama

Tshisa-Nyama

By

Daizer Mqhaba

The very fact that it is isolated
From other shops proves the reality:
This is a Bantu Special Restaurant
Owned by all Italian team-mates.

The pap, you braai till it turns chocolate brown
The meat and the wors, you leave in the red oven
Till it resembles our customers' colour.
The binnegoetes, you leave half-raw, half-cooked.

The shop, you don't label the name.
The tables must be of hard steel, the chairs as well.
The plates must be of aluminium,
The spoons, big, round and rusty.

The advertisement must be fuming smoke
That is burning meat and pap.
Let a Bantu man call it Tshisa-Nyama,
We don't mind the queries and all such.

The soup must be made from a cheap recipe,
The ingredients as costless as ever.
The sweets must be sticky, and also Dube-Dubes.
Cigarettes? mainly B.B., Lexington and Mboza.

When he orders he must be as audible as a motor horn.
Should he warble like a swallowing Bull,
Give him any item in front of you –
He'll not lodge even a single complaint.

Business manners – not applicable to him.
Just shout at him: 'Funani Bhizzah?'
He'll never wrinkle – 'Funa Pap en Steik!'
And then draw shekels from a dirty horseshoe-pouch.

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Same, must be wrapped in an inky Newspaper
He must eat outside on the dusty stoep
Who does he think will clean for him
After finishing with all those remnants?

The suitable drinks served are usually:
Al Mageu, Hubby-bubbly and Pint –
If he wants something decent, try next door!
We sell only Bantu appetizing stuff here.

He must eat like a pig stuck in the mud,
His teeth must emphasize the echo of the
Battle with the whitish-pink coarse tongue.
He's mos never taught any table decency!

It is a restaurant solely for Bantus.
No other race has any business to interfere,
The food sold here is absolutely fire-smelling:
Sies! I'll never eat that kind of junk! Ga!

Tshisa Thixo safa Yindelelo![22]

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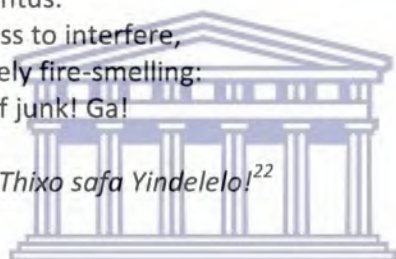
[22] Tshisa (Burn) Thixo (God) safa (Dying) Yindelelo (disrespect) = Oh my God, we are dying of disrespect!

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Chapter 7

Mzoli's Meat and Tshisa-Nyama Culture

7.0 Introduction

The poem by Dazier Mqhaba published during the most violent period of apartheid provides a poetic introduction to the culture of Tshisa-Nyama as local places in modern South Africa. Today, we live in a late-modern society where Tshisa-Nyama is scaled not merely for local consumption but is very much being upscaled to meet a global audience, satisfy a global clientele as a result of tourism (Alexander et al, 2006).

In this chapter, I provide an ethnographic description of Mzoli's Meat in terms of how, as a multisemiotically designed space, it is scaled as a translocal (although simultaneously de-scaled and local) place. The focus here is to demonstrate how semiotic resources are used to inscribe multiple languages and order them indexically within a material landscape in a local setting (Vigouroux, 2009), and how the particular place that is Mzoli's creates affordances for certain types of voice and agency. As noted earlier, an important point of departure for this study is to understand how both linguistic and semiotic resources, such as written texts, building layouts, linguistic landscapes and soundscapes, frame the scaling of performances in popular spaces of Tshisa-Nyama, in order for us to understand the stylization and entextualization of multilingualism, agency and voice, as this occurs in specifically scaled spaces. This allows us to compare how multilingualism in popular spaces of Tshisa-Nyama is a resource for speakers different to that of the use of varieties of language, registers and speech styles in the popular spaces of Hip Hop described and discussed in the previous chapters.

This chapter consists of four parts. In the next part of the chapter, I situate Mzoli's Meat in the larger sociolinguistic context of Cape Town's oldest township,

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Gugulethu. I briefly allude to the rich struggle history, and socioeconomic challenges that go some way to explaining particular patterns of (re)distribution and stratification of multilingualism at Mzoli's Meat. The second part of the chapter describes and discusses the performativity of scale and spatio-temporal arrangement of the restaurant, and how this shapes the production and commodification of Tshisa-Nyama. That section describes and analyses the spatialization of the linguistic and semiotic resources of Mzoli's as a popular restaurant in Gugulethu, so as to bring out that which is distinct about Mzolis' with respect to indexical offering of semiotic forms in comparison with the Hip Hop scene. The final section is a discussion about the indexicalities of soundscapes and soundspaces as a significant feature of the linguistic landscape of Mzoli's.

7.1 Situating Mzoli's: History and Language in Gugulethu Township

Mzoli's Meat is a meat market setting that is located on the margins of Gugulethu Township, a predominantly black township which arose out of the then South African apartheid government's concerted attempt to rid the city of non-whites (Dondolo, 2002). This was first articulated through legislative instruments such as the Native Urban Areas Act of 1923 and the Group Areas Act of 1950, which set the stage for massive forced removals to a periphery today notoriously known as the Cape Flats.

The apartheid state deliberately created townships as under-resourced areas limited in terms of amenities and opportunities, and located them strategically away from busy highways and intersections (cf. Mpofana, 2002): a modern day panoptican for the modern nation-state (Foucault, 1975: 198). Moreover, black citizens were ejected from predominantly white and coloured areas such as Kensington, Retreat, Athlone, Simonstown, Blouvlei and District Six. Gugulethu, which translates from isiXhosa as "our pride", is historically a dissident space, a place where residents articulated their frustration at the gross economic underdevelopment which created dysfunctional black culture and unsustainable

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living conditions (Dlamini, 2009). It was formally established in 1959 under the administrative terms and conditions of the Western Cape Development Board, later renamed the Bantu Administration Board. As one of the first townships to emerge in Cape Town, Gugulethu, initially called Nyanga West, was built geographically near Nyanga East. There, many of its first residents moved into second grade housing and, by 1958, the place had become a corridor for migration of many poor multilingual speakers in search of better living conditions in the Western Cape.

Located almost 18km outside the Central Business District of Cape Town, Gugulethu is closer to Cape Town International Airport (formerly known as D.F Malan International Airport) and the Northern Industrial areas of Cape Town far from the city center, as are many other townships. Distinct from other townships, Gugulethu has become a hub for historical tourism mainly for two reasons: (1) overseas tourists want to experience the *other side* of Cape Town; and (2) Gugulethu is synonymous with the struggle against apartheid: there are victims and martyrs such as the Gugulethu 7 and Stanford University student Amy Behl, whose unfortunate death at the hands of rioting youth is deeply felt even today.

Plate 7.1 Gugulethu Seven

This history of struggle and violence, as Dondolo (2002: 25) states, markets or commodifies Gugulethu as a struggle archive for historians and a historical site for tourists to access (cf. Pirie, 2007, Comaroff and Comaroff, 2009).

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Mzoli's Meat is firmly embedded in this. As a popular township restaurant, the place forms part of the complex multilingual landscape of Gugulethu township where globalization and localization intersect converging with Tshisa-Nyama culture: historically "...one of the few success stories of commercial activities taking place in Gugulethu" (Dondolo, 2002: 25).

Plate 7.2 Ariel View of Mzoli's (Captured from Google Earth)

Mzoli's is the brainchild of Gugulethu born Mr. Mzoli Ngcawuzele. It is a place which represents the fundamental changes articulated by the *real politik* of post-apartheid South Africa, according to its owner. It first operated on a very small scale - as a butchery - but opened on a bigger scale in 2003[23] [24]. In its start-up years, Mzoli used to sell meat out of his garage and a bakkie (truck). Over time, he moved into a permanent venue in NY 115, just off Klipfontein Road. In an interview, (Kondile, 2007), Mzoli mentioned receiving hedge funds from the Development Bank of South Africa to move his business into a formal structure. As Mzoli's explained, "...the place

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[23] See Wikipedia entry: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mzoli%27s (Accessed 22nd November 2010).
[24] See also Deumert and Mabandla (2006).

is not just about meat, music, and dancing...but...a response to government's call to improve the lives of all black South Africans" (Quoted in Kondile, 2007).

We find that in the sociohistorical literature on the food we eat and the music we listen to, restaurants have been variously defined as hubs of leisure sociability for the bourgeois public sphere (Habermas, 1989) and revolutionary cradles for the proletariat (Haine, 1996). In late-modernity, however, this shifted along with new eating habits as a result of music and social interactions (Beriss and Sutton, 2007; Hannerz, 1992; Crang, 1994; Haine, 1996), commercialization of talk (Gaudio, 2003; Simpson, 2008; Laurier and Buckner, 2001), modern city economic development (Leppman, 2002), the incursion and desire of fast food restaurants (DeBres, 2005), the cultural diversity of eating food (Jayasanker, 2008), the representation of foods on a menu (Shortridge, 2003), eating as part of an identity of consumption (Hsu, 2005), and the diffusion and assimilation of ethnic group foods (Dillon, Burger and Shortridge, 2003). Mzoli's restaurant is a perfect venue to move these studies further into an exploration of the upscaling of consumption, that is, how local tastes in late-modern circuits of consumption are upgraded into transnational products and practices.

The layout and design of Mzoli's Meat, its spatialization and the mobilities it allows among its patrons, as well as the way it is represented in the media on a daily basis as a space of inequality, as well as a target for tourism, all reflect the history of Gugulethu and the current status of Mzoli's Meat as a venue in a post-apartheid township. On the one hand, Mzoli's brands Gugulethu as an attractive place for tourism, as a safe area, and a transnationally linked space. On the other hand, the way food is prepared and eaten and the social and racial composition of the majority of the patrons who frequent the venue on a daily basis reflect the legacy of apartheid in, for example, how white and black bodies continue to distribute themselves differently in the public space of Mzoli's. To local South Africans living outside Gugulethu, a day out on the township means enjoying the consumption of Tshisa-Nyama. For tourists who come from overseas, Mzoli's offers a leisure space where races, ethnicities and languages come together and mingle. For both tourists and

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locals, the space represents, thus, an alternative liminal space, a third space of leisure, where the realities of coloured or other black townships are suspended or reimagined. Importantly, Mzoli's represents transgression and the carnivalesque, not least in providing a space (although often on the outskirts of the venue) for young black gays and lesbians and other forms of 'transgressive' diversity to come together convivially and without hostility. In the next section, we will see how the space of Mzoli's is scaled through linguistically and semiotically distinct practices and representations.

7.2 The Performativity of Scale and Space at Mzoli's Meat

7.2.1. Place and language at Mzoli's

Mzoli's Meat is a meat market space that is located on the margins of Gugulethu. On the one hand, spatially, we can see Mzoli's as defined by township locality (*ekasi*), where cars are lined up, immersed in various soundscapes, music blaring from loud speakers in car boots, and the streets lined by local stall holders, local passers-by, and a throng of visitors. On the other hand, Mzoli's can be seen as a place defined in terms of artefacts and spatial designs of local and transnational practices of consumption; for tourists, there are tables to eat at, prelayed with silver cutlery, plates and napkins, whereas locals will likely eat their food directly from a bowl and with their hands.

Mzoli's Meat, according to one patron, is a "highly commodified setting where people from different social and economic classes converge. Therefore companies and entrepreneurs see Mzoli's as a space full of potential customers" (Local Patron 1). However, compared to Club Stones, Emcees and the Hip-Hop show (discussed in Chapter 4), it is significantly different in terms of how semiotic resources and multilingual practices are scaled. In the previous chapter, the analysis of Club Stones showed how multilingual youth who engage with the local Hip-Hop culture and the normativities of the practice of that culture are led to engage in a constant linguistic

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negotiation and recreation of language in their attempts to construct local spaces and local stylizations of authenticity (cf. Vigouroux, 2009: 62). In Hip Hop, youth are engaged in displaying the multivocality of the local, where issues of agency are circumscribed to the immediate. Thus, although engaging with the macro-frames of the larger social order, and with the gendered, racial and economic inequalities of South Africa, they nevertheless reshape, resemiotize and enregister these concerns in very local terms.

In comparison, the dynamic ways in which semiotic resources and multilingual practices are distributed across popular spaces of Tshisa-Nyama at Mzoli's Meat, are significantly different. The very fact of the upscaling processes and translocality of Mzolis' means that as a physical setting, Mzoli's Meat offers patrons, locals and tourists an assemblage of languages, signs and normativities that are multiply diverse and linguistically messy. A place that forms part of the local 'shanty-linguascape' of Gugulethu, Mzoli's Meat is a *glocal* space where we find the appropriation and enacting of different styles, languages, and personae at various levels of scalability reflected in both material (such as signage) and non-material registers.

Mzoli's Meat is different from other Tshisa-Nyama places. As a local place where local discourses of consumption are performed on a global scale, on the one hand, the presence of the tables and the manner in which they are arranged in the communal eating area, under the tin roof, indexes or gives Mzoli's the mundane meaning of regular formal restaurant. Mr Mzoli has upscaled his service globally to township tourism and introduced plates, napkins, knives and forks. This is in contrast to local visitors who bring their own serviettes and napkins or who buy from one of the surrounding shops in the area.

The table area is the first encounter of a typical inside space at Mzoli's. This area is made up of large and small round shaped tables, and can accommodate three to six patrons.

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Plate 7.3 Drinking/Eating/Talking at Tables at Mzoli's

Plate 7.4 Table arrangements
November 2008 (from Observation
Notes)

One of the possible implications of this regulated, formal space is the preponderance of English as the language in which to request preferred meat types, enter into exchanges with braai staff, and interact with strangers. The associated indexical meanings of English is as a neutral and universal language (cf. below) and this predominant language choice is one of the stable indicators of Mzoli's as a translocal space.

The table seating area is deliberately designed by the owner to allow patrons, locals and tourists alike, to experience a culture of eating typical of an upmarket restaurant. By appropriating the semiotics of transnational discourses of consumption (Haine, 1986), Mzoli's thereby is catering to those patrons who seek a local experience in the comfort of a global spatial, and familiar, service design. Navigating the table area is one of the first experiences patrons have of the communal area of Mzoli's, an experience that differs for those patrons who booked a table in advance or those who chose to just arrive at the place who will desperately ask around if a table is occupied. For the latter, the table arrangements are not often clearly marked and most of the time staff members have to indignantly police

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patrons who freely occupy a table, with much recrimination from Mr Mzoli's himself. As a consequence, patrons without a booking are forced to hover around the communal area until a vacant table becomes available. Those patrons who booked a few tables in advance will hesitate to occupy any table.

Patrons who had the foresight to book a table will be ushered to their reserved place by a staff member or even the manager himself, and will enjoy the luxury of staff members dressed in red overalls acting as a proxy to their Tshisa-Nyama experience. Not surprisingly, these patrons tend to be predominantly white European tourists that enjoy a privileged frame in the communal area where a voyeuristic menu comprising the spectacle of locals eating at Mzoli's is on offer.

Plate 7.5 Choosing Meat   Plate 7.6 Standing in Line for Meat

The Butchery area of Mzoli's is where patrons, locals and tourists alike can personally choose their meat and have it cooked on a braai (see Plates 7.5 and 7.6). Inside Mzoli's butchery area, placing an order for your meat, with or without sauce (see Plate 7.7), often involves entering into regulated encounters with strictly indexically ordered language choices. We find then, a good deal of diversity in the linguistic and interactional routines of buying meat, depending on whether the customer is local or tourist, sit-down or take-out, etc.

Plate 7.7 Sauce stubb of Mzoli's

The Braai area is adjacent to the butchery where the meat is prepared before it is packaged for the fridge. The smouldering heat burning from the coals and the delectable smell of braai meat opens the olfactory senses of patrons standing around, and once your meat is placed on the grill, you may or may not rejoin the communal area, and return later to fetch your Tshisa-Nyama.
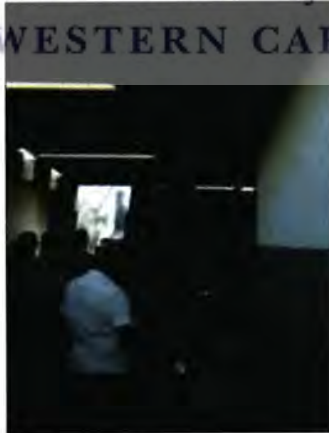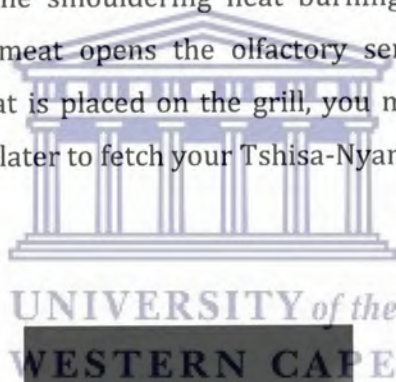

Plate 7.8 Waiting in line: the front Braai area

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Plate 7.9 Back Braai Area   Plate 7.10 Concrete Enclosed Toilet

The physical structure and arrangement of the braai area consists of a number of grills and brick braai pockets manned by braai staff. The braai personal in the braai area is black residents from Gugulethu and mainly multilingual speakers with isiXhosa as their first language. In order to rotate the shifts on the braai, staff members grill meat at the main braai area and a back braai area (Plate 7.9) that leads out to the back yard into the communal area.

The braai staff wear red jump suits (or overalls) with the white lettering "Mzoli's Meat" printed on their backs, in what one assumes is English. Kitchen overalls are worn over that clothing. And the heads of the staff are covered with white hair caps, to prevent any hair falling into the meat. This is another feature of global upscaling: the insertion and practice of a particular code of hygiene. In the braai area, patrons use either local (isiXhosa) or varieties of English – whatever goes- to interact with the staff.

Thus, Mzoli's Meat can be seen as a global and transnational space in a variety of (linguistic) and semiotic ways. As we have seen, the appropriation of the transnational discourses of consumption by the manager of the township restaurant implies a particular circulation of money, goods, and people, embedded in and structured through, diverse multilingual practices (Duchene and Heller, 2012;

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Heller, 2011). This creates a particular distribution and stratification of languages (Wee, 2010), the implications of which in terms of repertoires and sociolinguistic consumption we explore in the following.

7.2.1. Perceptions and practices of multilingualism at Mzoli's Meat

In considering what has gone before, how are multilingual repertoires at Mzoli's conceptualized? What are the perceptions and practices of Mzoli's as a multilingual space and affordance for translocal and glocal talk? What indexical orderings of languages do we find? On the many visits to Mzoli's, I talked and met with patrons from all walks of life and cultures, and on occasion, interviewed them to get some idea of Mzoli's not only as a restaurant and entertainment venue, but as a multilingual space. When asked a straightforward question as to how many languages they thought were spoken at Mzoli's at any one time, typical answers were: "it's too difficult to tell exactly how many languages are regularly spoken" (Local patron 2). Others who I interviewed responded that although a lot of languages are spoken at the place, those most visible and in circulation comprise a number of standard languages, dialects and registers of English, Afrikaans and isiXhosa. Some respondents claimed that Mzoli's was not *really* a multilingual space; "In my opinion it's not multilingual, because you can only communicate in English. The people from Gugulethu talk in Xhosa with each other and the tourists in English. The loud music makes it difficult to communicate with people, too" (Tourist 1).

However, Mzoli's Meat market is not limited to English. Patrons, locals, and tourists, customarily use a variety of different languages from their individual multilingual repertoires (cf. Blommaert and Backus, 2011). The youth I spoke with brought shared local languages, such as Afrikaans and isiXhosa, and English. One tourist who spoke Dutch said that being at Mzoli's and in Cape Town provided the opportunity to attempt to communicate in Afrikaans, and thereby extend her repertoire. Although she had difficulty with certain "types of Afrikaans" which were not easy to understand, I presumed here Kaaps, as she put it to me: "...I

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communicate in my mother tongue (Dutch), because people speaking Afrikaans understand me and I would also understand them. But of course, not everyone speaks Afrikaans and not every "type" of Afrikaans is easy to understand. Afrikaans in Stellenbosch is not the same as in Bellville...And I wouldn't be able to talk to tourists in Dutch, because most people don't speak Dutch. Most tourists don't even know that Belgium exists or where it is" (Tourist 5). There is an interesting glide here between knowing Dutch (actually Flemish) and knowing where in the world it is spoken.

Languages were thus to some extent constituted along dimensions of 'worldliness' (Pennycook, 2010: 79-80), which is also symptomatic and symbolic of transnationalism and different to how multilingualism was viewed and practiced among Hip Hop heads. For example, a local student tourist said that she spoke "English, Afrikaans and German" and that allowed her "to communicate with people without hindrance, because most of us had English as a Lingua Franca". We note in the context, how the languages the student proffered as 'on the table' for consideration as 'instruments of communication' are those with a 'worldly' (English and German) and 'regional' lingua franca value (Afrikaans). Most of the local patrons felt that in order to be understood by tourists and locals who stayed outside Gugulethu or who did not speak a Bantu language such as isiXhosa or isiZulu, they had to always choose English as a common language used among the young multilingual speakers at Mzoli's – again testimony to the perceived 'worldliness' of English. The worldliness dimension was also reflected in the 'unworldliness' of local African languages. As one patron responded, "When it comes to my mother tongue, Shona, I don't think so (can use). Shona is not a popular language like French. I only communicate in Shona with people from home".

Patrons and tourists reveal that in order to make meaning between each other the place encourages them to communicate in English. One local patron said: "Mzoli's is an informal setting, popular amongst people from different cultural backgrounds. English is a language that allows people who speak different languages to communicate. People who speak the same languages also communicate

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their languages". And crossing from English to another language and back is possible. One informant said that "...language communication is effective [in Mzoli's] because it is a multilingual setting, most people who visit there speak more than one language and I have heard how people code-switch and speak more than one language at a time. One of my friends who went with is originally from Gugulethu but was raised by a coloured family in Strand, and at the venue I watched him interact with us in English and Afrikaans, and Xhosa with the black local who were also visiting there. There might have been other similar people, and therefore language communication is effective at Mzoli's" (Local 2).

Many of the tourists and locals I interviewed over the course of this project found Mzoli's to be an excellent place to grow their already expanding multilingual repertoire and registers of languages. Some patrons who spoke a foreign language like German or Dutch or French, and who made friends with other patrons at the place, took the chance to expand their multilingual repertoires with smatterings of local languages. However, many of the locals argued that tourists are *not* open to the appropriation of local registers and languages. One reason given for this is that tourists are merely transitory visitors with voyeuristic tendencies, who had no reason to expend effort on getting down to serious acquisition.

What we get at Mzoli's is fleeting and convivial contacts between speakers of potentially very different languages in a noisy and busy space, reflecting a multilingual and fluid space of mobile speakers. Patrons do reveal an emphasis and orientation in their moment by moment interactions towards strategies of empathy and crossing, and 'making do' with whatever bits of languaging they can dig up. And here one is reminded of Canagarajah's words on the need in late modernity to move away from a narrowly systemic view of language in intercultural encounters to an emphasis on empathy and crossing (Canagarajah, 2007) – a multilingualism of the encounter, fluid spaces, mobile speakers. Despite this, however, there is a default assumption that multilingualism is essentially about repertoires comprising 'world languages', and young visiting patrons from abroad primarily seem to be making reference to their immediate peer group of other foreign visitors when responding

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to the question of how they communicate through multilingual repertoires. Multilingualism exists between foreigners/visitors and worldliness of language and lingua franca English is the means of communicating with the locals. Although some of the foreign patrons do pick up snippets of local African languages, this serves more the function of phatic and communion-creating interactions with friendly natives, a piece of emblematic form and meaning that can be put on display – like an exotic shell found on a distant beach. Thus, in one important sense repertoires are talked about and organized hierarchically according to one's trajectory and social position as a traveller from a faraway place, packaged in a translocal discourse of tourism.

We see a similar ideological narrative at work when many of my informants conclude that Mzoli's is a true representation of South Africa's multilingual landscape, even to the point of admitting that English is the lingua franca: "...there are various languages being spoken but when it comes to people from different cultures speaking to each other English is used. It's basically how things are in South Africa, English is king". However, there were mixed reactions as well, with some respondents denying that Mzoli's was representative of the sociolinguistic reality of the city, province or even the country, and others claiming that "I think it does represent multilingual SA to a certain extent, especially because of the diversity of people that gather at the place and the way in which they mix and communicate with each other. As mentioned before, people are not limited to speaking in one language, and I have heard how they engage in conversations using the languages they know". (Local Patron 2). Some, however stated that "...individuals make Mzoli's into one experience and create the feeling of belonging together, just like the eleven languages of South Africa create one bigger whole" (Local Patron 4); while others suggested that "...because there are people from everywhere. Blacks, whites and Coloureds and they have a great time together" (Local Patron 5). Here, we are finding a conception of multingualism in terms of 'fractal recursivity', that is, "the projection of an opposition, salient at some level of relationship, onto some other level. For example, intra-group oppositions might be projected outward onto

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intergroup relations, or vice versa" (Irvine and Gal, 2000: 38). In this case, we are dealing with a hierarchical arrangement of languages and a perception and representation of multilingual repertoire in terms of metropolitan versus marginal languages.

Thus, the perception of multilingualism at Mzoli's is of extensive diversity – a non-compartmentalized multilingualism, a multilingualism of the local encounter; a semiotic space marginal to the core goings-on of the restaurant which are heavily and stereotypically scripted to reduce the need to talk. Mzoli's is a place of fragmented, disorderly and piece-meal multilingualism, of temporary repertoires of language assembled to manage the immediacies and contingencies of the local interaction, an incidental form of multilingualism (cf. Stroud and Wee, 2007; 2011), which is formed in passing. However, at the same time and importantly, it is a place that reflects a more stable overlay of hierarchical indexicalities among 'world languages' and a conventional (perhaps Northern/Western) idea of (translocal) multilingual repertoires as comprising the languages you are able to speak at 'scale', that is, the number and type of 'worldly' languages you are able to master and use with other 'visitors', as well as incidentally with locals. In other words, the perceptions (and practices) we get here of multilingual repertoires are in terms of core languages linked to transnational biographies, and marginal languages linked to contingent spaces of encounter (fractally reflexive repertoires). Levels of mastery, acquisitional investment, etc. are then linked to this indexical divide of worldliness. This is in stark contrast to the multilingualism in popular spaces of Hip-Hop, (iconic multilingual repertoires) and, as we shall see, is not only reflected in other semiotic practices and representations of Mzoli's but also structures the types of multilingual genres we investigate in more detail in chapters 8 and 9.

7.3. Multisemiotic landscaping at Mzoli's

What impact does the multisemiotic landscape of the outside space have on shaping the practices of multilingualism more generally? Similar indexical orders can be

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found in other transmodal semiotic forms of expression. For example, the way the global language English is used *vis-a-vis* other languages on signage in different areas of Mzoli's also provides information about the spatial scaling of the setting (Mzoli's) (see Plate 7.11). The material linguistic landscape of Mzoli's reinforces the tension in indexical ordering (Landry and Bourhis, 1997; Gorter, 2006; Puzey, 2008; Hornsby, 2008; Shohamy and Gorter, 2009; Coluzzi, 2009; Lanza and Hirut, ftc).

Plate 7.11 Nedbank ATM Machine at Communal Area

Similar to the Sauce Stubb (Plate 7.7) presented before, a material semiotic artifact that provided evidence of the linguistic upscaling of the Tshisa-Nyama culture, the Nedbank ATM Machine reinforces the local linguistic culture of Mzoli's with its privileged indexical ordering of English (and 'wordly' languages). We note in this signage how the name Nedbank is placed directly adjacent to the entrance to Mzoli's where patrons line up to order meat, the same space where another ATM Machine can also be found, that of Standard Bank. Although both banks use English in their machines, other official South African languages are also represented. However, as semiotic artifacts, these ATMs represent a significant global linguistic indexicality. Because "practices prefigure activity: they are not reducible to things we do, but

http://etd.uwc.ac.za

rather are the organizing principle behind them", these very objects that encourage clients to 'Press 1 for English' (Pennycook, 2010: 29) and "10 for isiXhosa" subtly reinforce these indexicalities. The ATM machine is another feature of what Pennycook calls the *relocalization* of languages such as English. The fact that Nedbank is written in perfectly manufactured print English, on the outside of the material object, hides the linguistically but legally traitorous fact that the key pad allows patrons to choose from other languages, and at the same time conform to a regime where these languages are ordered indexically and hierarchically and as multiple monolingualisms for different identities.

As opposed to the Hip Hop space of Stones, Mzoli's restaurant and the activities it hosts is more porous with local place, with patrons moving freely back and forth between the street and perimeters of the place. Outside of the physical setting of the restaurant, orders of indexicality in the linguistic landscape are more diverse as different representations and practices of space and place compete and contradict each other (Stroud and Mpendukana, 2009; Stroud and Jegels, 2012). On the one hand, in the outside spaces, we find a clear connection to global discourses of commercialism (advertisements mainly) and consumption of services and products, framed in top-down or officially produced material signs (such as Plate 7.12 below).

Plate 7.12 Scrap Dealer, Extra Cash

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We can note here the fact that all the writing is in English. The advertisment is of a Scrap dealer and is placed side-by-side with an election poster put there by a representative of the ruling party in government, the African National Congress (ANC). Although clearly a coincidence, the placement nevertheless contributes to the complexity of this space, where signs engage in 'spatial conversation with each other' in ways indicative of other transmodal spatial arrangements – sites of implosion (Stroud and Mpendukana, 2009) - where mutliple and different semiotic and linguistic resources are assembled in the same place.

There is also the presence of vernacular (bottom-up) forms of signage comprising different language and design practices. On the outer perimeter of Mzoli's, there is a range of informal vendors plying their goods, and this more vernacular form of signage can be traced back to the context of informal vendor distribution, which, according to Deumert and Mabandla (2006: 9), can be defined as "a range of activities, ranging from selling consumables (vegetables, meat, sweets, cool drinks, clothes) to hairdressers, shebeens, and auto mechanics, and including survivalist activities with minimal profit as well as successful small business". As such, the informal trading economy of Mzoli's does not have the sophisticated marketing instruments to produce signs with high-level colour schemes and fonts, such as in the case of Ekhaya Store's Coco-Cola sign (See Plate 7.13); a clear top-down sign that contributes to the upscaling of Mzoli's through the English language (Crystal, 2003).

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Plate 7.13 Ekhaya Store

Rather, compared to these types of signage, in the informal trading of products at Mzoli's, many vendors make use of more bottom-up and vernacular forms of signage (Cenoz and Gorter, 2006), with little colour schemes, to attract potential customers. These are sited on the margins of Mzoli's meat, on the street outside the restaurant where patrons park their cars. A typical such sign is the *Temporary Artistic Tattoo* here shown in Plate 7.14.

Plate 7.14 Temporary Artistic Tattoo

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One particularly hot Sunday, just past 12H00 in the morning, a couple of students and friends parked two cars opposite the communal area. In between the cars they erected a sign with the above product description. Seated on chairs, the traders sold their products at cut-prices, although I came to find out that some patrons found the price a bit exorbitant as the tattoos were only temporary. The sign is a typical bottom-up, grassroots literacy product, only superficially monitored for correctness. The relative appearance of lack of monitoring/editing is a common feature of bottom-up signage (cf. Vigouroux, 2011; Juffermans, 2010; Blommaert, 2007). Instead, this sign displays all the characteristics of (multilingual) codes of temporary and convivial encounter, using whatever meagre access to resources (in paint, genre conventions, proficiencies in English etc) the author had available at the time. For one, almost all of the alphabetical written signs are in English capital letters, an attempt, plausibly, by the tattoo sales personnel to attract the gaze of potential customers. Secondly, the impression is offered up that the sign should be read from top to bottom, given the print of the letters in the following order: from Large, Medium to Small. Colour has been used economically because the word *Tattoo* is coloured in with red, following the black coloured words, *Temporary Artistic*. The rest of the written signs are poorly filled with colour and on closer inspection, we get the impression that more than one author had manufactured the advertisement, and that the main concern is to 'get the gist of the message across' (cf. Backhaus, 2006) – again a strong feature of codes of encounter.

7.4 Soundscapes and Soundspaces

In 2009, Oliver visited Mzoli's Meat as a tourist chef to document the art of barbequing in Cape Town. Taking photos and interacting with the locals, Chef Oliver raved in his magazine of how unique an experience he had picked up at the popular township restaurant, describing at one point: "With our plates in hand we came out of the back of Mzoli's and sat down with everyone else. The meat was beautifully cooked. The simplicity of the ribs and spices they had used, along with the aromas

from the wood, gave it such incredible flavour. *The tunes were kicking off in the background and there was some good bass pumping. I just loved it.*" (Oliver, 2009: 17) (Italics mine).

The April issue of Jamie Magazine (see Plate 7.15) shows Jamie on the cover posing with a beer and a plate of Tshisa-Nyama posing for his British and global tourist audience. The picture represents Chef Oliver as an authentic patron of Mzoli's consuming good food and drink. Inside the special issue, Oliver dedicates well over 4 pages to Mzoli's Meat and his experience as a tourist, an outsider. He reveals many things about his ineptness to come to grips with the method of the braai, something about his tourist insecurities and much about how romantic the popular restaurant as a tourist destination is. In the quote before, Oliver recalls his experience with the music environment as one of the prime reasons why he "just loved it": "because the tunes were kicking off in the background and there was some good bass pumping".

Plate 7.15 Jamie Magazine

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We noted in Chapter 2 how place is semiotically defined as meaningful, occupied, space. In earlier sections, we have also seen how place is construed around particular indexical orderings of language in spoken interaction as well as in the material semiotics of linguistic landscapes. Soundscapes are also a significant feature of Mzoli's; soundscapes accompany and organize eating, and they are subject to meaningful indexical ordering of forms/expression that can be arranged into variable repertoires of form and meaning. Soundscapes also contribute to the transnational and upscaled nature of Mzoli's.

7.4.1. Soundspaces

Place as a nexus point for mobility literally comes to a head in the production of soundscapes typical of Mzoli's. As with linguistic landscapes the soundscapes are both vernacular and bottom-up (produced, for example, through car sound systems in the outer perimeters of Mzoli's), and official and top-down, found in the sponsored events in the inner environs of Mzoli's, as well as those of campaigns and up-market advertising events outside. In this sub-section of the chapter, I describe and analyze how the music soundscape environment (Winkler, 1999) are developed into pockets of sound spaces based on the objects of mobility (cars and DJs) (cf. also Makoni, Makoni and Pennycook, 2010; D'hondt, 2009), and how this is another semiotic feature in the upscaling of Mzoli's as a global place organized in terms of a core and periphery, a metropole and a margin. I argue here that patrons, tourists and locals negotiate sound space objects as part of the soundscape environment based on the spatial-temporal rhythms of people moving in and out of the place, that transforms Mzoli's Meat into "a human soundscape" (Winkler, ibid; Stroud and Jegels, ft.).

When attempting to understand the role of soundspaces at Mzoli's Meat, I was interested in the ways young people's movement and mobility shaped interaction at the restaurant. Visiting Mzoli's frequently, I noticed that early in the morning, patrons' social interaction with each other was significantly different than later in

the day, when a multitude of party revellers descended on the place, and tourists were bussed into Gugulethu Township. It was during the later period of the day that I discovered an interesting phenomenon: there was an affordance of rhythms and temporality of different sounds spaces established in the inside and outside area of Mzoli's, by different sound objects – a stylization and entextualization of sound with spatial distributions similar to what we see for language. Sound spaces were available for consumption at Mzoli's Meat in the coming and goings, rhythms (biological or otherwise), of patrons. Rhythms in Mzoli's Meat are an important part of being a patron or consumer at the popular restaurant. Lefebvre (1991: 177) argues that in order

> ...to grasp a rhythm you must yourself have been grabbed by it, given or abandoned yourself inwardly to the time that it rhythmed. ... If one attentively observes a crowd during peak times and especially if one listens to rumor, one discovers flows in the apparent disorder and an order which is signaled by rhythms: chance or predetermined encounters, hurried or nonchalant meandering of people going home to withdraw from the outside, or leaving their homes to make contact with the outside, business people and vacant people...

Patrons and tourists would often park their cars in the street that circumambulated the eating area to play music out of their boots, ranging from Hip-Hop to House music. Inside the eating area, a DJ would also be playing music to entertain the audience at the tables, and anybody who cared to listen in the neighbourhood. According to Feld (1986; 1996), music designs 'local conditions of acoustic sensation, knowledge, and imagination embodied in the culturally particular sense of place' (Feld, 1996: 91)[25]. In a similar way, van Leeuwen (1999: 92) argues that "in the right context, music can be a pleasure call, the car horn a territorial defence call,

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[25] Feld illustrated how the acoustic dynamics of intersecting sound-as-music spaces connects 'place relations, a fusion of space and time that joins lives and events as embodied memories' among an indigenous group in Papa New Guinea.

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the police siren an alarm call and so on", but it is also a way of ensuring 'placing of sound is at once a sounding of place' (Feld, 1996: 100). As such, music features a unique role in the production of spaces of sound and when music is produced (spaces of sound) it is 'lift-up-over' and wrap-around (Leeuwen, 2007) spaces of sound through different material modes

At Mzoli's Place there are various objects in flow that construct spaces of sound. Those who patronize the popular restaurant converge to perform their spaces of sound that is synchronized with a walking and driving culture found all across Cape Town city.

These cultural practices are deeply linked to the consumptive practices of eating food in Cape Town. That is to say, youth perform music-as-sound spaces through Hip-Hop and House Music and this is done through different objects with relative idiosyncratic *degree of directionality*: in other words, "...there are sounds which can be pinpointed to a specific source, and sounds which surround us, 'wrap-around' sounds...sounds, in other words, which are often used in activities that are predominantly representational" (van Leeuwen, 1999: 177). These sounds at Mzoli's come in the form of popular music (House Music) blasting out of cars, from the deck table of the Disk Jockey (DJ) and form an intricate part of the consumption of meat at Mzoli's, identification with Gugulethu township life, and the walking and driving cadence of the city of Cape Town, as '...a landscape and a 'soundscape' comprising the repeated bodily comings and goings' (Smith, 2000: 621). Thus, modes of sound establish spaces of sound that "...brings us closer to everything alive...makes us especially aware of proximity and thus connectedness" (Leppert, 1993: 29; cf. Livermon, 2008).

Patrons who visit Mzoli's invest in their cars as much as they maintain the commercialization and performance of their lifestyles. Like the *takkies*, caps and T-shirts they wear, cars as objects of consumption are stylized (or produced) to synchronize with a consumerist culture discoursing in late-modern Cape Town and Gugulethu. A new cap for a young patron is what a new pair of 9'inch or 22'inch wheel caps are comparably to the newest Nike *takkie*. Or, the latest T-shirt from G-

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Unit clothing line is akin to upgrading your car with the latest sound system. These are objects of producing desire, Lash and Urry (1994) argues, which became infamous with the rise of late-capitalism consumption practices. Here the car features an important commodity in such practices, in the production of sound spaces (see Plate 7.16).

Plate 7.16 The Group Car

When you enter the communal eating area, cars are parked in the street and along the shops. There is no rule that prohibits a patron from parking his/her car in any particular place, because it is understood that they do so at their own risk. Patrons usually stand around a car eating and listening to house music blasting from the boot of a car. But they also stand around the car, eating their meat, drinking cool alcoholic beverages, and have conversations with each other.

The car has been increasingly appropriated as the preferential mode for producing sound when the DJ is not present. This occurred when patrons feel the need to socialise away from the strictures of the table arrangement, where they are left to sound-as-talk above the sound-as-music. As such, those who park their car create a very audible and congenial space of sound, which has become something pervasive at Mzoli's Place. As Livermon (2008: 275) puts it,

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...the car functions not only as the mode of travel through which individuals move from space to space, but also as an aural arbiter. As people move from one location to the next, the car itself (along with attendant technologies such as the cell phone) becomes a space of high sociality, with interactions between members of the vehicle and those who are outside the vehicle. Sound in general (a hooting horn, a human voice) and music in particular are extremely important ways through which interaction occurs with the community that surrounds that vehicle.

Music-as-sound has an effect on how people perform spaces of sound. Music-as-sound has an 'interlocking' and 'social unison' effect on established spaces of sound but it also *presents* and *represents* (Martinec, 2001) the dynamic role of spaces of sound. Music is interlocking because those who patronize Mzoli's Meat are "...involved in the same kind of musical activity...and they may in fact derive pleasure from this and a sense of belonging to a larger whole" (van Leeuwen, 1999: 78).

From my observations at Mzoli's, an important consideration is that sounds such as House Music played through cars create socially accepted sound spaces that not only define the soundscapes of the restaurant but also attract other types of sounds. For those standing at the car, the music being played is an important influence on how they enjoy Tshisa-Nyama culture, design their conversations and the way they value and index dance performances, constantly adjusting to the rhythm of the music blasting out of a car. This heightens the experience of commodifying the meat market experience of Mzoli's; to such an extent that some patrons stand up (spectacle) and others consume it (spectator) (see Plates 7.17 and 7.18). A dance floor as dancing is an important event at Mzoli's Place and in order to enact it requires a self-reflexive and performative display of your body.

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Plates 7.17 and 7.18: Playing House Music out of Car and Dancing as Spectacle and Spectators

If there is no music, nobody will dance out of their own accord. But, in most cases I have observed, the street is where most dancing occurs, next to a car, and to the hypnotic rhythm of House Music. In a similar way, Livermon (2008: 276) observed that dancing on the streets of Johannesburg is an important performance:

> The street itself serves as a dance floor, and dancers use the headlights of the automobile to highlight their dancing prowess. On many occasions, the dancers literally dance on the vehicles as they pass through the gauntlet, body parts writhing against the car as if the car were their actual dance partner. Their movements may be facilitated by the car stereo of the passing vehicle or the outside sound system that accompanies the street bash.

There is an extra element in how sound spaces by cars are established. This has to do with the extent of 'immersion' (van Leeuwen, 1999), in a larger sound. Immersion, which is the opposite of perspective, according to van Leeuwen, allows us to understand that the car 'can become a cocoon of booming bass sounds...' (van

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Leeuwen, 1999: 29). Therefore, whether you walk or drive to Mzoli's Meat, the presence of music-as-sound is an overwhelming presence shared by not only the community of Gugulethu but patrons who value the interactional value and quality of House Music.

There are times when the car is not the most important mode of creating spaces of sound. Mzoli's is well known to many for hosting the best House DJs. Club DJ's from time to time use Mzoli's to test either new mixtape cds or new sounds they produce somewhere else. The DJ is thus an important contributor to the consumption of Tshisa-Nyama culture, particularly because the speakers and the deck tables of the DJ are always situated near the communal eating area (see Plate 7.19). The music blasting out of speakers hooked up to the turntables of the Disk Jockey are always loudly attractive, hypnotic and intrude into every sound space either established before or after the DJ sets up his equipment. To patrons, the music produced by the DJ intensifies the social experience at Mzoli's especially when it inspires them to stand up and dance to the music, or go up to the DJ to request their favourite house track, or sign up to join the DJ later in a different sound space (a Club for instance).

Plate 7.19 DJ Performing House Music

The DJ plays a particular role in the production of sound-as-music spaces and the further development of other sound spaces. Just as with the semiotic value attached
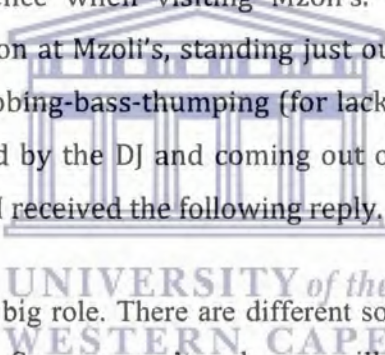
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to the interpersonal sound resources put into action or dispensed by the Car, the DJ has a bigger task: he has to entertain the local patrons and tourists from the moment he or she sets up the equipment. Once this is achieved, the music of the DJ is both lift-up-over and wrap-around the communal table arrangements. As van Leeuwen (2007: 139) puts it,

> Sound is immaterial and evanescent. You cannot grasp and possess it, only experience and remember it...Sound envelops us. It places us at the centre of the world, and at the heart of sensation and existence...It diminishes the opposition between inside and outside, surface and depth. It can reveal the hollowness of the wall, the beating of the heart within. Sound connects. It asks us to surrender ourselves and to immerse ourselves in the sensory world and in participatory experience. It incorporates and creates communion. Sound involves. It makes us resonate with the world.

Thus, Mzoli's presents with two types of soundspace; what we could call a *monoglossic* sound space produced by the licensed DJ, which organizes its own interactional regime around requests, etc; and what we could term a *multivocal* soundspace, found on the margins of Mzoli's with its interactional regime of the 'market', - grassroots and improvised, mobile and competitive, where music is played and sampled on a less directed basis. As with linguistic organization, it is a principle that is reflected in the scaled, indexical valuations of the soundscape, as we can note in the next section.

7.4.2. Soundscapes

Local patrons and tourists also interpret the production of music (those repertoires of sound that hold particular meaning for being global and local) within the *soundscape environment* of Mzoli's (see for instance Samuels, 2010; Corbin, 1998; Feld, 1991; Finnegan, 2002; Gray and Yan, 2007; Hansen, 2006). Central to a complete understanding of the semiotic and place landscape of Mzoli's Meat is the performativity of scale in the production and consumption of global music, downscaled, and local music heard at the place. In fact patrons, both tourists and locals, make a conscious choice to visit Mzoli's Meat because of its grapevine reputation read off the internet, or in magazines such as Chef Oliver's 'sexy' global scaling, that the place offers the best House Music and Hip-Hop. Patrons therefore anticipate a global experience when visiting Mzoli's. In one of my very first interviews with a local patron at Mzoli's, standing just outside the communal area, with music loudly boom-babbing-bass-thumping (for lack of a better description), I asked whether music played by the DJ and coming out of cars influenced the way people experienced Mzoli's, I received the following reply.

> No, the music plays a big role. There are different sounds and it depends on what you listen to. So, you won't rush, you will enjoy what you are listening to. But now, listen to what is playing now. The beat. I enjoy it, 'cause it's a nice one to enjoy. [Inaudible]. So the sound is nice, you leave your worries behind and have fun.

For this patron, music does indeed play a central part ("a big role") in the consumption experience at Mzoli's. Interestingly, the respondent explains how sound an important accompaniment of eating meals is; how you consume the meat co-occurs with whether you enjoy the beat of the music. The beat is part of the soundscape rhythms of Gugulethu and larger cultural nuances of dance in the African culture, especially in South African, an index that music is an integral part of

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consuming place, space and identities (see Bank, 2011). It allows you to be a local and authentic African. It is also significant that our respondent states that the "...sound is nice, you leave your worries behind and have fun", thus, through music temporarily suspending social worries of perhaps a personal nature. Another informant answers the question in a like way;

> Ja, I think it does influence the people. The way they eat the meat and dance. They enjoy themselves. Me as an individual, I don't feel any of that. But people I can see they enjoy themselves. They drink, they socialize. It's a social sport. A social gathering (respondent 2)

The music, our respondent agrees, contributes a big part to the consumption of Tshisa-Nyama. Like Respondent 1, he attributes the enjoyment experienced at Mzoli's as part of how locals, regular patrons and tourists enjoy themselves. Interaction in the soundscape environment, based on dancing, eating, drinking and socializing provides a different dimension of when Mzoli's is local, the playing of House Music, and when it is global.

Elements and styles of music, and their performance that make up these soundscapes are also ordered indexically. Scaled, indexical orders of soundscapes are manifest in, for example, how an up-and-coming patron positions himself and describes his aspirational identities, much as somebody might in relation to choice of language. In the following quote, he positions himself outside of or on the margins of this indexical ordering;

> I'm not a House fanatic. I like Reggae and Hip-Hop. Nah, me I come here for drinks. I come here 'cause my friends are here. I don't usually come here on my own. This is not my kind of environment. Not to say I'm looking down on this place, or undermine it, or there is anything wrong with people like you, 'cause there's regulars here. But me, I like to stay at home

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and drink at home. And go to gigs, you know. I'm a local artist from Gugs
(respondent 2)

Respondent 2 is one of the up and coming black middle class citizens who often return to Mzoli's Meat for nostalgic pleasure, to experience local aneosis by consuming Tshisa-Nyama. In the interview, with much information compared to Respondent 1, the enregistering of authenticity is here indexed by drawing comparisons between tastes for music, group affiliation (identity formation and maintenance) and mobility. In the first instance, our respondent relegates the House Music Respondent 1 assigned his authenticity with in favour of musically slower registers of music: "I like Reggae and Hip-Hop". In the second instance, the respondent places a high value on Hip-Hop music as a way to engage with the global upscaling of Mzoli's by devaluing local music. In the third instance, he draws a comparison with the environment of Mzoli's Meat as a peripheral place on the edge of Gugulethu township by coming to the restaurant "for drinks", but only because his friends go there.

Like in the description presented by Chef Jamie Oliver in his magazine to the rest of the world, his fans, and especially British tourists, we find a typical "how to" guide for fellow tourists about the attractiveness of the sound environment of Mzoli's and of course very relevant bits of information. In a similar way to other travelogues, Mr Oliver contributes to expectations of a heightened and exciting social and cultural experience at Mzoli's Meat. Indeed, one of my respondents whom I interviewed argued that tourists typically like loud music because they are used to very bad quality of their own local music.

> It's loud. And some of them like music. Cause there they play bad music,
> like R&B, [inaudible], they enjoy celebrating in this place (respondent 3)

7.5 Summary

In this chapter, I have attempted to bring across how the design of physical and architectural space/place, the constitution of soundscapes and soundspaces and the linguistic or semiotic landscapes of Mzoli's are organized in terms of upscaling, with a translocal and indexically highly valued core off-set to a more local and less indexically valued margin. I suggested that similar principles applied to how the multilingual space was perceived at Mzoli's and how 'worldly' languages of the metropole (lingua francas) and local languages of the periphery were distributed across Mzoli's cores and margins. From the ethnographic evidence described above, Mzoli's Meat is a transmodal popular space used by young multilingual speakers to encounter regimes of multilingualism orders that allow them to place value on languages, such as English. It is this language that is used not only as a Lingua Franca but as a way to navigate the multilingual spaces and semiotic landscape. We were also able to see how this hierarchical pattern of distribution was reflected in the perception of multilingual repertoires, the organization of which could be captured in the notion of 'fractal recursivity'.
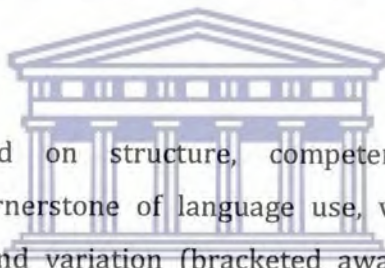
In the following two chapters, I will attempt to show how this 'assemblage' of multilingualism figures in processes of stylization, enregisterment and entextualization. In other words, in comparison to Club Stones in Kuilsriver, which tended towards displays and practices of multilingualism built around normativities and practices of the local, the practices we will observe in the following two chapters at Mzoli's instead highlight normativities of hierarchy and the translocal, and play with indexicalities of scale. In the next chapter, an analysis of the stylization and entextualization of stand-up comedy performance by a white-Xhosa speaking comedian reveals how different personae are enregistered through language varieties and accents: a comedian who found himself incorporated in the semiotic upscaling process of Mzoli's Meat as a global township restaurant.

Chapter 8

Multilingual Stand-up Comedy, Metapragmatics and Voice

8.0 Introduction

At the beginning of this thesis, I discussed how the legacy of structural-functional linguistics has offered little in the way of how to conceptualize multilingual practices for understanding young people's bids for agency and voice. Thus, Pennycook argues that the reason sociolinguists are invigorated to theorize the nature of voice has much to do with the non-importance accorded to agency by structural linguistics:

> Structuralism focused on structure, competence and internal processing as the cornerstone of language use, while struggling to account for agency and variation (bracketed away as performance, sociolinguistics and pragmatics). (Pennycook, 2010: 40)

Many sociolinguists working with post-structuralist concepts currently are subsequently remapping the theoretical terrain to document the nature of linguistic agency and voice in superdiverse societies (cf. Blommaert and Rampton, 2011). This study's contribution, and especially this chapter, is to approach voice as not only "...the capacity to make oneself understood", to follow Blommaert (2010: 694), defined in Chapter 1 (Section 1.3). However, to see it as "...encounters in which individuals establish forms of footing and alignment with voices indexed by speech and thus with social types of persons, real or imagined, whose voices they take them to be" (Agha, 2005: 38) (cf. Mannheim 1997: 218). We thus approach voice as a

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semiotics and social discourse entextualized in genres; and the particular genre in focus here is stand-up comedy.

In this chapter, I analyse the metalinguistic functions of multilingualism and voice as entextualized in the stand-up performance genre of a Cape Town comedian, Nik Rabinowitz, who performed at Mzoli's Meat. I will analyse how he entextualizes voices and personae and 'metadiscursively' links them to speech forms (Agha, 2005: 56) and also how he stylizes and enregisters typified personae along racial, religious and ethnic lines. My concern here is to demonstrate how the comedian relocalizes social and political discourses in the public sphere of South Africa through his parody of stereotypical ethnic, religious and racial personae (voices). To do so, I will draw on Agha's (2007) semiotic theory of metapragmatic stereotypes of speech, that is, "culture-internal models of utterance indexicality associated with speech variants". Before moving on to that analysis, I briefly define what is meant by stand-up comedy as a genre, next, followed by a discussion of the social and linguistic biography of Nik Rabinowitz. In the second section of the chapter, I analyse the metapragmatics of enregistering stereotypical personae as different voices, scenographed in the frame of "Real News" by our comedian.

8.1 Stand-up Comedy at Mzoli's Meat

Stand-up comedy performances can be understood as "...an encounter between a single, standing performer behaving comically and/or saying funny things directly to an audience, unsupported by very much in the way of costume, prop, setting, dramatic vehicle" (Mintz, 1985: 71, cf. Rutter, 2000, Tsang and Wang, 2004). It is a performance discourse that characterizes how stand-up comedians draw on and reveal individual speakers and language community practices by emphasizing micro features of speech forms (cf. Rahman, 2007), macro-features of inequality (Gilbert, 2004, Billig, 2004), and agency and voice (Glick, 2007; Scarpetta and Spagnolli, 2009, Siegel, 1995).

The stand-up comedian illustrates the heterogeneity of voice, through embodied practices that typically locate individuals or groups in stratified social spaces. Our comedian in this chapter is Nik Rabinowitz, a well-known white comedian, who often demonstrates the embodiment of multilingualism and the practice of language in different spaces in his stand-up performances. The day he performed at Mzoli's, he illustrated meta-linguistically how different voices could be incorporated in popular spaces of Tshisa-Nyama, and he convincingly demonstrated in his performances that language features centrally in how categories such as race, ethnicity and gender are produced, reproduced, negotiated and contested.

The first time I interviewed Nik, we sat in a restaurant in the Cape Town CBD (Cape Business District) area, in Sir Lowry Road. Our conversation was about stand-up comedians performing multilingually, and the use of language in stand-up comedy at a place like Mzoli's. Nik made jokes through the whole interview and as the small restaurant filled the dining area, customers started to listen in on the interview. He, like the few successful professional stand-up comedians in the country, "...is the anthropologist of our humdrum everyday lives" (Critchley, 2002: 66), and easily captures people's imagination and attention.

On the comedy scene, Nik Rabinowitz is often introduced as a white Xhosa-Jewish multilingual speaker, who is known for his linguistic virtuosity and humour. He uses registers and accents often to locate multilingual speakers socially and politically, and at the same time provide a commentary on the lack of voice that multilingual speakers on the margins of South African society are afforded. Growing up on a farm in Plumstead West (Cape Town), Nik was exposed to isiXhosa speakers and Afrikaans speakers from the surrounding black and coloured communities. Many of the isiXhosa and Afrikaans speakers were farm workers and because they all resided in the vicinity of the farm Nik called home, his upbringing was significantly multiracial and multilingual, despite the legal and physical segregation imposed by apartheid. Blommaert and Backus (2012) have pointed to how speakers' social trajectories over time become layered into complex repertoires of speech. We note Nik's account of his linguistic biography:

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I think I started learning started learning Xhosa probably standard one.
Standard one, ja, standard one or standard two and then I did it through
to Matric. So once I was learning then I was able to speak to our
domestic worker and the farm labourers and uh... and that helped me
get a grasp for the language. Uhm... so that was mainly Xhosa.
Afrikaans, Afrikaans came probably a bit later; actually my way into
Afrikaans was through rugby. Coz I started, I got obsessed with rugby.
And then I used to listen to the Radio Sonder Grense *commentators, in*
fact I wanted to be an Afrikaans rugby player myself.

(Interview recorded in 2010, during the FIFA 2010 World Cup)

Besides isiXhosa and Afrikaans, Rabinowitz also speaks seSotho, isiZulu, Setswana,
French, German, Yiddish, Portuguese, and Greek, although with limited proficiency.
In day-to-day conversations, he uses English, isiXhosa and Afrikaans more than the
other languages and it is when he travels abroad that he gets a chance to speak
European languages.

During our interview I asked him to reflect on the process he uses in preparing
for his performances and his experience of Mzoli's Meat. I wanted to know his
thoughts on how he not only used dominant languages such as Afrikaans, English
and Xhosa in his stand-up routine, but also his ideas on why he mixes registers,
styles and language varieties and accents. One of his responses was that,

Uhm, well, you know sometimes in Cape Town you'll have foreign people
in your audience, so you wanna be able to chat to them and you know
create a bit of banter. And uh...of course 2010 even more so. And then
obviously gear your material to whose majority in the audience. For

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example, at Mzoli's Uhm... as much Xhosa material as possible but also there it's quite quite mixed as well. Ja...

In the response above we find that Nik's cultural and linguistic experience of Mzoli's Meat is underlined by an awareness of how different spaces and different publics form different types of multilingual practices. He is explicit on how this feeds into how he designs his multilingual performances for different audiences (on audience design, see Bell, 2011), especially in a place like Mzoli's. He, like many others, notes that the predominant characteristic feature of Mzoli's Meat is that it is a place where a lot of spectacle and spectatorship takes place among different races:

It's an interesting crossed over space because uhm... because of the groups of people that go there; you've got the people from the township, you've got people uhm... you've got the new wealth... the new black wealth, showing off their big cars. Uhm... and it's a place where white, black, coloured people love going. Tourists love going. I don't actually think that many locals go there, local whites. White people in particular but uhm... so that... and then obviously the whole Tshisa-Nyama ' thing.

What is of interest in Nik's performances is the way in which a white Xhosa-speaking Jewish comedian demonstrates *ways of being multilingual*. His reading of the audience and use of multilingualism to stylize personae, bring them into encounters with each other, highlight their voices in displays to an appreciative public, is a worthy interpretation of the multilingual mesh of late-modern Cape Town. His performances consist of various gags that often leave an unfriendly and unpleasant afterthought among multilingual speakers, about just how entangled and linguistically diverse they are. What I gleaned from our interview is that Nik not only draws on everyday face-to-face encounters between multilingual South Africans, but uses linguistic encodings of these encounters to reveal histories,

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speakers' biographies, and social space to illustrate how marginalized languages and non-authoritative discourses circulate in public convivial spaces (cf. Gilroy, 2004; Shaftoe, 2008). His visit to Mzoli's was an opportunity to showcase precisely this.

Stand-up comedians such as Nik Rabinowitz parody political and social images by embedding them in different humorous frames. They use techniques of humour to deliver information about space, place, agency and voice through linguistic wit that serves as forms of reality checks (Norrick, 2010). By consolidating political and social discourses produced largely in public and social spaces, the stand-up comedian's goal is to produce laughter from their audiences (Schwarz, 2010), but their humour may also exclude those who fail to laugh. In the literature on humour, the stand-up comedy of Nik, the way he stylizes and enregisters languages, accents, and registers on the margins of marginalized citizens, forms part of relief experience (Billig, 2005: 86). As is evident from my analysis below, this clearly emerged in the enregistering of multilingual personae in Nik's performance.

8.2 Performing Metapragmatics: Enregistering Stereotypes of Multilingual Personae

In this chapter, the focus is on how stand-up comedian Nik Rabinowitz parodies stereotypes of South African voices. Research in the sociolinguistics of performance suggests how stereotyping of voices linked to particular social personae (Agha, 2007), amongst other things, reveal insights into linguistic agency in multilingual contexts and how multilingual speakers' voices are heard (Mendezo-Denton, 2011). Mendezo-Denton demonstrates in her study how the performance of a 'creaky voice', 'a type of nonmodal phonation' becomes linked (enregistered) to the hardcore characteristics of Chicano gangsters in narratives, Hip-Hop songs and online media. In a similar way, Cole (2010: 2) demonstrates in her study on Indonesian poetry performance that a focus on voice sheds light on how

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"...personhood being entextualized is neither a single persona nor multiple singular personae, but a plural persona that to be successfully indexed semiotically requires the performance of shifting alignments with multiple voices". The performance of stereotypical personae constructs frames of linguistic diversity based on the plurality of voices circulating in multilingual space for Indonesians who are charged as citizens to manage diversity changes in the face of increasing democratic socio-political challenges in that country. As Cole argues, Indonesian poetry performances "...produce unexpected samenesses, instead of old-hat differences, and clarify the connections between the ways in which we categorize each other and the ways we consciously align ourselves with each other using our voices" (2010: 16). Another instance is Gibson's (2011) recent analysis of the folk comedy duo, Flight of the Concords, and how they *stylize singers and their music*. With respect to how voice is parodied (performed) by the comedians, Gibson points out that the duo build a range of characters across "a range of semiotic channels" (2011: 604) (cf. Coupland, 2011b), based on the stylization of language varieties and accents to create voice by tapping into "...intertextual connections". This offers audience members' opportunities to identify with particular identities that they recognise in talk as "...personalised and individual appropriations of discourses" (Pietikäinen and Dufva, 2006: 220), which further helps us "to recognize instances where stylistic projections enter into complex relationships with social reality" (Coupland, 2011a: 154). These examples illustrate Verschueren's point that attention to metalanguage and metapragmatic interaction

> is crucial to an understanding of verbal *behaviour* because, like any
> other form of social action, language use is always *interpreted*, in the
> sense that the actors involved attach meaning to it, so that the actors'
> interpretations become part and parcel of what needs to be described
> and explained (2000: 445).

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In Chapter 2, we learned that the metapragmatic function of entextualization reveals the extent to which discourse is used to reflect on personae and 'speech-as-action' (Duranti, 1997). The metapragmatic functions of discourses and language in processes of entextualization allow us to understand how personae are dependent on scaling and spatio-temporal indexicals and "how to interpret the extrasemantic meaning encoded in speech" (Urban, 2006: 90). Studies on metapragmatic performances demonstrate how contestations over language and language varieties are undertaken by multilingual speakers in the decoding of various genres (Jacquemet, 1990; 1994; Alvarez-Caccamo, 1990). In particular, Jacquemet's (1990) study on the metapragmatics of Italian in court shows us how speakers fight over institutional discourses and exactly how and why a language such as Italian and its varieties serve particular metapragmatic functions in that space. In contrast, Alvarez-Caccamo (1990) demonstrates how speakers of standard Galician in interactional orders anticipate to struggle over the salience and nuances of speech in that and other varieties, while talking about a particular language variety.

In those studies, the researchers' illustrate how the metapragmatic function of language emerges in contexts that rely on speaker's 'metapragmatic awareness' (Mertz and Yoval, 2003) of those languages and varieties: that is to say, the ability of speakers to express or highlight aspects of language which allow manoeuvres across semiotic configurations (icons, index, symbols) "across modalities...genres on display, and to their incipient metapragmatic regimentation" (Mendoza-Denton, 2011: 263). As Silverstein (1998: 196) puts it,

> In the course of communicating people more regularly use various other partial, and grammaticolexically various, metapragmatic framing devices: verbs of saying and of assorted intensionalities, nominal and verbal deictics, anchored 'evaluative' (=judgment-indexing) adjectives and adverbials, etc. that potentially serve a metapragmatic function with respect to what they might be in the

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course of "doing" with words as they communicate. But in general the most robust and effective metapragmatic function is implicit, not denotationally explicit. It resides in contextual organization itself, that is, in token co-occurrence patterns of emergent entextualization itself, that transcend, encompass, and supersede any denotationally literal metapragmatic discourse that may happen to manifest simultaneously in the plane of denotational function.

The concern in this chapter is not so much with the metapragmatic functions of multilingualism and voice in everyday practice, but how in the genre of stand-up comedy a register of metapragmatics are used to convey the scaling of stereotypical personae in the public sphere – and the discourses they carry - are entextualized in our comedian's performance of voice.

Nik opens his performance by remarking on how the important Habermasian public space of the news channel limits and uniformizes, and cuts to the same cloth the voices that it admits. According to Brigita Busch (2010: 192),

...the media have always been engaged in metalinguistic discourses. And metalinguistic discourses gain in importance especially at times when language change is being promoted by top - down methods and when the affirmation of language boundaries is at stake. They can contribute to creating an environment for policing language use and for the spread of language purism, linking 'correct' language use to national loyalty and stigmatizing 'wrong' language use as deviant. (2010: 190)

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Busch's remarks clearly resonate with Nik; his point of departure is that the official recognition of the 11 official languages of South Africa and the public distribution of their varieties in appropriately exclusive spaces and channels, excludes those identities and voices that are not indexed or recognized as essential and authentic identities in any of these varieties.

Bauman (2011: 711) most recently reflected on the metapragmatics of linguistics in performance genres:

> Each community will have its own metapragmatic orienting frameworks by which an individual may signal to an audience, 'This is performance. I'm on! I invite you to watch and listen closely and I will impress you, entertain you, move you. I invite you as well to judge just how skillful, effective, and moving a display I can accomplish.

Nik provides clear markers of when he is about to perform a voice by first turning to the audience and providing a meta-reflection or musing on the state of affairs in the news.
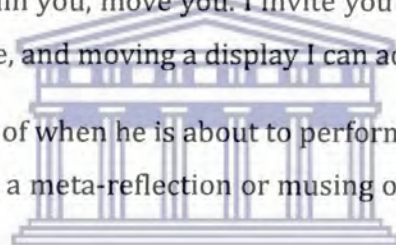
Nik:

1   You know/
2   often when you turn the TV on/
3   there's like apartheid/
4   You turn the TV on at 7 o'clock/
5   you see white people reading the English/Afrikaans news mostly/
6   You see black South Africans reading the Xhosa, Zulu, Sotho news/
7   And then you get a stereotype at the end/
8   you get coloureds on E/
9   And I thought to myself/
10   where are the minorities represented/
11   where are they/
12   where are the Jews/
13   the Muslims/
14   the Indians/
15   the poor whites/
16   I wanna see those people on the news/

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17	I do/
18	I wanna see/
19	you know what I wanna see/
20	maybe the anchor's a black South African Xhosa person/
21	He comes on and says/

In the first 20 lines, Nik refers to various conventional religious and ethnic minorities that populate the multilingual space of Cape Town. His point of departure is a critique of monoglossic or monolingual public displays of language in the news forum that partly reinforce the hegemony of standard English/Afrikaans/isiXhosa as media languages of choice, but, in doing so also conceal the voices of marginal populations such as Jews, Muslims, et cetera. He proceeds to caricature by introducing voices on the margin, one by one, starting with a Xhosa voice:

Xhosa Voice:

22	Ok/
23	in the news/
24	Manene nani manenekazi /
	(Gentlemen as well as ladies) (Stylizes voice)
25	today we condemn strongly/
26	these attacks of xenophobia/
27	You know it may be a Xhosa word/
28	but we didn't start this ok/
29	Ok/
30	over to Naeema on the weather/

The first accent the comedian stylizes is that of a Xhosa speaker. The black anchor shapes his performance around the recent xenophobic attacks that rocked South African society in 2007. The sequence is a joke but it is a joke that bears "witness to the tragic realities of life and expression of discontent" (Goldstein, 2003: 16), by its explicit reference to how being black and speaking isiXhosa has become indexically fixed to the discourse of xenophobia and xenophobic violence that occurred in townships. The comedian, however, set out to challenge that perception. Firstly, he crosses into a black voice to highlight what it means to speak in a black accent. The

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audience started to laugh loudly because of his exaggerated pronunciation of the word 'xenophobia' preceded by an isiXhosa click as something "out of place" (Goldstein, 2003: 45). Secondly, the black voice the comedian parodies explicitly taps into discourses of condemnation and denialism. This is done by way of an interesting metalinguistic reference to a salient phonological feature of isiXhosa, namely the lateral 'click' spelled orthographically as x. Thus claiming that the isiXhosa word xenophobia does not mean that the Xhosa people invented violence against foreigners, Nik highlights a popular folk linguistic conception that if you have an indigenous word in a language, the referent must also be indigenous. The twist here is a comment on emergent social discourses that sees xenophobia as located in the black South African population.

In the opening lines of this performance, the comedian is style-shifting between English and isiXhosa (Rampton, 2005: 218) which allows a double-voicing of the stigma that has been perpetuated in the aftermath of the xenophobic attacks, delinking the phenomenon from isiXhosa multilingual speakers. This double-voicing is 'vari-directional' because the comedian relocalized the linguistic attention on the isiXhosa language. However, he also demonstrated in his performance how it is indicative of linking Black Township living with violence.

The metapragmatic meanings performed by the comedian here through English is surely a way for the comedian to focus awareness on how easily stereotypes of black people and violence can be framed in South Africa. Through a flimsy and arbitrary indexical link he manages to bring across though the whole wave of xenophobia is wrongly attributed to black people in townships who were seen in the news as the sole perpetrators of the attacks. The example illustrates nicely Silverstein's (1993: 36-37) point:

> Without a metapragmatic function simultaneously in play with whatever pragmatic function (s) there may be in discursive interaction, there is no possibility of interaction coherence, since there is no framework or

structure – here, interactional text structure – in which indexical origins or centerings are relatable one to another as aggregated contributions to some segmentable, accomplishable event(s).

As the performance developed, the Black voice gave over to the weather desk where the Muslim voice of Naeema read out weather predictions. In an exaggeration of shrillness stereotypically seen as characteristically of muslim or coloured voices and in an 'intertextual offset' to the deeper timbre of the preceding isiXhosa voice, the comedian stylizes the accent of Naeema mimicking speakers from the Bo-Kaap area of Cape Town (see study by McCormick, 2002). We are introduced to a religious group who can historically trace their ancestral roots in the Western Cape, where "Afrikaans was far more common than English as the home language" (McCormick, 2002: 137; cf. Davids, 2011). As Nik continues to perform:

Muslim Voice:

31	Salaam malaikom/
32	ok/
33	ne/
34	before I start the weather ne/
35	I just wana say/
36	shukra to Abduhl and Fatima/
37	for dat very lovely kaart/
38	dat you sent to us/
39	Ok/
40	in da weather/
41	The weather's going to be very nice/
42	over the Western Cape/
43	over the next couple of days inshala/
44	Uh/
45	let me just say Tamaf
46	sorry to our brothers and sisters in Durban/
47	It's gonna be a very humid/
48	and kak weather over there/
49	But slamat to the South Coast/
50	very hot conditions/
51	may there continue to be no rain/
52	to speak of Algamdulilah/

In line 34 the comedian stylizes Naeema's accent in Kaaps using agreement forms such as "ne" which is sometimes stated as "nuh". This is a linguistic form used by speakers of Kaaps, the function of which may vary depending on speakers' everyday multilingual interactions. Some of the Arabic words Nik uses form part of a religious register that is usually only found in conjunction with Arabic literacy practices, acquired in the Madrassa (Islamic School), where Arabic is taught through rote learning for linguistic and religious socialization of young Muslims. The comedian's use of phrases commonly associated with the Muslim religious culture practice is indicative of the ubiquity of Muslim faith in the country. For instance, the use of "shukran" in line 36 is an honorific reference "to Abduhl and Fatima" to give praise for the "very lovely kaa't" (line 37) they sent to her ("sent to us", line 38). Other words are also used through Naeema's voice: "The weather's going to be very nice/over the Western Cape/over the next couple of days inshala/" (see lines 41 to 43); and words such as "Tamaf" (line 45); "slamat" (line 49) and "Alhamdulillah" (line 52). The words that we find in the performance of the comedian and that of our parodied persona, Muslim Naeema, is typified as specific to the Western Cape and uniquely distinct from the Durban region. We find a greeting in Arabic qualified for instance by two Muslim names. Even the salutation is in Arabic.

Nik cleverly constructs the rhetorical space that allows him to overuse salutations, apologies and other linguistic elements of introduction, encounter and departure typical to South African Arabic by positioning Naeema as the weather reader. Weather reports typically cross geographical space and therefore allow Naeema to engage with her local personal networks as she reports on the weather of each location. The frequent greetings and sayings in many of the Arabic utterances illustrates the 'overshooting' (Gibson and Bell, 2011) of a Muslim accent as a "metapragmatic organizing principle" (Blommaert, 2010: 37). As Worman (2006: 42) points out in an analysis of Krio language and theatre, sayings are not performed by speakers "as strategies on the part of characters (and speakers) to reflexively represent attitudes, impressions, and moods that emerge in negotiations

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between audience/author and actor as well as between participants in everyday social interactions". What is happening here is a violation of genre norms for the news which does not generally allow for slippage between public official and personalized greetings. The comedian's performance of a stereotypical Bo-Kaap Muslim persona is accomplished through English, Afrikaans and Arab lexical items that are entextualized and reflect a typical heteroglossic speech situation that would be associated with a Muslim of Naeema's character (cf. Silverstein, 1998: 203). The heavy use of these emblematic salutations highlights the perception of extended and tight-knit Muslim networks.

Just as Nik's choice of rhetorical space for Naeema, (the weather desk), permitted the metapragmatic strategy of emblematic salutations, so does the choice of sport desks allow Nik to stylize Sharon as a typical Jewish White speaker. Sports reporting are typically a factual account of scores and highlights in sports events. Sports are also characterized by toughness and fighting spirit and one of the popular South African sports, rugby, clearly has its share of violence. Sports in South Africa are also school and family affairs, where parents engage and invest in their children's sporting proficiencies. The segment opens with Sharon thanking Naeema:

Jewish Voice:

57	Ashukran Naeema/
58	So in sports news/
59	I first wanna say/
60	Mazel Tov to the McCarby/
61	you know/
62	the Jewish men's kick boxing team/
63	They defeated the Papa New Guinea u/14 the weekend/
64	Also in rugby news/
65	the Springboks beat Australia by 2 points in Perth/
66	Lovely place/
67	Perth/
68	wonderful/
69	very safe/
70	very nice schools/
71	very nice neighbourhood/
72	you should go have a look/

73	you should/
74	But I couldn't watch half the game/
75	I mean/
76	Oi Vey/ [expressing shock and frustration]
77	the injuries/
78	I couldn't/
79	I couldn't/
80	I couldn't watch/
81	No/
82	there's no way/
83	my grandson Uriel is playing that game/
84	no/
85	over my dead body/
86	while there's still a hole in my arse/
87	its not happening/

Performing a number of Yiddish forms that indexicalized different functions, the comedian deictically references Jewish identity in the use of words such as "Mazel Tov" (see line 60), "Oi Vey" (line 76), and the name "Uriel" (which is a typically Jewish name) (see line 83). Performing these linguistic forms in a high nasal pitched voice, the comedian entextualizes the discourse of being Jewish in Cape Town for the audience. Her commentary on the sports events of the weekend is an overexaggeration of the successes of the Jewish men's kickboxing team (line 62) defeat over an outlandish and highly ridiculously underage Papua New Guinean team. The rendition brings out laughter in the audience as listeners recognize Nik's performance of a stereotype that Jewish people are thought to be prone to exaggeration and hyperbole and mythologise their personal anecdotes. One notable feature of lines 65 to 68 is how Nik once again uses geographical location as a springboard for a typical rhetorical stereotype of a Jewish speaker. Introducing by way of subsidiary comment that the Springboks team beat Australia in Perth the sports commentator goes on to reflect on the qualities of Perth, lines 66 to 73; she notes the many advantages of Perth as a lovely and safe place, has nice schools and good neighbourhoods. Notable here is that Perth in Western Australia is quite likely the largest or the most popular destination for so-called white-flight outside of London. Typically, Perth is described in the very terms that many South African

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cities lack, namely safety and schooling. Furthermore, when the Jewish voice moves over to news of the Springboks' defeat of Australia, another typical discursive feature of Jewish speech is entextualized: talkativeness or voluble soliloquies characterized by a ready flow of speech. From lines 68 to 73, we see the Jewish voice typically erupting into short fragments of gabbiness followed by the odd deictic (line 76) that amplifies more volubleness. A key feature here is the repetitive personalizations (lines 72 to 73; lines 78 to 80). This is then followed by an emotional evaluation and hyperbolic commentary in the sports commentator's personal asides and expressions of aversion to rough sports (lines 83 to 85). Thus, compared to the Muslim voice, we find that the stereotypical aspects of the Jewish personae are voluble soliloquies and aversion to contact sports enforced by the phrases – "While there's still a hole in my arse/It's not happening" (lines 86 to 87).

Aside from religious diversity and its correlative ideological differences that pervade South African society, there remain deep economic divides. One economic injustice which has been strongly profiled in national media in recent years is the emergence of a poor white community living side by side with their black or coloured brothers and sisters in townships and shanty towns. Many of the poor whites are traditionally speakers of Afrikaans. On the other hand, since the new dispensation, a number of procedures have been put in place to correct the historical imbalance of wealth between the black and white population generally with programmes such as Black Econmic Empowerment (BEE). The debates and attitudes that accompany this state of affairs are cleverly captured in the next voice/accent performed by Nik, namely that of a white Afrikaner aptly named Frikkie on the business desk:

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White Afrikaner Voice:

90   <u>Frikkie be like/</u>
91   <u>Fings are looking bleak/</u>
92   <u>Petrol went up/</u>
93   <u>the rand went down/</u>
94   <u>surprise surprise/</u>
95   <u>And another moerse big BEEEEE deal/</u>
96   <u>where a lota rich black guys/</u>
97   <u>give a lota money to a lota other rich black guys/</u>

Once again, Nik transgresses against genre conventions by letting 'diversity' speak, simultaneously holding up difference while providing a critique of contemporary political affairs and race relations. Entextualizing the sentiments of discourses of desperation, fear and denialism (Jansen, 2009) carried in a heavy Afrikaner accented English, the comedian paints a picture of a poor white in the choice of the name Frikkie, indexical of a lower socioeonomic background. Frikkie is on the business news desk, reading a story that smacks of political irony, saying: "Fings are looking bleak/Petrol went up/the rand went down/surprise, surprise/And another moerse big BEEEEE deal/" (see lines 91 to 95). The comedian's choice of the business news desk is perfectly suited to Frikke's complaint. Business news items are all about scales and percentages, rises and falls, and optimism and pessimism about futures, life quality and the like. The overexaggerated pronunciation of the economic abbreviation BEE, (Black Economic Empowerment), metapragmatically indicates to the audience members the difficulty white people have with this programme – the 'iconic volume' and elongated enunciation on BEE rather than, what one would have expected, on the adverb 'moerse' (massive) underscores the racial nature of the complaint.

In a similar way to the performance of the other accents, the comedian used typical lexical and phonological markers to index identities that the audience could easily recognize. The exaggerated pronunciation of the noun "Fings" (Things), missing the interdental fricative, for instance, is indicative of the Afrikaner English accent and many in the audience laughed at this. What we see the comedian do here

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is to highlight how certain personae and "...positions rely on linguistic conventions for their enactment, and it helps remind us of how ideologized the processes are by which linguistic performances and social identity attributions are mapped on one another" (Irvine, 2009: 70). The metapragmatic entextualization of a privileged voice, as Frikkie at the business desk, is the comedian's way to parody voice as agency, but different to that of the emcees in Chapter 5. Frikkie is characterologically set up by the comedian to mediate a representation of an actual social actor in the public sphere. The fact that it is an Afrikaner's voice at the business desk reinforces prevailing stereotypes of white Afrikaners (and other white English speakers) possessing the country's wealth and their fear of losing that wealth to another massive Broad Based Black Economic Empowerment (BBBEE) deal.

Nik steps outside the news genre momentarily to turn to the audience with a meta-reflection on how the news should end, arguing

98	You can't leave it that/
99	hey/
100	you couldn't end the news/
101	on that note/
102	They always have to have that bit/
103	on the end of the news/
104	have you noticed that/
105	Just to leave us feeling/
106	that there's some hope/
107	but I don't know about that segment/
108	they always do stupid things/
109	like they have the Chelsea flower show in London/
110	to make us feel better/
111	I mean who cares about/
112	I wanna see something different/
113	I wanna see a guy/
114	like a real guy/
115	from somewhere here/
116	like on the Cape Flats/
117	or something, saying to the viewers/

The comedian then proceeds to parody a Coloured Voice who reports on a strange and 'alien' post-apartheid multicultural phenomenon (Comaroff and Comaroff, 2012: 100-101) that occurred at a branch of the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals (SPCA) in Grassy Park. Nik parodies:

Coloured Voice:

118	Ok people/
119	We are here by da SPCA/
120	in Grassy park/
121	Now a miracle have happened here today/
122	I want you guys to see dis dog over here/
123	You see this dog/
124	this dog have given birth to kittens/
125	Faizel just zoom in/
126	just zoom in to da camera/
127	Faizel zoom that fucking/
128	come closer man/
129	Sorry about dat/
130	Ok/
131	Now behind the left paw of the dog/
132	you can see what is there/
133	it's a kitten/
134	Now that kitten/
135	you can see mos that kitten is sucking/
136	on the tet of the dog/
137	Now I know some people is gona say/
138	"what is going on?"/
139	"How did a cat and a dog mos get togeda like dat"/
140	Ander mense gaan se/
141	other people's going to say/
142	dai's vekee't/
143	dis vekee't"/
144	dis wrong/
145	dis vekiet/
146	Hoe kan n kat soma n hond nai?/
147	That sends out a very positive message/
148	to all South Africans, you know/
149	Maybe one day we can all get together/
150	and nai like cats and dogs/
151	Ivan Jacobs/
152	real news/

153	Grassy park/
154	Thank you/
155	thank you/
156	Whoo!/
157	Faizel kyk hoe blaf daai kat/

The final voice the comedian stylizes above is that of a coloured Kaaps speaker, in English, but with abundant code-switching that in itself is presented as iconic of the phenomenon reported on, namely hybridity and crossing. Performing in a Kaaps accent also allows the comedian to allude to the widespread belief among the population that (at least certain categories of) Cape Flats 'coloureds' are preoccupied with body parts (cf. Salo, 2004; Jensen, 2008; Adhikari, 2009)[26]. By locating the news story in the working class area of Grassy Park and using the name "Ivan Jacobs" (see line 151), the image of a working class voice – and all the discursive practices that go with it, the comedian enregisters social discourses of being coloured through Kaaps. The character Ivan Jacobs reports from the SPCA where a dog has given birth to kittens. Anybody familiar with Cape Flats' townships would know that streets are choc-a-bloc with dogs going about their business, and that many families have at least one dog, if not more, as guard dogs. Therefore, making the dog the topic of the closing news item, and framing the dog story in a performance of a coloured accent almost guarantees laughter and smiles from the audience. The report that the dog gave birth to kittens is, of course, a wonderful allusion to the wished for miracle of a mixed race society – coming about on the margins of the township. Ivan reports a multicultural miracle. The oddity here is clear and the comedian comically fills in the frame by allowing the parodied persona to ask his fellow reporter, the camera operator Faizel, to zoom in to the oddity (lines 125 to 128). The voice then begins to explain how it is that a dog has given birth to

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[26] Cape Coloured Youth culture and the prison culture in Cape Town have blurred embodied practices, specifically with respect to the defection of body parts, which have become indexical of the speech of coloured youth. Embodied practices on the Cape Flats have sedimented orders of embodied practices that are often misunderstood, caused confusion and ignorance, which in turn have led to stereotypical generalizations that all coloured youth remove their incisors because it is a *cool thing to do*. This is a misnomer that stems from cultural and racial ignorance. However, the defecation of the incisors is indexical of the popularization of gang rituals, rites of passage and masculine identity(s) which was appropriated by coloured youth culture in the late 90s

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kittens. In an almost documentary conversational style, the Coloured voice describes that as we can see the kitten is sucking on the tit of the dog (lines 135 to 136).

It may already be happening with the freeborns (cf. Bray et al, 2010) who, like neoliberal cats, are barking like dogs (line 157).

8.4 Summary

In this chapter, I have attempted to describe and analyse the stylization of accents and voice in the stand-up comedy of Nik Rabinowitz at Mzoli's Meat. Nik challenges longstanding views of multilingualism by embodying ways of being multilingual on the margins of South African society. By parodying different accents and personae linked to class and status and dominant (censorious) voices often credited with the normalization of linguistic power, the comedian translated through the performance of exaggerated accents forms of linguistic agency we often find on the margins of society. In this case, it was overwhelmingly agency and voice on the margins of township life.

Nik's performance illustrates the heterogeneity of voices found at Mzoli's Meat. He demonstrated to audience members that there are particular ways of being multilingual that is not dominated by the metapragmatic discourses of institutional forms of multilingualism. But these discourses are transgressed in favour of the stylization of language practices that is pervasive in marginal multilingual spaces, which he keyed in the successful framing of multiracial accents. His playful framing, especially of accents, is clearly a particular type of social commentary that reveal the deep networks of diversity and scaling of multilingual spaces that we find in the periphery of urban Cape Town.

In conclusion, with regards to the stylization of accents by the comedian, I discovered that much of the accents were that of minority groups in post-apartheid South Africa who had limited purchase to mainstream forms of agency. What the comedian however does is to show how these different minority voices are

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continuously linked to social inequalities that is shared and accepted across a wide spectrum of multilingual space where repertoires and registers are enregistered by the various groups to express their concern about race, culture and current events.

Chapter 9
Stylizing Humour and Multilingual Norms

9.0 Introduction

In Chapter 7, we noted how Mzoli's could be construed semiotically as a place of a meeting of diversity on the one hand, fleeting encounters between translocals and tourists, and simultaneously as a hierarchically ordered, scaled and indexicalized space, on the other. A relatively upscaled Mzoli's Meat co-existed side-by-side with what we called a multilingualism of encounter, a diversity of voices in a cosmopolitan public mix. In Chapter 8, we noted how the comedian inserted his performance into the discourse of diversity and how his rendering of a variety of stereotypical and metapragmatically performed voices tapped into and highlighted diversity and difference as a parameter of Mzoli's Meat. At the same time as it allowed the comedian to entextualize a variety of pressing, contemporary concerns that are bothering modern day South Africa. In this chapter, we will stay with the analysis of the stand-up comedy of Nik Rabinowitz and its performance at Mzoli's Meat. The focus this time around is entirely different from the very detailed explication of the localized metapragmatics of voice, in the previous chapter, so wonderfully captured by Nik. Rather, the focus in this chapter (in a parallel way to Chapter 6 above) is on the momentary processes of enregisterment of transgressive forms of talk, a code-meshed, Black accented English in a multilingual space. We saw in Chapter 7 how in the translocal encounters, hierarchical and heavily indexicalized values of scale underlie how patrons talked about the shaping and organization of multilingual repertoires. What we find Nik doing in the performance analysed in this current chapter is precisely playing and commenting on this underlying hierarchical normativity in momentary processes of enregistering marginal and stigmatized practices of local multilingual and multi-accented speech. My purpose is to present how the comedian, Nik, enregisters multilingual norms found on the margins of

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Cape Town, by stylizing humour and non-authoritative varieties of language and mainstream censorious talk in conflict.

In the next section, I demonstrate how Nik draws on, and crosses in and out of different multilingual norms and situations of contact. I demonstrate how he stylizes, through stance-taking and scaling, language varieties as a prime indicator for evaluating being multilingual in the local context of Cape Town, by drawing on gestures, paralinguistic cues, positions and mannerisms (body stances). Of course, in doing so, Nik once again puts his criticism of the normative social orders underlying the hierarchical ideas of multilingual repertoires to critical use, by revealing the arbitrary nature of a particular form of multilingual normativity and the way it constrains speakers interactions, he at the same time levels a powerful criticism of the socio-political structures that support and benefit from this organization of languages, accents and indexical values and its use in positioning speakers in hierarchical space.

9.1 The Stylization of non-Authoritative Accents in English; or the Enregistering of Multilingual Norms

How does one recognize a marginalized multilingual speaker and their normativities of the everyday? One of the answers lies in the recognition of their multilingual discourses and their voice (Blommaert, 2005: 68). In his stand-up routine, Nik parodies different accents in intertextual ways (Bauman, 2010) as a means of focusing on the norms of marginalized voices in multilingual communication. In the context of humour, multilingual norms are coupled to the parodic performance of accents which forms a central part of Nik's insistence on multilingualism as the norm, and at Mzoli's Meat we experienced how he used the everyday practice of multilingualism to offer up "running commentary about the political and economic structures" (Goldstein, 2003: 2) in super-linguistic diverse Cape Town (Vertovec, 2007; Rampton and Blommaert, 2011). In this way, humour functions as a powerful tool that "...is primarily the result of cultural perception,

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both individual and collective, of incongruity, exaggeration, distortion, and any unusual combinations of the cultural elements in external events" (Apte, 1985: 16). In Apte's words, humour is,

> ...a cognitive, often unconscious experience involving internal redefining of sociocultural reality and resulting in a mirthful state of mind; second, to external sociocultural factors that trigger this cognitive experience; third, to the pleasure derived from the cognitive experience labelled "humor"; and fourth, to the external manifestations of the cognitive experience and the resultant pleasure, expressed through mirthful laughter and smiling. (Apte, 1985: 14; drawing on Freud, 1905; 1928)

As in Chapter 8, Nik uses his humour to mediate the everyday tensions and frustrations connected to the larger structural issues that the diverse audience at Mzoli's grapple with on a daily basis, and which, according to Goldstein (2003: 16), "...is a much more discursive form of resistance" that "...returns us to our locale" (Critchley, 2002: 73), but at the same time forces us as audience members to do meaning-work on "...the tragic realities of life". However, in this case, diversity is not revealed through positioning many voices in genre conflict (as it was in Chapters 5 and 8), but through critiquing normativities of language and multilingualism in enregisterment, as in Chapter 6).

As in the previous chapter, I analysed Nik's stand-up performances as frames (Goffman, 1977) "bracketed" by humour techniques such as gags, puns, that are decontextualized from "the total situation" (Douglas, 1999: 151). In this chapter, I aim to illustrate how the comedian to emphasise marginalized and non-authoritative multilingual norms mediated in his performance used accents. By contrasting different accents, as we shall see in the next section, I demonstrate how

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Nik brings out "...figures of personhood that are juxtaposed within structures of entextualization composed of many types of signs" (Agha, 2005: 39).

9.1.1 Performing accents that are "condescending to the natives"

We now know that Nik Rabinowitz is a rare kind of stand-up comedian in South Africa, not because he is white and Jewish, but because he has cleverly worked in the practice of multilingualism typical of marginalized speakers: his Jewish multilingual upbringing has sensitized him to such practices. Nik's humorous rhetoric is designed around a polysemic system of jokes that brings comic relief to audience members across South Africa. On the day of his performance at Mzoli's, Nik formed part of a travelling company of comedians who performed jokes on a stage in the communal dining area. As is usual, a diverse audience was present. One by one the stand-up comedians performed with their own distinctive styles and use of language to gag about life in South Africa. Nik was scheduled to perform in between acts and when the time arrived he was introduced to the audience as "South Africa's first Xhosa-speaking Jewish comedian". With the music leading the way, Nik came on stage, surprising the audience with a recognizable Cape Flats greeting, unmistakably multilingual: *Awe!* (Hello in Kaaps), *Molweni* (Hello in isiXhosa), *Sanibonani* (Hello in isiZulu), *Dumelang* (Hello in SeSotho). Can I get a holla seven?!" (Hello in Tsotsitaal or Ischamto). At this early stage of the comic performance, two types of voices are introduced, that of a typically white speaker of English Received Pronunciation (RP), and variety of voices of speakers of isiXhosa and black English. He then proceeded to set the scene for a comic play of accents and voices with a skit on multilingualism which he scenografed to take place "off-stage" – literally after the show. The speaker of normative RP is represented as wanting to project an authoritative guardianship over accents on the margins – a monolingual policing of multilingual speakers, as in lines 1-13.

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Nik:

1	*There's a lot of accents in the show/*
2	*And someone recently came to me after the show/*
3	*And said/*
	(Imitating a white British Received Pronunciation Voice)
4	Nik/
5	uh/
6	we thoroughly enjoyed your show/
7	thoroughly enjoyed your show/
8	thoroughly/
9	thoroughly/
10	but we thought some of your accents/
11	were somewhat condescending/
12	to the, uh/
13	natives/

The first accent draws our attention to the problem of language, which is based on the complaint of a white English speaker deriding the comedian about his "condescending" use of black accents. Here the comedian makes the audience aware of the difficulty of navigating multilingual practices that often create confusion for others (outsiders) because of how speakers interpret and derive meaning from "signs and messages" (Agha, 2007: 69; cf. Goebel, 2010). Nik easily brushes the critique aside, as he sketches a series of social encounters on the Gautrain where, for purposes of illustration, he demonstrates how he would address a black interlocutor first in varieties of isiXhosa and Zulu, and then in a black accented English. The purpose of the illustration is to underscore the socio-political importance of diversity in language, so, before picking out an audience member to initiate an interaction with around this, he makes reference to "look, it's kinda like we got 11 official languages, probably 45 unofficial ones". Thus, he draws on an authoritative discourse that dictates monolingualism from top-down and which has come to define debates about multilingualism in South Africa. By stating that the country has "11 official languages" (line 17), he began to debase any misunderstanding regarding the constitutionally enshrined multilingualism. He presents first expert discourse regarding multilingualism in the country by restating the political and

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legislative discourse that legally authenticates multilingualism in the country, albeit based on language ideologies that some have claimed pursue entrenchments of monolingual power (as mother tongue issues, see Makoni, Makoni and Pennycook, 2011). This attempt to emphasise the reality of multilingualism captured as only 11 official (and powerful) languages forms part of the public imagination of South Africans.

It is at this moment, following the co-occurring laughter and smiles from audience members, some scowls and frowns, the comedian affronts by transgressing against established monolingual norms about linguistic competence, authenticity and allegiance. He implicitly starts to comment on conventional perspectives of multilingualism and at that particular juncture of his performance crosses into a strident commentary on the importance of multicompetence and affirmation of multilingual practices in South African society. Nik goes on to note that if we were "having a traditional South African conversation", different accents, repertoires and registers would be included in the exchange. He imagines the conversation to go something like this:
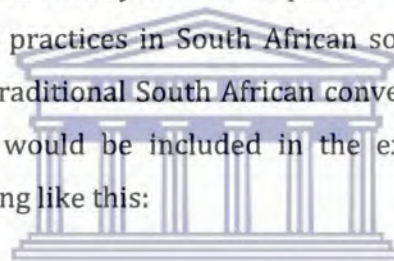
35   *Hey/*
36   **bhuti, unjani namhlanie?**/   (Gesture: Thumps up sign)
      How are you today?/
37   **Uphilile?**/
      Are you fine?/
38   **Ugala gab nevinegar/**
      I'm great/
      (Imitating a Black South African speaker's voice)
39   *Are you sharp, sharp/*
40   *like vinegar/*
41   *You have to keep the same accent/*
42   *you stay committed/*
43   *You change languages/*
44   *but you keep the same accent/*
45   *otherwise it's very confusing/*
46   *I wouldn't say to you/*
47   **"Bhuti, are you sharp sharp like vinegar"**/
      (Imitating white British Received Pronunciation voice)/

In this exchange, Nik employs forms of greeting from both isiXhosa (lines 36-38), as well as a typically Iscamtho (Tsotsitaal) phrase rendered in locally accented English (lines 39-40). When delivering his English rendition of the greeting, in a Black English accent, Nik hits home his point, namely that it is far from condescending to speak to 'natives' in an accent - something that he had earlier been accused of by the white RP speaker. On the contrary, argues Nik, "you change languages but you keep the same accent. Otherwise it's very confusing".

Thus, Nik contrasts the linguistic voice of the 'locals' with the normative pretensions of the RP voice – the external or the foreign norm. He also does this in a framing of solidarity and consistency of relationship across local encounters – 'you stay committed', thus again highlighting language as an important manifestation of associational and horizontal networks, and rejecting the imposition of a vertical norm of an extraneous norm of RP English, on a social exchange. At the same time, he appears to be profiling how the associational relationships between speakers are mutual and multilingual. Multilingual situations in accelerated conditions of mobility and contact are typically characterized by partial understandings and lack of common ground (cf. Williams, ftc), where encounters are reconstituted as an arena for the negotiation of difference rather than the imposition of commonality (in language, speech norms, or social identity) (cf. Stroud, 2001). Canagarajah has noted how abilities such as empathy and skills of coping with linguistic ambiguity are essential under such conditions:

> [R]ather than focusing on rules and conventions, we have to focus on strategies of communication ... [of] collaboratively achieve communication through the use of pragmatic strategies...[to] shuttle between communities, and not to think of only joining a community (Canagarajah, 2007: 237-238)

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With his little skit here, Nik demonstrates that 'what is recognized as 'expert knowledge' of a language is not the same as being able to 'relate' through that language at a horizontal level of sociality, civility and associative structure. However, he also does something else, namely he highlights racial characteristics of speakers' voices - 'accents' – the social indexicalities of which cross-cut issues of multilingualism and race in complex ways, and appears to make the point that important aspects of language in multilingual South Africa have as much to do with a market of accents as they do with a market of languages.

Nik moves on to problematize even more explicitly the contest between a normative, vertical notion of linguistic appropriateness and a more fluid and multilingual and 'polyaccentual' management of 'multilingual space' by recounting an incident when he worked as a game show leader on a call-in show, the "Coca-Cola Mega Millions game show". In introducing the show, he taps into the voice of a white Afrikaner (line 55):

48	*And I got into alota trouble for this at one point in my career*/
49	*because I hosted a show on TV*/
50	*it was called the Coca-Cola Mega Millions game show*/
51	*Have you heard of it?*/
52	*White people have never heard of that show*/
53	*They only ever saw it by mistake*/
54	*Clicking through the wrong channel*/
	(Imitating a White Afrikaner's voice)/
55	"Who the hell is this Khosa albino guy doing...?"/

Clearly, the show is not one that whites watch by choice, "White people have never heard of that show" (see line 52), and that if they did come across it, it would often be by "mistake" (see line 53). Moreover, it is by no small measure that Nik makes this distinction between "flipping through the channels" and white people only seeing the show by mistake, because as experienced with the analysis in the previous chapter, watching the news on South African television is still separated by images of black, white and coloured anchors and news journalists. He argues that

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middle class whites are rather inclined to watch their preferred shows from a position of choice (accessing paid cable TV channels), whereas poor black people watch certain shows out of necessity. Class and racial distinction is often linked to particular types of practices and discourses (Durrheim, Mtose and Brown, 2011) and Nik points out that the linchpin of racial and class ignorance remains a strong feature of white South Africans' social interaction, in the case that when they start to change channels they would often see it by "mistake" (see line 53). This 'misrealization' (Bell, 2011) performed by Nik holds up for ridicule and challenges longstanding stereotypes of black and white social interaction, especially the supposed ignorance of a particular group of white Afrikaans speakers.

The phrase "Who the hell is this Xhosa albino doing?" is a wonderfully silly construction which captures perfectly the inability of the (assumedly conservative) Afrikaner to entertain the idea that a white person is able to speak isiXhosa and perform in a black show – therefore the reference to Nik as a "Xhosa albino guy". The non-grammatical design of the utterance positions the author squarely as the uneducated Afrikaner that Nik is deliberately trying to ridicule.

Nik proceeds to recount how he got into trouble with the producer of the show on numerous occasions because of, what she perceived to be, his 'condescending tone towards the native', Thembi. The comedian re-enacts the telephone conversation with Thembi to demonstrate typical linguistic ways (norms) black township speakers of isiXhosa answer and talk over their phones. In this regard, for Thembi it is a special occasion because Nik from the Coca-Cola Mega Millions Game called her. He introduces the persona of Thembi by enacting the first telephone interaction he had with her when calling her from the studio. In doing so, he demonstrates a typical Xhosa opening telephone gambit, where Thembi answers her with own salutation, leaving little room for the usual to and fro of introductory phatics.

56	*But I got into trouble on this very confusing show/*
57	*I'll explain to you /*
58	*basically we had a producer/*
59	*and she would talk into my right earpiece over here/*
60	*and the contestant would talk into my left earpiece/*
61	*at the same time/*
62	*It was very confusing/*
63	*and we had about 17 million envelopes/*
64	*and we picked one every show/*
65	*and we'd phone this person/*
66	*Say we had Thembi from Gugulethu/*
67	*and we'd say/*
68	*"Thembi please make sure you are at the phone" /*
69	*and that the phone is ringing/*
70	*you hear the phone, prrrr/*	(Gesture: Phone Receiver to Ear)
71	*Thembi would pick it up/*
72	*and normally answer the phone like/*

Thembi:

73	*Hi/*	(Gesture: Phone Receiver to Ear)
74	*this is Thembi/*
75	*how are you?/*
76	*I'm fine thanks/*

As far as conventional telephone salutations and conversations go, the audience anticipates a normative interaction in terms of "people talking on the telephone who cannot see each other" (Glen, 2003: 66). But instead what occurs is something anormative to just people talking over the phone (see lines 73 to 76). In this and the rest of the narration, the mobile phone and the TV, game-show setting (including the off-stage ear piece where the producer is whispering censorious commentary) provide the props and the artefacts through which the voices and associated identities of the interlocutors are mediated and framed.

Nik:

77	*Hi/*
78	*Ya/*
79	*I'm also ok Thembi/*

80	*this is Nik here*/	
81	*from the Coca Cola Mega Millions gameshow*/	
82	*and at that point she goes*/	

Thembi:

83	*Nik?*/	
84	*Coca-Cola?*/	
85	**Yohhh!**/	(Gesture: Grabs face cheeks tight with both hands)
86	**Yohhh!**/	(Gesture: Grabs face cheeks tight with both hands)
87	**Mama**/	
88	**Sisi**/	
89	*Coca-Cola*/	
90	**Yohhh!**/	(Gesture: Grabs face cheeks tight with both hands)

Only those patrons who are aware of the embodied practices of black people and isiXhosa speakers would get the joke because it is local and identifiable as common or normative multilingual behaviour. Those who failed to smile was not only excluded from this joke, but failed to access the convivial discourses that accompany such interaction at Mzoli's Meat. In other words, they are not plugged into the cultural system of the township and are thus unable to recognise the arbitrariness that is Mzoli's. Alternatively, they just did not find the comedian funny. Nevertheless, what is interesting is that Nik crosses in and out of English to parody the accent of Thembi as a way to include those who are not laughing, but advances the normative linguistic practices of isiXhosa speakers.

This sets a particular on-stage rhythm for Nik as he crosses and stylizes Thembi's black accent with linguistic forms that allowed the phrasing of multilingualism typical of a single black female and perhaps isiXhosa based multilingual practices (from lines 79 to 90). Thembi is clearly excited about talking to Nik (lines 83-90). In order for him to accommodate her excitement, he crosses into isiXhosa and assuming her to be a respectably aged woman, uses an appropriate honorific – in this case "Mama" - to index respect and honour, as is a common practice among isiXhosa speakers (in lines 97 ff).

Nik:

91   *Now you only have 3 and a half minutes live/*
92   *and you've already wasted 45 seconds/*
93   *trying to calm the woman down/*
94   *but she's not hearing anything/*
95   *she's so excited/*
96   *you are like/*
97   **Mama, uya kwazi ukudlala?/**
      Mama, do you know how to play?/
98   *Do you know how the game works?/*
99   *Do you know how to play?/*

Thembi:

100   *Yes/*
101   **ndiyakwazi/**
      I know/
102   **ndiyakwazi/**
      I know/
103   **ndiyakwazi/**
      I know/
104   **yoh/**   (Gesture: both hands placed on face cheeks)
105   **yoh/**
106   **ndiyakwazi/**
      I know/

Above we see Nik asking, "Mama, ukwazi ukudlala?" (Do you know how to play?) (line 97), crossing back into her accent, saying "Yes/Ndiyakwazi (I know)/Yoh/" (see lines 100 to 106). As Thembi utters "Yoh", Nik's hand touches his face to emphasize the embodied practices linked to Xhosa speech performances by echoing, 'Yoh'. Subsequently, he crosses back into his own voice to provide instructions about the game. Thembi must choose a number between 1 and 20 (Uzo tshuza (please choose a) number/Uyaqala (start choosing) between 1 and 20) (see lines 108 and 109) in order to win a prize.

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Nik:

107	**O'rit**/	
108	**Uzo tshuza a number**/	(Gesture: makes a number phrase)
	Choose a number/	
109	**uzo qala between 1 and 20**/	(Gesture: makes numbers phrase)
	You'll start choosing between 1 and 20/	
110	*Choose a number between 1 and 20*/	(Gesture: makes numbers phrase)
111	*You are going to choose your first number*/	
112	*now between 1 and 20*/ = =	

Nik's performance of the whole interaction is built around a clever juxtaposition of different speaker voices (his as commentator, that of the producer as (censorious) overhearer, Nik and Thembi as principals and authors). Throughout, the comedian slips in and out of interactions with the audience and direct interactions with Thembi. In lines 113-117, Nik introduces a third voice into the interaction, one that is in like manner to the white English-speaking accent intent on policing Nik for his condescending use of black accents with black interlocutors. Just like the white English speaker's accent that is framed in censorious discourse, this other voice, the producer, breaks into the conversation between Nik and Thembi. As Nik explained, she was intent on ensuring that he was drawing on the most acceptable discourses and language conventions that were not condescending to the native speakers:

Producer:

113	= = *Nik*/
114	*your first warning*/
115	*please don't use that accent*/
116	*with the native people*/
117	*It's very condescending*/

Interestingly, as the producer utters her accusation of condescension, she can be seen as reinforcing the meta-discourses of "native" language interaction previously lamented by the white English speaker accent. In order to perceive something as

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linguistically condescending, the utterance has to be in a language or variety that the speaker does not own or have an authentic identity in relation to, and the variety of language in question must be considered as indexical of lower social value. With her recrimination, the producer is claiming that Nik has no authentic relationship to isiXhosa (thus perhaps reinforcing a particular essentialist view of race and language) and that isiXhosa also lacks public value.

For the remainder of the interaction, the comedian performs his struggle to get Thembi to choose only numbers between 1 and 20, with Thembi proffering any number of illegitimate high value numbers in her excitement and confusion at being hosted on the Coca Cola Mega Millions Game Show. As Nik's frustration mounts, so does his use of isiXhosa and a black accent, with the producer growing increasingly censorious with every turn of the exchange. Despite her mishaps, Thembi and Nik finally succeed in getting the number right, and Thembi, much to Nik's relief and joy, wins R50,000.

Nik:

118   *I'm sorry/*
119   *Thembi/*
120   *what is your first number gonna be?/*
121   *between 1 and 20/*

Thembi:

122   *Ok/*
123   *O'right/*
124   *Choose/*
125   **unumba 27/**

Nik:

126   **Ha-ah/**   (Gesture: shaking head left to right)
127   *Thembi/*
128   **Phakathi 1 and 20/**
       Between 1 and 20/
129   *choose a number between 1 and 20 only/*
130   *Please numbers between 1 and 20/ = =*

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Producer:

131   = = *Nik*/
132   *please*/
133   *this is your second warning*/
134   *please don't do that*/

Nik:

135   *Thembi*/
136   *what is your number?*/
137   *we only have a minute left*/

Thembi:

138   **O'right**/
139   **o'right**/
140   **o'right**/
141   **oko ugala number 44**/
        The first one is number 44/

Nik:

142   *Thembi*/
143   **man**/
144   **choose phakhati kuka 1 and 20**/
        Choose between 1 and 20/
145   *Only numbers between 1 and = =*

Producer:

146   = = *Nik*/
147   *your third*/
148   *and final fucking warning*/

Nick:

149   *Thembi what is your number?!*/

Thembi:

150   **O'right**/
151   **choosu number 5**/

Nick:

152	*Ok*/	
153	**Ma choosu number 5**/	
154	**Flippa numba 5**/	(Gesture: performing shuffling of numbers)
155	**Flippa numba 5**/	
156	**Flippa numba 5**/	
157	**Unioni?**/	
	How is it?	
158	*what have you won?*/	
159	*R50 000!*/	
160	*Laduuuuma!*/	

9.2 Summary

To recognize multilingual accents and their norms leads to a better understanding of how multilingual diversity unfolds in late-modern Cape Town. We find that the comedian uses sociolinguistic diversity to index experiences of super-linguistic diversity and multilingualism in South African society. Explicit reference is made to the eleven official languages recognized by the constitution of the country to demonstrate the contradiction of a monoglossic take on multilingualism from above as multiple monolingualisms, against multilingualism from below (Cuvelier *et al*, 2010). By performing different voices, and accents (sometimes proxy for language), the comedian challenges longstanding meta-discourses of monolingualism and demonstrates that linguistic transgression is important if we are to fully understand multilingualism in township spaces.

Tantamount to such an understanding is Nik's audience who play an important role in co-authoring the space with their laughter (Duranti and Donald, 1986). The laughter elicited from them validated the heterogeneity of multilingual voices as he picked up the various linguistic forms for his parody (Jefferson, 2010: 1477). He drew uncomfortable smiles, scowls and frowns from white tourists and local whites because they were not aware of the local semiotics that accompanied the parodying of black accents, but at the same time produced superior and overconfident laughter from black audience members, which in apartheid would have been repressed or unseen. It seemed genuinely carnivalesque.

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The comedian's performance conveys that despite the ubiquity of globalization which stratifies particular ways of being multilingual, what is still crucial to understanding multilingual norms on the margins is the awareness of sets of bodily and linguistic competence schemes strongly linked to the practice and performance of a (multi)linguistic habitus in township spaces.

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Part 4

Discussion

Chapter 10
Discussion and Conclusion

10.0 Introduction

In this study, I wanted to explore an approach to multilingualism as a dynamic and mobile resource plied into the (re)production of agency and citizenship. To do so, I set out to investigate popular spaces of multilingual practices of youth in late-modern Cape Town – those popular spaces of Hip-Hop (in Club Stones, Kuilsriver) and food (a Tshisa-Nyama place, Mzoli's Meat, in Gugulethu). By way of introduction, this study recognized the accelerated dynamics of globalization and late-modernity as everyday and normative (Bauman, 2009), which in turn has ushered in new conditions for practices of multilingualism and new concepts of language (Rampton, 2005). On the one hand, globalization has meant that the notion of community has lost its modernist meaning of bounded and territorially closed markets of homogenous speakers to instead designate a stratified, porous, and heterogeneous linguistics of contact. On the other hand, late-modernity refers to the rapid social changes accompanying globalization where notions such as social class and institutions no longer predetermine speakers' agency to the same extent.

This study has attempted to respond to agendas by structural-functional linguists (see Heller, 2007) by focusing on late-modern contexts of transcultural flow, with a focus on popular spaces of Hip-Hop and Tshisa-Nyama. These contexts, I specifically demonstrated, revealed a complex transmodal semiotics and scaling of space in the distribution of macro and micro level multilingual practices that encompassed levels of hybridity that far exceed our modernist structural-functional frames of reference. I chose to focus on popular spaces because they represent cultural creolization, linguistic hybridity, social structural anarchy, and political economies of consumption that all figure within the complex patterning of language in late-modern time/space frames. In this final chapter of the study, I will now pull together

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the different threads that ran through the analysis of multilingualism in the previous chapters by first recapitulating a summary of the main points. To do this I bring out the parallels between the two popular spaces with respect to the stylization, entextualization and enregisterment of multilingualism in a context of transmodal semiotics and the affordances this view provides on multilingual repertoires. I then briefly discuss the notion of *multilingual citizenship*, as a way of exploring further research on multilingualism and linguistic agency in multilingual contexts.

I then proceed to a discussion of how further research on multilingual citizenship could benefit from being framed with reference to late modern *consumption*. In this context, I touch briefly on how notions of *authenticity* and the *body* – salient dimensions in consumption – could comprise important dimensions of developing ideas of multilingual citizenship, and I illustrate this with how these notions feature as significant organizing tropes in the transcultural and transidiomatic practices of Hip-Hop and Tshisa-Nyama, especially with respect to multilingualism. Finally, I draw out one implication that I believe careful consideration of multilingualism carry in these sites, namely a critical stance on the idea of a destructive and anti-democratic influence of World English.

10.1 Transmodal Popular Spaces: Multilingualism, Agency and Voice

10.1.1. Transmodal Semiotics of Popular Spaces

Popular spaces moulded different types of framings around multilingual practices. We noted that Club Stones could be described in terms of specific interactional routines, uses of language, and the design and unfolding of linguistic landscapes, and infrastructures in the forms of buildings, furnishings and spatial designs. The type of multilingual repertoire found there was of a type that we could call 'iconic' (Irvine and Gal, 2000: 27), in that the linguistic features, activities and practices appear to index the local nature of the context and interactional regimes that take place there. In Chapter 5, I discussed how this assemblage of practices and processes shaped

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(and was shaped by) constructions of identity and locality through particular forms of multilingual practices. The aim there was to demonstrate how the emcees stylize different voices in braggadocio through varieties of language and registers in front of a local audience, and how these voices can be understood as intertextual gaps that allow for the introduction and display of a variety of languages around local social concerns and 'keeping it real'. I suggested that the way the emcees use their language in Club Stones and the Hip-Hop show offers up a typical example of how youth on the Cape Flats use multilingualism to interact with each other in not only Hip-Hop spaces but in other spaces as well. In Chapter 6, I demonstrated how, in the processes of entextualization, a shared sense of locality emerged with respect to cipha performances in Club Stones. In the cipha performances, emcees used freestyle lyrics, rap music and styles, to convey different levels of linguistic ability and creativity. They produced linguistic and discursive features of local languages that spoke to core issues of how forms of language use are legitimated in multilingual performance and locality. The 'local' established by the emcees and their audience was accomplished partly using particular languages and their varieties and partly by indexical reference to spatial and non-spatial coordinates. In this process, the audience as co-constructer in the entextualization of locality was a significant feature in the emergence of the cipha performance. Features such as situated improvisations, reference to local discourses such as the Number Gangs, all figured in processes of entextualization. What came to be excluded and banned from the (joint) performance was the appropriation of lyrics from global hip-hop, the use of African American English (rather than Kaaps) – all generally features of an insufficient "remixing of the flow" (Pennycook, 2007: 117). The analyses revealed how the entextualization of locality in Club Stones, simultaneously, was an attempt at establishing a register (an enregisterment) of socially acceptable linguistic resources that circulated on the sociolinguistic landscape of the Cape Flats.

In Chapter 7, I moved on to a description of the complex make-up of Mzoli's Meat. The focus here was to demonstrate how semiotic resources are used to inscribe multiple languages and order them indexically within a material landscape in a local

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setting and how the particular place that is Mzoli's creates affordances for types of voice and agency distinct from the ones in the analysis of popular spaces of Hip-Hop. I emphasised there that it is imperative for us to understand how both linguistic and semiotic resources, such as written texts, building layouts, linguistic landscapes and soundscapes, frame the scaling of performances in popular spaces of Tshisa-Nyama, in order for us to understand the stylization and entextualization of multilingualism, agency and voice. In a complementary way to Club Stones, I found that Mzoli's Meat is a transmodal and transcultural space that has upscaled, or globalized the culture of Tshisa-Nyama. We explored the scaling of transmodal practices and how such a process affords the practice and performance of particular types of multilingualism. It is, as I pointed out in the previous three chapters, a transmodal space where speakers mix, blend, cross and bend languages in the midst of temporal configurations of global discourses of consumption and voyeurism. In Mzoli's Meat, I suggested that linguistic repertoires, semiotic landscapes and soundscapes were ordered according to principles of 'fractal recursivity', which involved the projection of an opposition, salient at some level of relationship onto some other level; in this case, a hierarchical ordering of materials along a core-periphery axis. This allowed us to compare how multilingualism in popular spaces of Tshisa-Nyama is a resource for speakers different to that of the use of languages, registers and speech styles in the popular spaces of Hip-Hop described and discussed in the previous chapters.

In Chapter 8, my concern was to demonstrate how the comedian draws on a metapragmatics of different voices to level a critique of, and parody, some contemporary and circulating socio-political discourses. I drew on Silverstein (1993) and Agha's (2007) semiotic theories of metapragmatic functions, metapragmatic awareness and metapragmatic stereotypes of speech to do this. I showed how the comedian draws on, and crosses in and out of different multilingual orders and contexts of conviviality. I demonstrate how his highly stylized (Coupland, 2007) performance presents different stance-takings and scaling in the way that language is intricately entwined with race, ethnicity and space. He does this by drawing on gestures, paralinguistic cues, positions and mannerisms (body stances)

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to show how multilingual speakers think about *being multilingual*. In addition, I argue that the stand-up comedian as a performer was incorporated into the convivial space of Mzoli's, with a fair idea of the audience in mind, that provided him with the impetus to transgress, that is, by using a powerful language to promote non-authoritative language varieties and registers through performances.

10.2 Multilingual Citizenship in late-modern Cape Town

The majority of the multilingual youth who participated in this research project and who performed popular spaces of Hip-Hop and Tshisa-Nyama reside in mainly historically constructed centres (places) of marginalization, namely townships. In post-apartheid South Africa, they vie for agency and voice as a way to chart their mobility upwards and out of their challenging circumstances. On the one hand, the use of multilingualism and even a single language like English prepares or helps them out of harsh socio-political and socio-economic realities. On the other hand, it ensnares them and keeps them locked in inequality because authoritative discourses have defined their multilingual practices. Mohanty (2010: 150) argues that "...when multilingualism is associated with inequality, it privileges few and disadvantages many". In post-apartheid South Africa there is still a pressing need to decouple multilingualism as inequality and exclusion and focus on multilingualism for greater voice and agency, that is, multilingual citizenship.

In more than one way, the examples in this study bring to the fore a number of issues regarding agency and voice. In this study, I have alluded to the need to understand the multilingual practices of the youth I have put a spotlight on, and the data I analysed, regardless of its messiness, have been interesting and linguistically complex. Nevertheless, a more pressing issue is to understand how, through multilingualism, according to Stroud (2009: 208), citizens have to negotiate 'new discourses of citizenship' in late-modern democracies such as South Africa. A focus on popular spaces of Hip-Hop and Tshisa-Nyama here have yielded a number of tensions or issues regarding linguistic diversity and linguistic prejudice (see Stroud

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and Heugh, 2011), and how multilingual citizens should behave or are framed as citizens in a post-apartheid and late-modern nation-state.

Multilingual Citizenship, or Linguistic citizenship, is a perspective on language and politics suggested by Christopher Stroud (2000; 2001; see also Stroud and Heugh, 2004) that "...recognizes the manifold challenges posed by late-modern contexts of migration and multilingualism for democracy and voice, and that takes as a central point of departure the desirability of constructing agency and maintaining voice across media, modalities and contexts" (2009: 208), or how multilingualism can be "both a facilitative and constraining factor in the exercise of democratic citizenship and voice" (Stroud, 2009: 208). By combining the tenets or practices of cosmopolitan citizenship and deliberative democracy, Stroud argues that multilingual citizenship could pry open those modalities and contexts where agency and voice are contested, where certain modernist and exclusionary forms of citizenship are enforced (compare for instance, Roth-Gordon, 2009, on the enregisterment of slang and citizenship in Brazil); and where language and multilingualism is used as a political resource in transitioned and changing societies that have today become truly superdiverse (Vertovec, 2007).

Multilingual citizenship emphasizes that languages, varieties and registers used across modalities and contexts, affirms larger democratic processes and structures to create inclusive and participatory spaces for citizens to interact. In this study, I have demonstrated how voice and agency are carried across various modalities and contexts, and how spaces for participatory citizenship opens up in the 'manipulation' of language and the enregisterment and entextualization of race, ethnicity and identity. I have offered up evidence from popular spaces on the tenuous nature of citizenry on the margins of South African society. The cultural practice of Hip-Hop is not considered mainstream and neither are practices at Mzoli's Meat. Historically, the youth I worked with in the popular spaces are by default disadvantaged. (This is no generalization, it is a fact). Linguistically and semiotically, they have mastered their own disadvantaged world (urban environments) for greater mobility, even though the community they find

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themselves in was created out of the forced removals of the apartheid government. They have defined their own mobility through multilingualism.

Mobility is an important cog in the deliberative democracy-cum-liberal economic policies wheel of South Africa, Stroud has argued extensively that instead of fixating on a linguistics of localization, we should focus rather on multilingual mobility. We need to do this in order to deconstruct the 'multiple encodings of discourse' (genres, texts, repertoires and registers) that transfigure the relationship between the multilingual speaker, language and her/his spatial context. What I found in the popular spaces of Hip-Hop and Tshisa-Nyama is that entextualization of the local and the concomitant enregisterment of genres allowed for the emergence of a semiotic space and gave legitimacy to multilingual practices that, in fact, created conditions favourable to the expression of marginalized identities and voices.

In general, the entextualization and enregisterment of multilingualism in popular spaces offered up semiotically framed spaces where youth are able to engage with a wider set of issues relating to their positions in society in general, such as, in other contexts, sexuality, politics, and social transformation. What is of interest is that the youth themselves are actively "working" with an alternative sense of language, creating new norms and standards and revealing in stark clarity the micro-processes behind the formation of registers. They are themselves exercising "...control over their language, deciding what languages are, and what they may mean, and where language issues ... are discursively tied to a range of social issues" (Stroud, 2001: 353), for the practice of agency and voice as multilingual citizenship. What we see here is precisely how a grassroots and polycentric practice of multilingualism is simultaneously creating the conditions and contexts for multilingual citizenship.

So, in this thesis I have suggested that in the context of multilingual South Africa, generally, the practice of popular culture is an important resource for not only understanding multilingualism, but also for understanding how multilingualism creates the conditions that make it possible for multiple voices to become heard and manifested. This prompted us to examine how non-authoritative and marginal

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discourses circulate in popular spaces, and how they are taken up in, and through, being linked to varieties of language in multilingual mixes in bids for linguistic agency.

More specifically, I explored the potential for a notion of multilingual citizenship and have therefore looked closely at the nature of the local multilingual practices that permit marginal voices to be heard in public arenas. I have employed core analytical notions of stylization and entextualization to account for what features of discourse are lifted out of context and used to perform voice in popular spaces. The analyses need to be seen against my suggestion that a productive politics for a late modern society of mobility, and subsequent understandings of citizenship, voice and agency, is in essence a 'politics of conviviality'. A politics of conviviality presents an alternative to (neo-) liberal deliberative takes on politics as purely institutional and 'disembodied', limited solely to programmes and constituencies dealing with the here-and-now. It attends to a politics of broad associations working outside of a single rational public arena of democratic deliberative, consensus-seeking Habermasian public debate. It is a politics that recognizes that conflict is at the heart of the democratic project itself (Mouffe, 2000), and that politics is ultimately about possibility and futurity (Badiou, 1988; Grosz, 1999).

A general finding here is how multilingualism is represented and practised *transgressively* as manifested in elements highly indexical of criminal, marginal and socially stigmatized identities, in the case of the rappers, and in contempt for the use of African languages or accents, in the case of Nik Rabinowitz. (This is perhaps particularly remarkable in an officially multilingual nation that recognizes 11 official languages). The heteroglossic features and polysystemic forms of expression that speakers deploy serve to counter censorious and authoritative voices that seek to constrain the practice of multilingualism in public spaces that seem increasingly defined by monolingualism and monoglot linguistic policing (Blommaert, 2009). This provides the conditions for "agency-against-the-grain, at the moment of performance, and challenges institutional procedures that not only assume but may

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serve to reinforce existing social categories" (H& W, p. 124). According to Rose (2000)

> ...minor practices of citizen formation are linked to a politics of the cramped spaces of action on the here and now, of attempts to reshape what is possible in specific spaces of immediate action, which may connect up and destabilise larger circuits of power (Rose, 2000, p. 100)

Secondly, both performances of Hip Hop and comedy at Mzoli's typically display a multilingualism of entanglement – where the rappers and the comedian embody in one and the same voice, the multiple voices that make up the local context. Nik's performance in particular emphasizes an interesting form of entanglement, that is, an entanglement of cultures, histories, languages, spaces – realized in paralinguistic imitations of the isiXhosa body and reflecting a particular mode of corporeal generosity (Diprose, 2002), that is underscored by the Afrikaner's question: "who the hell is this Xhosa albino guy?" Rather than a conventionally understood multilingualism of compartmentalization stuck to strand-based identities, we find a performance of multiple voices that transcend that separation of the encounter.

A third feature of multilingualism from the perspective of linguistic citizenship here is how multilingual encounters (negotiations of diversity, inclusion and exclusion) are depicted through interpersonal exchanges of a fairly mundane and everyday type (e.g. greetings) that take place in the everyday, local grassroots context. It is surely significant is the trope of the encounter frames multilingual entanglements in the South African context, clearly pointing to the salience of the 'collision' of strand-based identities. This allows for a particular interpretation of the local in determining linguistic practices and their indexical values. The meaning conveyed by the comedian and the emcees is that despite the ubiquity of globalization and concomitant translocal scaling of multilingualism, the local is

crucial to understanding the play of linguistic agency and voice on the margins. In both cases, the importance of the local was set off against a transgressive reflection on norms of English and the confused foreigner/outsider with a monoglot and stratified idea of language that came up short when in contact with the local realities. The local is not necessarily consensual, however. Mouffe (2000) has noted how a democratic politics is a politics of agonism, of contest and conflict rather than a necessary consensus. Because "participants mutual orientation to signs and messages" (Agha, 2007: 69) is often from diverse positions of interest, we cannot presuppose mutual understanding in diverse contexts, and shouldn't be looking for consensus necessarily (Goebel, 2010; Blommaert and Rampton, 2011).

A fourth feature of multilingual citizenship displayed here is the importance of non-expertness, even anti-expertness. Languages are used in ways that go against the grain or norm of standard forms of use, raising eyebrows among monolingual and monoglot figures of authority. It is the practice of crossing boundaries, either linguistically or otherwise, that is seen as 'inexpert', probably on the basis that it violates essentialist identities and senses of authenticity and skill (e.g. nativeness) linked to 'real' identities. Inexpertness is surely also a component of the condescending attitude that Nik is accused of. However, at the same time, in-expertness is what opens up horizontal networks of communication, as well as transgression against a normative order and the emphasis on the local. At the same time, the performances critically reveal how a normative stance, recognizing only particular ways of speaking as legitimate, owned and authentic, (and that may carry legal implications pertaining to 'minority speaker rights'), are issued to established categories such as 'the native' in ways that ultimately discourages conviviality.

The analysis developed here for a politics of language in contexts of transformation such as South Africa suggests that a priority should be a linguistic citizenship for conviviality. The prevalence of multiple normativities and polycentric local practices suggest a critique of a politics of language that relies on discourses of linguistic artefactualisation and temporal fixity of language. The momentariness and uncertainty of 'language in becoming' means in turn that discourses on language

politics need to move away from statements of facts to engagements with possibilities, shifting the "status and form of expertise" (Hinchliffe and Whatmore, 2006: 131) from experts to grassroots – to those who 'live inexpertly'. Thus rather than attention to scaled linguistic productions, focus should be on new forms of horizontal linguistic communion, that is, away from the 'given' (the recognized linguistic system) in favour of linguistic practice and improvisation, and to how messages circulate in everyday, informal networks (Stroud, 2001).

A number of recent studies have covered similar ground to this study in tracking how everyday linguistic processes, such as enregisterment, contribute to shifting practices of citizenship and agency (cf. e.g. Newell, 2009 for Cote d'Ivoire Goebel, 2009, for Indonesia; Gordon, 2000 for Brazilian favelas; Stroud, 2011; Kerfoot, 2012 for South Africa). However, the processes we have looked at here speak of how languages may be formed politically, as languages are not entities that "preexist our linguistic performances" but are "the sedimented products of repeated acts of identity" (Pennycook, 2007: 13).

10.3 Moving forward: Consumption in Popular Spaces

Given the discussion on multilingual citizenship above, I now want to suggest a future path for research on multilingualism in popular spaces. The entextualization and stylization of multilingualism in late-modernity can be seen as temporary states of coalescence where we see enregistered bits and pieces of language, dialects, styles and varieties, and multisemioticity of expression as a result of rapid movements in space, transitions, contacts, flows of texts and flows of rhythm, flows of people, through mobilities. In popular spaces we find repertoires passing through, stopping to circulate, and 'consumed' (Canlini, 2001) by multilingual speakers. In order for us to move beyond structural-functional views of multilingualism, I want to argue that we need to seriously consider that multilingualism is a special case of one semiotized feature of an assemblage of production and consumption structures,

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brought about by the enregisterment of different features such as authenticity, semiotic representations of place, and normativities.

As such, discourses of consumption should not be taken lightly, because in globalization it has complexified the way we view multilingualism, culture and citizenship. In the case of this study, I viewed popular spaces as a node in globalization processes that produce products of consumption for the participants lingering in those spaces (cf. Riley, 2007), as not, according to Canclini (2001: 5): "mere setting [s] for useless expenditures and irrational impulses, but as…site[s] that [are] good for thinking, where a good part of economic, sociopolitical, and psychological rationality is organized in all societies.

In the process of commodifying cultures such as Hip-Hop and Tshisa-Nyama, an array of consumable products are now made possible that are easily appropriated and consumed because of globalization, new media and porous nation-state borders. Canclini (2001: 17-18) asserts that we should not underestimate the power of popular cultural objects because they are designed for our pleasure, not to help us "…lose any necessary tie to territories of origin" or that they are part of "…a process of multinational assemblage, a flexible articulation of parts, a montage of features that any citizen in any country, of whatever religion or ideology, can use", but to see it as creating a unique niche among youth who practice cultures such as Hip-Hop and Tshisa-Nyama (Robins, 2005), in deliberative democracies for greater participation. In this way, cultures such as Hip-Hop and Tshisa-Nyama are commodities, value-laden objects that are produced in consumption structures (Appadurai, 1986): it is those "…things that at a certain *phase* in their careers and in particular *context*, meet the requirements of commodity candidacy" (Appadurai, 1986: 16, italics in original). This implies a number of things for how we approach agency and voice and how we understand multilingualism to feature in an assemblage of semiotic objects in the process of enregisterment.

Holston and Appadurai (1996: 189) argues that in times of globalization, city spaces are becoming new and unpredictable disjunctive places where "citizens are producing new (in some cases expansive, in some restrictive) notions of

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membership and solidarity"[27]. Thus, I suggest that we have to take into consideration the discourses surrounding cultural and linguistic citizenship and consumption practices in late-modernity, because, I have argued throughout this study, popular spaces of Hip-Hop and Tshisa-Nyama do not share the same logic in the production and consumption of linguistic and non-linguistic products. On the one hand, following Hill and Ramsaran (2009: 142), Hip-Hop is more than "beats now, it is a lifestyle" and because of this it has gained 'tremendous profit potential' for the artists and media corporations who produce the culture as a consumable object. On the other hand, consumption practices of Tshisa-Nyama in places across black townships in South Africa are becoming increasingly upscaled and commodified for a global market. Thus, a future line of research on multilingualism and consumption in popular spaces would endeavor to illustrate most clearly how the city of Cape Town, and its outlaying townships form part of *glocal* commodification processes set in circulation by none other than multilingual speakers. Thus, it is incumbent on us to demonstrate how popular spaces are places for consumption – a liminal space - deliberately designed to put on display value-laden objects: be it a space for stylizing bodies (Coupland and Gwyn, 2003); a space for drinking (Van Wolputte and Fumanti, 2011); or just purely a leisure space for the enjoyment of popular music such as local Hip-Hop (Künzler, 2011), Kwaito or House Music (Steingo, 2005).

In this study, the data offered evidence that it is not so much the globalization or localization of popular cultural practices in popular spaces, but an encountering of the commodified artifacts (language, authenticity, senses of place and space, and group acceptance) produced as popular and "as something constructed rather than as preexistent". A future focus on that which is staged, framed along commercial and globalized and localized consumption discourses, would be to engage in further research on multilingualism in late-modern Cape Town, especially given how popular spaces produce (afford) assemblages of multilingual practices. In particular,

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[27] This Stroud and Jegels (forthcoming) and Stroud and Mpendukana (2009) have illustrated beautifully with their material ethnographies of township spaces in Cape Town.

the findings in this study suggest two directions in which an exploration of consumption, multilingualism and citizenship might proceed in future work, namely looking more closely at *authenticity* and the *somatics* of the body. I will briefly comment on these two notions in the following subsections.

10.3.2 Authenticities in Popular Spaces

The simultaneous co-occurrence of multiple authenticities in popular spaces, as I have shown, supports the research on polycentricity and interactional regimes in multilingual spaces that has emerged in sociolinguistics literature over the last few years (Blommaert, Slembrouck and Collins, 2005b). I have attempted to demonstrate in this study that popular spaces of Hip-Hop and Tshisa-Nyama are organizing matrices where authenticity is multiple and features as an important node in the organization of multilingualism. In the Hip-Hop spaces it is the rap "ideology of authenticity" that emerged in performances (Pennycook, 2007) and in the burning meat spaces it is the "order of authenticity" that emerges in practice and communication between locals, patrons and tourists (the distinction between them). This corroborates other research on language, popular culture and authenticity (Terkourafi, 2010; Wang, 2010; West, 2007; 2010; Blommaert and Varis, ftc; Varis and Wang, 2011).

Based on the analyses of the multilingual data in popular spaces, a concluding statement could be made about the existence of an economy of authenticities that multilingual youth draw on to stylize and enregister multilingualism and social categories in various ways in this study. We saw that authenticity is tied to different language varieties set in the processes of entextualization and enregisterment in various ways and for various purposes, the least linked to various forms of dress style, body comportments and encounters with other multilingual speakers who do the same. According to Wang (2010), "authenticity is about norms as much as innovations...orientating towards different orders of authenticity concurrently": that is, the simultaneous co-occurrence of multiple authenticities. Similarly,

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Blommaert and Varis argue that "in different niches of our social and cultural lives, we arrange features in such a way that they enable others to identify us as 'authentic', 'real' members of social groups, even if this authenticity comes with a lower rank as 'apprentice' with a particular field".

The first scenario, popular spaces of Hip-Hop, showed that multilingualism and Hip-Hop practices figure as part of the global linguistic flows and that authenticity is a core feature of such performances. The examples I have given in this study show that authenticity comes about in the downscaling of Hip-Hop as rescaled to discursive practices and performances of rap music. I have demonstrated in this study that local forms of rap is a struggle between how much of a local or global language to use, what to wear on stage, how to 'keep it real' by using a prison register, and 'representing' place. These, I further showed, develop into a struggle and contest between crossing and blending language, place and space. As such, in popular spaces of Hip-Hop, authenticity is not only contesting, but multiple and co-occuring. Thus, to be original in the Hip-Hop and rap culture of urban Cape Town, that is, to keep it real through language, dress and style, and to represent place and space, means that authenticity for many in the local Hip-Hop community is to ultimately perform a Cape style of rap (to build on Haupt, 2003).

In this study I have tried to demonstrate how emcees entextualized different rap performance genres in local languages, varieties and registers to be acknowledged as authentic in their rap identity practices. What we can take from my analyses is that part of performing in local varieties is to revalorize the marginality of language varieties but also to multilingually devalorize or deregister a powerful language such as English. By deregisterment I mean not to enregister but relegate and/or remove to the side a powerful language for the advancement of less powerful languages, varieties and registers. (I will provide a note below on the notion as it relates to enregisterment).

We saw that emcees rejected (deregistered) aspects of English but appropriated linguistic forms from African-American English (AAE) to proclaim that they don't sound like English emcees but embrace the idea that, in order to tell their stories,

they needed to do so in a local language through which they were socialized. This find corroborates other research on Hip-Hop around the world (see West, 2009, Terkourafi, 2010). In particular, in the on-stage cipha performances emcees struggled and competed linguistically against the use of a global language such as English. There was a continuous downscaling in the performance that enforced local rap genres to be expressed in local varieties and registers. These performative framings and stances resembled a resemiotization of the global Hip-Hop ideologies of authenticity in the popular spaces of Hip-Hop in the enregistering of a more local order where multiple authenticities were present.

Among the emcees themselves, the local variety Kaaps features strongly in multilingual rap repertoires, and, in the Hip-Hop show, as I have described before, Kaaps is enregistered and English deregistered (marginalized) for the purpose of downscaling the discursive-linguistic aspects of global Hip-Hop, in the local context. At the level of linguistic forms, for instance, we find emcees uttering names of famous rappers or famous rap places to *keep it real* in English by expressing their cultural authenticity tied discursively to global Hip-Hop practices. English served other purposes as well. In the performance of braggadocio, for instance, local varieties of English were enregistered to culturally keep it real and represent one's place in Cape Town Hip-Hop. We saw in Chapter 5 how in the on-stage performance of the MobCoW crew, only two emcees used English to brag about their sexual exploits, their financial worth, and physical prowess. In one case, some of the English lyrics were meta-commentary on swagger as a particular rap style that has been linguistically localized. Even though a variety of English was performed, the majority of the braggadocio performance was dominated by the use of Kaaps, an urban form of isiXhosa, and prison registers such as Sabela and Tsotsitaal.

Outside the regular hosting of the Hip-Hop show, the spatial aspects are different because there is no physical stage. There the young multilingual emcees shift between languages and cross varieties and registers to resemble the type of speech model they use in their daily multilingual practices. They encounter each other as multilingual speakers who are conversant on a variety of topics, stories and

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incidents. There, more than in the club situation, the enregisterment of Kaaps was pursued.

We saw that, besides the overall cohesion of MobCoW family as a rap group, multilingualism became an important feature of that group's authenticity. Multilingualism in the MobCoW family is important the emcees understand the value of local languages and the use of English to be combined and used together with local languages, varieties and registers to demonstrate their linguistic virtuosity as "...a crystallization of the situation choices and combinations of possibilities provided by the varieties fully or partially available to them" (Watkins, 2000: 107). As such, by being defined as a multilingual group MobCoW emcees were protected from rival monolingual crews (cf. Watkins, 2000: 108). What this inevitably meant was that the various language and registers used by MobCoW emcees on and off-stage created co-occurring authenticities based on everyday multilingual practices.

In the popular space of Tshisa-Nyama, that is, Mzoli's Meat, different sorts of authenticity were also being played out simultaneously. The difference and similarities between local patrons, and the difference between local patrons and tourists, were from all the interaction that figured in the play of different authenticities here. In the ethnographic framing of Mzoli's Meat I showed how the way locals interact with each other is significantly different from how tourists interacted among themselves and the locals. On the one hand this had to do with the semiotics of the place itself, but naturally the language practices of the locals and tourists at Mzoli's. The locals (from Gugulethu) used local languages, registers and varieties to interact with each other, but also be connoted as being authentically local, and in a local place. In relation to locals who travelled from adjacent townships, they too mixed languages, varieties and registers and were by such practices denoted as authentically local in Mzoli's (as a local place). By contrast, we find that the tourists – as global travelers – positioned themselves and were positioned by locals as authentic global speakers who use English as a way to

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navigate and manage the multilingual space of Mzoli's. Thus, different sorts of authenticity were figured (ways of being global or local at Mzoli's).

Mzoli's Meat is a local commercial venture that has been globalized, upscaled, and has had a significant impact on what it means to be a local, a tourist or a patron at the place. Experiencing the popular township restaurant was not only a matter of encounters between speakers of different languages but it was also about identifying patrons who drove fancy cars, or stayed away from reserved tables for tourists. It is about looking at how patrons, tourists and locals take photos with each other as friends and as strangers. It is about locals teaching tourists how to dance.

Young people, students, tourists and regular patrons converge on Mzoli's with more than three languages. The tourists with languages such as German, French and English, the students with local languages such as Sesotho, Shona, isiXhosa and Afrikaans, and regular patrons with varieties such as Kaaps, local varieties of English and prison registers. There was no single language such as English that demarcated linguistic authenticity, as Chapter 8 demonstrates, except for indexing English as a global language spoken by both locals and tourists. English is used by patrons and tourists alike as a *lingua franca*, as the interview data demonstrated, and whether a multilingual speaker had only limited competency in that language, it did not exclude that speaker because the emphasis was not on competence so much as on performance (to follow Hymes, 1981).

Authenticity also appears as a structure in the comedian's effort to highlight non-authoritative and marginal discourses of heterogeneous voices that circulated in popular spaces of Tshisa-Nyama. The comedian stylized multilingualism to convey information about identity practices and ethnicity in transgressive ways. By revealing norms of language interaction on the margins, a different sense of authenticity, of what it means to be local emerged. We saw how this was demonstrated through techniques of humour and different language varieties and accents to elicit laughter from audience members. By parodying different accents, the comedian translated his performance through exaggerated accents that belong to agents and voices on the margins of township life. He challenged monolingual

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assumptions and censorious voices that seek to exclude multilingual practices on the periphery from the centre, by emphasizing the polycentric and transmodal design of multilingual spaces in South African society, to bring forth the very conditions that make possible the heterogeneity of voices in Mzoli's Meat. The way in which he parodied local accents of isiXhosa, Kaaps, Yiddish and Arabic thus serves to carry authenticity. We find in his performance repertoire a shifting between the daily practices of multilingual speakers who made up the audience at Mzoli's. By using English the comedian enregistered isiXhosa, Kaaps and ethnic accents as "...the benchmark for being admitted into an identity category..." (Blommaert and Varis, ftc.).

10.3.2. Somatics in Popular Spaces

One of the many experiences of young people in popular spaces has been that of the body, meaning-making through the body, and/or what the body denotes and indexes, because "when language is combined with music and bodily movement, it can take on a very different set of meanings" (Pennycook, 2007: 118; who draws on Shusterman, 2000; 2005). Performances of the body offer up new dimensions for understanding the conditions within which language is set: that is, "a range of ways of thinking about language performance, not as the unregulated by-product of competence, but as the socially embedded and culturally embodied use of language" (Pennycook, 2007: 63; cf. Coupland and Gwyn, 2003).

In this thesis, I attempted to highlight the very dimensions of culturally and socially embodied uses of language. I demonstrated how different body stances in the popular spaces of Hip-Hop are framed around the idea of being 'tough' and/or 'toughness'. In Chapter 5 we saw how tough body stances were indexed in Kaaps and the prison registers Sabela and Tsotsitaal. This also featured strongly in the cipha performances analysed in Chapter 6.

In the performance of braggadocio most of the emcees used Kaaps and the prison registers to denigrate their opponents physically. By using forms from those

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registers and language varieties, they attempted to contextually deregister (push to the side) rival rap artists' use of English in their performances, which did not link up strongly to a tough body stance. The use of local varieties and registers as indexical of 'tough men' were enregistered in their performances and demonstrated that when an emcee starts to use forms such as "pikinini" (boy, not adult), "gazi" (blood, or my brother), and "kapettos" (axing), he made specific reference to body stance as a way of framing toughness. In other instances we saw that when rappers and emcees use Kaaps to perform beef, they physically pointed into the crowd at an emcee or moved towards other emcees to intimidate them. The use of Sabela, in particular, was a way to intimidate your opponent on-stage enregistered through the 'tough' body stance by using words such as "dala", "tsais" or "hosh",. In a similar way, we discovered in the cipha performances that a tough body stance emerged in the use of local words from Kaaps and the prison registers by Emcee Keaton, in Chapter 6. This was done to not only enforce the localness of rap music but to also emphasise the transmodal practices of popular spaces of Hip-Hop and, most importantly, the significance of the words appropriated by the performers as being representative of the daily multilingual practices of youth on the Cape Flats.

In contrast, body stances at Mzoli's Meat were indexed through language and performance in rather different ways. In this study, the most unique example I analyzed was the comedian who in different accents and voices performed body stances or embodied practices that resembled that of isiXhosa, Yiddish, Arabic and Kaaps speakers. The comedian's performance included body stances that were framed in such a way that each physical movement and mannerism was not only humorously performed, but also cleverly linked to the daily multilingual practices of the speakers of those languages. For instance, the comedian's embodied performance brought out those paralinguistic cues, positions and mannerisms that are not only unique to multilingual speakers, but managing to represent this to tourists and other non-locals at Mzoli's as to how it is to be a multilingual in South Africa. He illustrated the heterogeneity of voice linked to being multilingual, but also

how multilingualism is embodied by interactions that can typically define or locate a racial or ethnic group through the slightest hand movement and body stance.

10.4 English Globalization over Multilingualism

No study of multilingualism, voice and agency would be complete without a nod in the direction of one of the most stubborn debates in contemporary linguistic history, namely the impacts of the globalization of English on practically every question, from language loss to linguistic and cultural imperialism. South Africa and its metropolitan centres have always been multilingual since the age of colonialism (Giliomee, 2005), homeland creations, apartheid and its recent role as a late-comer to late-modernity and globalization, a player in the new global market economy (Stiglitz, 2002). Its past reveals that the power and appeal of the English language has been interlinked with a social reality during a volatile period of colonialism. As colonialism became firmly entrenched (with a steady growing metropolitan area already thriving in the Cape), the British agreed in 1806 to undertake control of Cape Town. Soon thereafter there was increased migration by British settlers, and with the spread of English into areas such as the Eastern Cape (1820s), Natal (by 1848s) and as far as the Witwatersrand (by the 1870s) (Giliomee, 2003; 2007). Between two South African wars, the colonial administration sought through numerous inexhaustible attempts to capture the imagination of the native subject by reinforcing English, but the language remained a restricted feature of public life only (de Klerk, 1997; see also special issue by Kamwangamalu, 2002). Even though Afrikaans gained momentum through a birth in reality and social and power balances (Lanham, 1996; McCormick, 2002), English was used most prominently where it concerned developments in the commercial industry, in the scientific field, technologization of global society, and as a language of wider communication, entrenching an unassailable position (Bowerman, 2000). Its role today, as history narrates, was not that it was relegated to the margins by the immense strides undertaken by the apartheid regime to promote Afrikaans (de Klerk, 1996: 7), but

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the strides undertaken by the post-apartheid government to bring African languages to an equal footing of historically dominating languages.

Since 1994, the public discourse around the innocuous position of English, the supposed precarious state of functional Afrikaans, and the potential of African languages have shed many skins and taken on many forms. Some of the alarmist reactions at the turn of democracy, doomsday prophets, argued that the spread of English in South Africa would head a consolidation of the elite class, continued domination of the marginalized, a deepening of social injustice, and a steady rush toward language loss for and amongst African speakers. The debate at the time hardly dispelled fear of English. However, in the new democratic South Africa, English is understood as a language (with many forms) used in not only the practice and performance of multilingualism (cf. Banda, 1996; 2000; Ridge, 2004; McKinney, 2007; Mesthrie, 2008, Gxilishe, 2009), but to characterize the use of multilingualism on the margins of South African society.

Given the importance of English in the multilingual context of South Africa, I would therefore like to conclude this thesis with some reflections on what possible contributions a study of multilingualism on the periphery, such as this one, might make to some of the more salient issues in this debate. In the introduction of this thesis, I posited that multilingualism is qualitatively different in late-modernity and globalization, to earlier societal phases. I demonstrated in the study of multilingualism in popular spaces that late-modern contexts such as Cape Town are determined by both language practices from below and globalization from above. In the examples given in the last six chapters, local languages are used with a global language such as English to enrich multilingual practice and performance. The youth who used different varieties, registers and English did so to brand social and cultural identities, and to participate in the transmodal environment of the popular spaces. We experienced how English was used to open up discursive frames for re-indexicalization and re-contextualization of African languages such as isiXhosa and very marginal registers such as Sabela and Tsotsitaal. The empirical data provided in this study suggest the value of researching multilingualism on the margins of late-

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modern societies, and at the same time hopefully offered material to fuel the hotly debated theories about language and globalization (Kachru, 1985; Graddol, 1997; Phillipson, 1992; 2010; Pennycook, 2007). This in turn carries implications for researching the study of multilingualism and globalization.

A dominant take in scholarly and popular literature on language globalization is the importance accorded to English linguistic processes of globalization (see Leung, Hendley and Haley, 2009). For the last three decades, English in globalization has been a dominant theme of sociolinguistic and multilingual research, basically because of documented changes that late-modern societies have undergone. Three theoretical stances in particular have dominated the language and globalization debate, namely the paradigm of World Englishes, Linguistic Imperialism and Global Englishes. In this section, I will briefly consider those debates, discussions and models in order to suggest a re-orientation to the study of multilingualism, in late-modern Cape Town.

10.4.1 World [is] Englishes

The paradigm of World Englishes is one body of research that has approached multilingual spaces as a problem of understanding the spread of varieties of English used in multilingual contexts. For more than three decades it has deployed a particular theoretical perspective and methodological repertoire that underpins the many pedagogical, ideological (conspiratorial), and power-related issues central to the debates addressed in its journal (Graddol, 1997; Kachru, 1985; Bhatt, 2001; Tripathi, 1998; Yano, 2001). Kachru and colleagues have formulated theoretical agendas which have been captured in a concentric model metaphor (Jenkins, 2003: 15-8). Kachru himself had admitted that a number of problems were inherent in the concentric model (cf. Jenkins, 2003: 17-8, for a meticulous list of these limitations). Even though other revised models have been suggested by Tripathi (1998) and Yano (2001), the central argument has remained, namely that English is still spreading at a fast pace and that the language presents us with unprecedented opportunities for

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understanding the practice of multilingualism in globalization. This study demonstrates, however, a different understanding of the spread of English.

A main point of concern that can be levelled against the World Englishes is that it has largely underemphasized the functional usage of the varieties that exist within the Expanding Circle. By emphasizing that the Inner Circle is norm-providing, it has implied that the use of English in the Expanding Circle is dysfunctional. On the one hand, there has been an inclination on behalf of the norm-dependent countries of the Outer Circle to emphasize emerging, new varieties, but little is yet known about whether the practices of these varieties imply any new understanding of English over and above how English is used and spoken in Inner Circle countries. Perhaps an argument such as "...it is no longer useful to look for varieties of English (world Englishes) as variants on a central linguistic monolith. Rather, English is sedimentation of semiotic (re)constructions" (Pennycook, 2003: 528), is a useful comparison. But the issue today is that in late modernity, it is questionable whether any sort of centric model can adequately capture forms of English without closely looking at every day practices of English in conjunction with other languages as they traverse multilingual spaces and functions (Pennycook, 2007).

This study suggests ways of revisiting the debate of world Englishes further from a multilingual vantage point, because where English occurs in the world speakers use English and encounter it through different multilingual genres and performances. What I have argued throughout this study is that in popular spaces, English, like all the local registers and varieties of languages used in this study, are enregistered for specific purposes at specific moments. Because we have dealt with transmodal popular spaces, speakers understood that sometimes the use of English is not the only semiotic mode in the practice of multilingualism. Instead, there is an awareness among groups of speakers that many if not all can shift (cross) into language and bend and blend language when the moment is called upon. This awareness is not only about multilingual repertoires and the abilities to practices and perform them, but rather also about the range of those repertoires: it is about the space where (speaking) English and (doing) multilingualism occurs; it is about

getting heard in spaces where sound dominates; it is about being (embodying) multilingual that matters; and it is about regulating (deregistering) some languages, in particular English, to the side (into the background) to advance (enregister) other more marginalized and non-authoritative languages, varieties and registers that in the end produces new authenticity(s) and new ownerships or forms of linguistic agency.

By drawing on popular spaces to understand how young people represent multilingualism in discursive and metadiscursive ways, what we find is that those very marginal spaces are upscaled (made global) and downscaled (made local) in such a way that it requires speakers to not only use a powerful symbolically loaded language such English, for branding and stylizing identities, but a combination of forms from multilingual repertoires to be authentic. We also experienced that when English is indeed used for long stretches of performance, as in the comedian's case, it was to emphasise South Africa's linguistic diversity (African languages), ways of being multilingual, and the ecology of multilingualism. These findings carry potential variety of implications for world Englishes study.
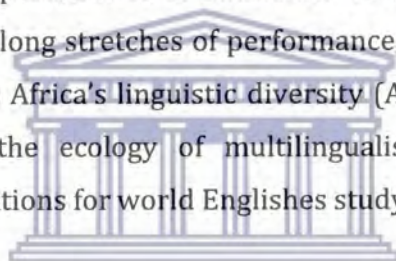
10.4.2 English Suppression of Multilingualism

In spite of the dominance of English and its relation to multilingualism, it is fair to argue that what is often acutely missed in research on Linguistic Imperialism is demonstrating how multilingual speakers actually use *English on their own terms* (see Canagarajah, 2000). In research on English in late-modern societies, most discussions have dealt with English as the prime mover of globalization and the claim that "English therefore embodies certain domineering ideological and discursive tendencies which periphery speakers have to always negotiate judiciously" (Canagarajah, 2000: 130). In this study, however, I was at pains to demonstrate that it was not so much English that is used as a way to be global, in some instances, yes, but about how it is used as both a local and global speaker rather than a speaker of any language. In the Hip-Hop data, English is removed from

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the picture to advance the use of a marginalized variety in Cape Town, Kaaps, while in the Tshisa-Nyama data English is enregistered to frame the recognition of African languages such as isiXhosa, isiZulu and registers such as Tsotsitaal.

The argument certainly in times of globalization and late-modernity should not only be that English suppresses, or that it restricts or excludes, but how multilingual speakers use the language to create multilingual spaces. Given the nature in which English has been inserted in South Africa, it has obviously become a language used by multilingual speakers to shape and navigate inclusion and exclusion. Even though I think the debate should be far bigger than the exclusionary and linguistic imperialist arguments of Phillipson, a theory of practice (Pennycook, 2010b) would do well to illustrate that on a very local scale multilingual speakers are not threatened by a language such as English, but are acutely aware of how to manipulate (deregister) it for the purpose of multilingual enregisterment in performance and practice. The data in this thesis suggest that the fatalistic arguments pursued by Phillipson need powerful rethinking because where English is taken up and where it is the focus of creativity, it focuses on linguistic agency. If the debate is continuously about the dominant and imperialist position of English in multilingual contexts, then what the multilingual practice and performance examples illustrate from the two popular spaces here is the uptake and distribution of that language to negotiate the use of other languages.

Linguistic imperialism is filled with persuasive examples as to why English is today dominant, hegemonic and spreads a particular Western ideology. To Phillipson these examples (structures, projects and processes) are the very fundamentalism which the paradigm seeks to deconstruct. Linguistic Imperialism is 'naïve about the way in which political systems impose themselves' by emphasizing ideology and thus vetoing other significant and enlightening features, such as locally scaled linguistic practices under globalization. Its tone and message is 'patronizing'. There is less consideration of language contact and more of 'a static, non-dynamic interaction' (Spolsky, 2000). Phillipson (2001; 2009) undoubtedly does not see linguistic imperialism and globalization as a strong relationship for promoting

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linguistic diversity. Unfortunately his vision and paradigm are out of par with late modern shifts in society and language use. Therefore, for him, globalization and English linguistic imperialism are doing more harm than good.

Over and above the arguments advanced in Linguistic Imperialism as it relates to the domination of English, the paradigm leads to essentialist remedies that can be considered as part of the processes of unified markets. My study provides evidence that it is not about how English suppresses, but at best how multilingualism is used to navigate linguistically complex neighbourhoods, streets and communities. Of course, this may not be true for more linguistically homogenous communities, but for the sake of multilingual diversity, one cannot escape the reality that monolingual space is becoming more and more inclusive and exclusive, because of the ways in which the transmodal use of English is traded and converted into multilingualism for material and symbolic gains.

10.4.3 Global Englishes: Beyond Creativity

The debate about English Globalization is far different in Global Englishes studies. In a key text, entitled, "English as a global language", David Crystal opens on a victorious note on how the language "...presents us with unprecedented possibilities for mutual understanding" (Crystal, 2003: viii). It is a global language, and in fact the very definition of multilingualism in the Global Englishes paradigm. Crystal maintains that what basically constitutes a global language, why it should be called a global language, and the future of global language, is English: the obvious winner in the global language race. For Crystal, English is the epitome of what a global language should look like. However, Bruthiaux (2003) suggests that frankly the position of English today is slowly declining and that other languages are up for global language status. Languages such as Bengali, Hindi, Kiswahili, Malay, Portuguese, Arabic, Spanish, Japanese, German, Russian, French, Chinese and Esperanto are some contenders at the base of changing the bid of Crystal's global language design. The possibility that any of these languages could usurp the position

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of English as the current global language, according Bruthiaux, could very well become a reality if the forces of globalizations desire it to be (Hardt and Negri, 2000; Mignolo, 2000).

However, Pennycook breaks significantly with perspectives in both Crystal and Bruthiaux's works, especially by providing empirical evidence for the assertion that "it is impossible to understand the global spread and use of English without considering the local contexts of its use" (ibid, 2007: 112). Pennycook's work argues forcefully that Global Englishes, as well as World Englishes, have inherited the structural-functional tradition I discussed in the introduction to this study, because "global language use, and in particular the global spread of English, remains largely tied to an earlier era of sociolinguistics, in which identities are pre-given and tied to nationalities" (Pennycook, 2003: 515). Caught in between language essentialist and language diversity arguments, Pennycook argues that Global Englishes research finds it difficult to describe what is currently happening in globalization regarding the rich practices of multilingualism.

Concerned less with Crystal's triumphant overtures of English as a Global language, or Phillipson's fatalistic interludes, Pennycook has shown in his work how Hip-Hop as a cultural practice provides conditions for the stylization and mixing of language to perform identities and voice. His critique of World Englishes points out that the paradigm (in part) "excludes numerous contexts where language use is seen as too complex" (Pennycook, 2003: 520), and South Africa forms part of that exclusion.

Global Englishes as a paradigm, put forward by Crystal, forms part of a blend of 'critical theories of globalization' in that it provides the vocabulary to argue against the imperial tendencies of the other two opposing positions, respectively. In relation to world Englishes and Linguistic Imperialism, Pennycook speaks powerfully against their inherent theoretical claims, thus framing: in the first instance, the homogenization image that Phillipson's English Linguistic Imperialism advances with a call for a much more nuanced and empirical representation of the use of English; in the second instance, calling for a rethinking about what exactly is meant

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by heterogeneity as advanced in Kachru's World Englishes model, because it often "overlooks difference within regions and ascribes variety based on postcolonial political history: where a nation state was created, so a variety emerged" (Pennycook, 2007: 21). Rather, and here's where Pennycook breaks with the rest, we should understand "global Englishes that focuses on both a critical understanding of globalization and a critical understanding of language" (Pennycook, 2007: 23). Pennycook contributes strongly to the study of global Englishes and multilingualism study by arguing convincingly that the way English is used in late-modernity forms part of multilingual spaces. In this study, I have tried to contribute to the debate on global Englishes by highlighting in the analyses the way multilingual speakers and performers use English.

I have demonstrated that where global English occurs in not only popular spaces of Hip-Hop but in popular spaces of Tshisa-Nyama as well, it appears in a marginal way. Even though I drew on the work of Pennycook, I found in both popular spaces that with the practice of multilingualism English can either be used as a prop, in a ludic sense, as we experienced with the White Xhosa-speaking Jewish comedian, Nik Rabinowitz, or as a way to frame marginal languages such as isiXhosa and other varieties and registers, or emphasize meta-linguistic aspects of agency and voices in multilingual spaces. Although Pennycook has explicitly stated that English is used creatively, my point here is that English is thrown out (i.e., deregistered) through the complex routines one discovers in multilingual contexts.

The symbolic superiority of English is subjugated, as I have demonstrated in the last six chapters, to the 'local to local' scale-moving whims of multilingual speakers in popular spaces, in the enregisterment of languages, varieties and registers other than English. These, as I have argued throughout, offer up important conditions for the exercise and bidding of linguistic agency. Thus, whilst Pennycook has looked at how the insertion of English is being transformed into something creative, what we have experienced with multilingual communication is that even though insertion and use of English is possible, it can simultaneously be disowned, that is, thrown out in the process of its practice.

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10.4.4 A Note on Enregisterment and Deregisterment of English

The notion of enregisterment has been useful to prise open the ways in which multilingual speakers use linguistic forms to index transgressive meaning and establish new social categories of authentic selves. However, enregisterment is much more than language. In the use of particular language varieties, registers and styles, I hope to have demonstrated the usefulness of Agha's semiotic theory as a powerful resource for understanding multilingualism, authenticity, and somatic practices in the transmodal design of popular spaces.

In particular, enregisterment is a useful concept to demonstrate the way in which a more mainstream language, such as English is used alongside marginalized languages such as Kaaps, isiXhosa, and prison registers such as Sabela and Tsotsitaal. As a complementary phenomenon to capture the simultaneity of enregisterment, I have suggested that the way English is disappropriated or disowned forms part of the process of deregisterment. This term is useful for introducing a perspective on multilingualism where the interplay and status of interacting languages are subject to questioning: Is this really English used in our Hip-Hop space? Is it African-American English? Should we ignore it? Should we throw it out?

Nevertheless, the types of multilingualism that we have discovered in the analysis chapters occurs because of the practices of language that takes place on the margins of a society such as South Africa. There is a marginal and peripheral normativity ascribed to such multilingual practices because when enregisterment occurs it not only indexes identities and social categories but also rather a particular variety of English, that is to say, a peripheral variety of English in a transmodal environment. Precisely because of that environment the process of deregisterment is possible. This has significant implications for how English is used in multilingual communication, not only inside popular spaces, but outside it as well.

In this study, I have argued that the process of enregisterment in performance and practice provides strong evidence of linguistic bids for agency and voice. I have also

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demonstrated how registers are always emerging and not static and that this carries significant implications for how we understand multilingualism. As such, I suggest we need to open a perspective on multilingualism in late-modern Cape Town that views language in practice and performance, new forms of multilingualism, and multilingualism as a form of politics, that is, multilingual citizenship.

10.5 Conclusion

Multilingualism remains managed by monoglossic, hierarchically ordered and authoritative discourses as a linguistic anathema, despite many recent theoretical and empirical studies that suggest otherwise. From the performances and multilingual talk in the popular spaces described, analysed and commented on in this study, I would hope that some progress has been made on clarifying the *preconditions* for the exercise of youth agency and voice, that is, multilingual citizenship.

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