



**A SOCIOLOGICAL STUDY OF EUPHEMISMS ON HIV AND AIDS BY
MANENBERG'S YOUTH AND ADULTS**



**A Thesis Submitted in Fulfilment of the Requirements for the Award of Master of
Arts in Linguistics in the Faculty of Arts, University of the Western Cape**

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A Sociolinguistic Study of Euphemisms on HIV and AIDS by Manenberg's Youth and Adults

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Key words

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Taboo

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Abstract

A Sociolinguistic Study of Euphemisms on HIV and AIDS by Manenberg's Youth and Adults

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This thesis is a sociolinguistic exploration of the research that was conducted on the Manenberg community. It focuses on the community's socio-economic vices such as gangsterism, drug trafficking, drug addiction, prostitution, lack of education, poverty, unemployment, domestic violence and so forth (c.f. Salo, 2004; Willenberg & September, 2008). Taking these factors into account, the research explores discourses surrounding HIV and AIDS messages and investigates whether such euphemisms are dependent on age and gender. This study also evaluates the politeness strategies employed by the youths and adults as means to de-taboo taboo talk related to HIV and AIDS.

This research is qualitative, and the researcher randomly selected 20 informants (10 males and 10 females) between the ages of 18 and 65 from Manenberg. Eight informants were interviewed on a one-on-one basis and the other 12 formed three focus groups whose discussions were guided by a semi-structured questionnaire. The location of these interviews was close to the informants' natural settings. The data analysis was informed by a combination of theories such as, Brown and Levinson's (1987) Face and Politeness Theory, Cameron's (2001) and Terre Blanche *et al's* (2006) for Discourse Analysis and Eggins and Slade's (2006) theory on analysis of casual conversation. The researcher thus employs a tripartite theoretical framework to explore euphemisms on HIV and AIDS employed by both the youth and adults in Manenberg.

The study established euphemisms surrounding HIV and AIDS messages and found that there is a differential effect in how the pandemic is discussed with respect to age and gender. The study established and also identified the politeness strategies employed by the youths and adults to de-taboo taboo topics related to HIV and AIDS. The study established how euphemisms as social semiotics are used as a face-saving strategy and as tools for 'othering'.

Lastly, the study offers recommendations to policy makers and caregivers for HIV and AIDS information dissemination.

To the best of the present researcher's knowledge, no research has used such theories to analyse HIV and AIDS euphemisms as used by the youth and adults in Manenberg. As such, this study makes a positive theoretical and practical contribution to the body of knowledge in an area that is largely unexplored.



Declaration of plagiarism

Plagiarism is a serious criminal offence. I am aware of the implications of committing plagiarism and the meaning thereof. Therefore, I declare that I will not commit plagiarism or promote plagiaristic exercises by any other person intentionally. I declare that *A Sociolinguistic Study of Euphemisms on HIV and AIDS by Manenberg's Youth and Adults* is my own work and has not been submitted for any other degree or examination at any other university and that all sources that I have employed or quoted have been highlighted and acknowledged by the applicable referencing.

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Signature: 

Acknowledgements

In the name of Allah (God), The Most Gracious, The Most Merciful

First and foremost, I thank Allah S.W.T (God Almighty) for His infinite mercies and the abundant blessings which he has bestowed upon me. I pray that the content of this thesis will inspire others positively and that Allah (S.W.T) would grant each and every person the opportunity He has afforded me to realize a dream they have of a different life. Insha-Allah Ameen.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

1.0 Aim and Rationale

The aim of this investigation was to conduct a sociolinguistic study of the language practices used by Manenberg's youth and adults with special focus on the euphemisms employed while conversing about HIV and AIDS. In particular, the investigation established euphemisms surrounding HIV and AIDS messages and found out whether there is a differential effect with respect to age and gender. In this regard, the study investigated and identified the politeness strategies employed by the youths and adults to de-taboo taboo topics related to HIV and AIDS. Using the Politeness Theory and the notion of 'face' (Brown & Levinson, 1987), the study established how euphemisms as social semiotics are used as a face-saving strategy and as a tool for 'othering'. Lastly, the study established the implications of the language practices for the dissemination of HIV and AIDS information in Manenberg on the Cape Flats.

Studies have shown that HIV and AIDS campaigns do not usually take into account local language use when disseminating information about HIV and AIDS, as well as the euphemisms used by the locals of those specific areas (Banda & Oketch, 2011; Bok, 2009; Norton & Mutonyi, 2009). This study focuses on Manenberg, which is largely associated with gangsterism, rape, teenage pregnancies, violence against women, alcohol abuse, drugs and drug merchants, 'sugar daddys', poverty, prostitution, school drop-outs, poor health, low-income employment, unemployment, lack of education and overcrowded housing (cf. Salo, 2004; Census, 2011; Willenberg & September, 2008; WCED, 2008; O'Connor, 2004; Leggett, 2005; Standing, 2006).

Most studies on Manenberg have focused on these vices, but as far as the researcher knows, none has explored the link between the local language practices and HIV and AIDS

prevention in Manenberg. WHO (2011) has identified that those living with the socio-economic conditions as mentioned above, are more susceptible to the HIV virus. Therefore, it is necessary that HIV and AIDS campaigns in Manenberg take into consideration the local language practices for them to be effective at grassroots levels. Higgins (2010) has identified empathy and the cultural model, that is, “people’s everyday theories and literacies” (Gee, 2008:7) to inform HIV and AIDS intervention, preventative and treatment campaigns so that the local audience can easily make meaning of the information being promoted. There are vast amounts of literature available to support the view that language practices can be used as an identifier (social semiotics) of culture and a research tool that researchers, analysts and campaigners can use to gain an emphatic understanding of intricate sociolinguistic dynamics. It is hoped that the investigation of euphemisms in this thesis will aid the ‘linguaging’ (cf. Ramanathan and Morgan, 2007) of the intervention strategies, such as educational and preventative programmes, to be localised and culturally applicable so that the various programmes related to HIV and AIDS are more effective and suited to the specific community that is targeted.

1.1 Historical Background of Manenberg

According to Salo (2004) and Leggett (2005), Manenberg, a mainly residential area located on the outskirts of Cape Town, that forms part of the area known as the Cape Flats, dates as far back as the 1600s and was settled by the then authorities, namely Dutch, German and Jewish settlers. This designated area was used mainly for farming up until the 1930s, after which the Cape Town City Council allotted it mainly for mass housing purposes (Salo, 2004). Salo posited that Manenberg was one of the last areas that ‘non-white’ families were forced to relocate to from the inner-CBD locations during the apartheid era. Willenberg and September (2008) argues that Manenberg is a predominantly ‘Coloured’ community. Indeed

the population census 2011 shows that the Manenberg community is 63.8% “Coloured”, and has a “total population of 34,792 of which 47.8% are male and 52.2% female”.

In addition, census 2011 highlighted that there are approximately 7612 houses in Manenberg (that reflects a decrease from the census 2001 which recorded 11,204 homes), of which 6534 are formal dwellings, 969 are informal dwellings in backyards (‘Wendy houses’) and 35 are informal dwellings not in backyards and 74 are dwellings listed as other. The majority which is 90.4% of the residents live in rented places that belong to the Cape Town City Council. A small percentage of 7.8% of Manenberg residents possesses their own homes of which 7.2% of the homes are fully paid up. ‘Wendy houses’ (informal housing structures made from wood and any usable scrap materials), account for 7.8% according to the 2011 census. However, the validity of the statistics provided by the census 2011 is debatable as some properties have two or three ‘Wendy houses’ on it. The researcher has relocated to this township for the purpose of this study and is very clear that the number of these ‘Wendy houses’ has increased considerably due to many factors, such as population growth, the tornado of August 1999 and unemployment.

According to census 2011, the Manenberg labour force population (15 - 65 years) amounts to 23,126 whereby a portion of 5,725 is unemployed and 9,433 are not economically active either. Furthermore, consensus amongst the members of this community is that males dominate the unemployed and the economically inactive category which they substantiate by stating that “in the mornings, it’s the men seeing the women off to work”. One other possible reason for the high unemployment rate is lack of education.

In this regard, Willenberg and September (2008) point out that of the 31,923 adults older than twenty years, only 19% completed primary school or partially, secondary education was

partially completed by 45.7% and only 15.6% have completed secondary school. A minority of 0.8% have completed tertiary education (Willenberg & September, 2008:8).

These variables of overcrowding, housing shortages, unemployment and low levels of education discussed above, contribute to the community being idle, unchallenged and underprivileged. Due to these living conditions, the premise is that residents will have high temperaments and live by the survival of the fittest mode.

Leading from this, a good portion of the members of the community affiliate themselves with gangs. Gang membership is on the increase due to a number of reasons such as boredom, fear of being ostracized, for protection, intimidation, symbolic capital and capital gain. Gang leaders, drug merchants and sex-workers capitalist become role models for the young and the impressionable as they appear fearless and wealthy (despite this being because of illegal transactions). School drop-outs have been singled out to be one of the major contributing factors to the increase in gang membership (Willenberg and September, 2008). Willenberg and September (2008) further argue that drug peddling, bootlegging and dealing in prostitution and stolen goods are typical gang-related activities in Manenberg.

According to Legget (2005), drug trafficking has been the main source of income for gangs and has also been key in the cause of competition between gangs. This competition ultimately leads to gang wars over gang turfs between numbers gangs (established in prison) and street gangs (established in residential areas). Legget (2005) estimated that in the age group 10 to 30-year-old males, 30% (5000) were affiliated to gangs. He also highlighted that unemployment, lack of adult supervision, and insufficient appropriate recreational activities for the youth, are contributing factors to the escalation of gang membership.

The question, however, is, who are the Cape ‘Coloureds’, of which the Manenberg community is a part? McCormick (2002) explains that the Cape Coloured community comprises influences and backgrounds from diverse places such as Europe, St Helena, Australia, Netherlands, West Indies, Asia, other areas in Africa and indigenous Khoi-San people.

These diverse influences are sometimes evident in the linguistic practices of Manenberg’s community, which forms part of the Cape Flats, the Cape Peninsula. The tendency to blend languages has been noted in literature as one of the characteristics of Cape ‘Coloureds’ (McCormick 2002, Matthews 2009, and Stone 2002). According to Matthews (2009), Cape “Coloureds” are largely bilingual and employ Afrikaans and English predominantly. This code is known as Kaaps. The term ‘Kaaps’ was invented by Adam Small in 1974, to describe the language spoken on the Cape Flats (Matthews, 2009). Thus, it refers to the linguistic code that is used predominantly in Manenberg and in the townships on the Cape Flats (Stone, 2002). However, Kaaps gains its characteristics from the structure of two languages, namely, English and Afrikaans.

According to McCormick (2002), Kaaps originated in the apartheid era when the oppressed showed resistance by creating a code of their own, i.e. code-switching between English and Afrikaans. There is consensus amongst the ‘Coloureds’ that the meaning, pronunciation and specific syllable emphasis of Afrikaans and English words would be altered to show indirect resistance and to create sublimation to authorities (Matthews, 2009). Non-Whites would employ Kaaps as a possible means to reclaim their power in an oppressed environment by creating their personalised linguistic code, thus assuming a different identity other than that that was equated with them under and by the apartheid regime. The linguistic codes used in Manenberg and the greater Cape Flats area, are structured in such a systematic way that it

should not be deemed as merely a case of code-switching or slang, but more likely, a distinctive dialect (Stone, 2002).

Stone has dissected Kaaps into four categories, namely: respectable, disrespectable, delinquent and outcast. These categories are confusing, as he seems to mistake prison language for Kaaps. It is an oversight of Stone to include differing degrees of means of communication, swearing, cursing and ‘S(h)alambom’, a prison dialect, originating from an African language (isiZulu), into the Cape ‘Coloured’ working class dialect (Stone, 2002). Stone’s ‘S(h)alambom’ is commonly known as Sabela or Shambela on the Cape Flats’ streets amongst ex-prisoners, gangsters and delinquents. These ‘societal outcasts’ make up a very small minority of the Peninsula Afrikaans working community and for this reason the researcher feels that Stone has over-generalised when he included ‘S(h)alambom’ as part of Kaaps. The researcher feels that Stone’s research analysis confused Sabela [‘S(h)alambom’] with Kaaps, as these are two completely different codes that have no similarities in social history and linguistic structure. Whereas Kaaps is overtly used by all on the Cape Flats, Sabela is used by prisoners, ex-prisoners and gangsters and is kept as an in-group ‘secret’ language. It is well known that this speech community does not want Sabela to be familiar to those in the out-group, so that the code may remain strictly within their power to plan and scheme covertly.

These ‘societal outcasts’ (ex-prisoners and gangsters) make up a very small minority of the Peninsula Afrikaans working community and for this reason the researcher feels that Stone has over-generalised when he included ‘S(h)alambom’ as part of Kaaps. The researcher feels that Stone’s research analysis confused Sabela [‘S(h)alambom’] with Kaaps, as these are two completely different codes that have no similarities in social history and linguistic structure. Whereas Kaaps is overtly used by all on the Cape Flats, Sabela is used by prisoners, ex-

prisoners and gangsters and is kept as an in-group 'secret' language. It is well known that this speech community does not want Sabela to be familiar to those in the out-group, so that the code may remain strictly within their power to plan and scheme covertly.

Due to the discrimination and oppression by the apartheid regime, the members of the Cape Flats speech community consider their dialect as degenerate, "'opgemaak' (artificially composed) and as 'nagemaak' (inauthentic...)" in comparison to their worldview that claims that the standard English and standard Afrikaans is "'suiwer' (pure)" (Stone, 2002:383-385). "Not White Enough Not Black Enough" is the title of a book written by Adhikari in 2005, which has captured the dilemma that 'Coloureds' have which is being oppressed under the apartheid regime and presently under the ANC government. Adhikari (2005) has emphasised indirectly that Cape 'Coloured' speech was viewed as "not being English speaking enough and not being Afrikaans speaking enough."

Leading from this, firstly, it could be acknowledged that the Cape 'Coloureds', specifically Manenberg's residents, do not use Standard English or Afrikaans in their speech. Secondly, the nature of the context described confirmed that there is usually a presence of activities related to drugs and prostitution which makes the community highly susceptible to HIV and AIDS. What must be duly noted is that HIV and AIDS information dissemination is mostly in Standard English, Afrikaans and isiXhosa, which is not representative of the language practices and the cultural norms of Manenberg's community. Therefore, meanings negotiated by HIV and AIDS campaigns are lost or do not draw and maintain sufficient attention in order for the community to be adequately informed about this virus.

Given the state of affairs of the dialect of Manenberg's and the Cape Flats as discussed previously, the researcher hopes that the data collected during this study will be of significance and will gain a greater insight with special focus on discourse practices with

respect to HIV and AIDS, which in turn could be used across different disciplines. The objectives and research questions will henceforth be divulged.

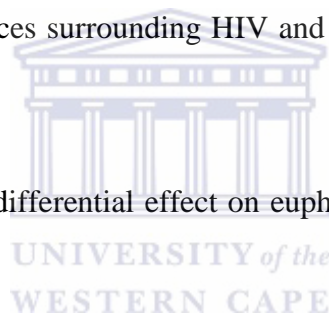
1.2 Objectives and Research Questions

The main research objective of this investigation is to unearth the discourse practices used by Manenberg's youth and adults.

1.2.1 Specific Objectives of the Study

The specific objectives of this study are to establish the discourse practices in terms of how Manenberg youth and adults discuss HIV and AIDS and related issues, in particular, the use of euphemisms and politeness strategies:

1. Establish the discourse practices surrounding HIV and AIDS used by selected youth and adults.
2. Ascertain whether there is a differential effect on euphemisms related to HIV and AIDS with respect to
 - a) Age: youth versus adults;
 - b) Gender: boys versus girls and men versus women.
3. Investigate the politeness strategies employed by the youth and adults when confronted with taboo topics.
4. Explore the politeness strategies employed by the youths and adults to de-taboo taboo topics related to HIV and AIDS.
5. Establish the extent to which the use of euphemisms is a face-saving strategy.
6. Determine the extent to which euphemism is used as a tool of 'othering'.



1.2.2 Research Questions

The investigation's objectives are achieved by addressing the following specific research questions:

1. What are the common discourse practices surrounding discourses of HIV and AIDS among the youth and adults in Manenberg?
2. Is there a differential effect on euphemisms related to HIV and AIDS with respect to age and gender?
3. What politeness strategies are employed by the youths and adults to de-taboo taboo topics related to HIV and AIDS?
4. To what extent is the use of euphemisms a face-saving strategy?
5. To what extent are euphemisms used as a tool of 'othering'?

1.3 Overview of Chapters

The first chapter, as presented above, comprised the introduction, aim and rationale, historical background of Manenberg, objectives and research questions. It focuses on the background and the sociolinguistic profile of the Cape 'Coloureds'. The rest of the project is structured as follows:

In the second chapter, the researcher contextualises Manenberg by reviewing the literature that has previously been undertaken. This chapter chronicles a brief history of HIV and AIDS in South Africa and explores the following sociolinguistic aspects: medical discourses, identity and 'othering', taboos and euphemisms, face and face threatening acts, politeness strategies and discourse analysis, which are all used as a platform for understanding the investigation at hand.

The third chapter consists of a detailed outline and description of the sampling method, the nature of the participants who engaged in this study, data collection methods and the tools for analysis.

The fourth chapter concentrates on the analysis of data obtained from translated and transcribed interviews that focus on the presence of othering amidst talk on HIV and AIDS in Manenberg.

In chapter five, focus is on the analysis of data obtained from translated and transcribed interviews on taboos and the politeness strategies that are employed by the youth and adults of Manenberg whilst conversing about HIV and AIDS and related taboo topics.

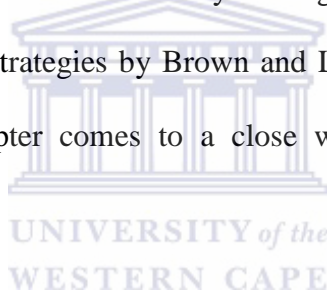
The sixth chapter focuses on the analysis of data obtained from translated and transcribed interviews with special focus on whether there is a differential effect when euphemisms are used by different generations and genders.

The seventh and final chapter is the conclusion of the above findings. It concludes the study and offers general recommendations. This chapter is followed by a comprehensive bibliography and appendices for this research.

Chapter 2: Literature Review, Theoretical and Analytical Framework

2.0 Introduction

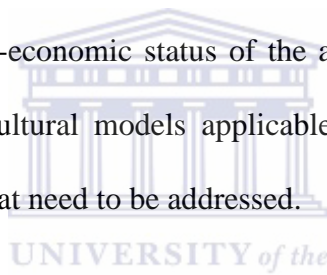
The literature review for this investigation comprises ten elements. Firstly, the current state of affairs in Manenberg is presented using Salo's (2004) social-linguistic ethnographic framework. Secondly, the HIV and AIDS pandemic is discussed in the context of South Africa. Thirdly, reports on medical discourses pertaining to HIV and AIDS education and preventative campaigns in Africa are reviewed. Fourthly, a brief discussion on identity and othering follows. The fifth and sixth elements are inextricably intertwined, namely, taboos and euphemisms. The seventh element is the Face analytical framework as espoused by Brown and Levinson (1987). This is followed by the eighth element of Face Threatening Acts. Penultimately, Politeness Strategies by Brown and Levinson (1987) and Grice (1975) are discussed. Finally, this chapter comes to a close with a presentation on Discourse Analysis.



2.1 Contextualising Manenberg

Salo (2004) has investigated the Rio street community of Manenberg (the area locally referred to as The Rio Grande). This area is located within Manenberg, but sports its own reputation (independent of Manenberg) for being more feared than the 'common' Manenberg. Its reputation emanates from the viciousness and mercilessness of the resident gangsters that 'govern' it. Salo (2004) explores the definition of 'colouredness' and the social structure such as the hierarchy that is present amongst the members of this community. She focuses on the members re-establishing the meaning of colouredness independent of the old apartheid regime's racially-legislative adoption. The term 'coloured' in real terms presents itself as an umbrella term for citizens that are not classified either as white or black.

However, this group called ‘Coloureds’ is not homogeneous as it is divided by religion, region, career, education and income. Salo monitors the influence that the ‘respectable mothers’ have over the upcoming generation of ‘tough men and good daughters’ while considering personhood and agency as well, in this context. Salo (2004) has documented cases of women abuse, drug abuse, school drop-outs, teenage pregnancies, children left without adult supervision, theft and burglaries, imprisonment, gang warfare and poor standards of living amongst residents in Manenberg. She confirms that little has changed since Census (2011) and that it remains an area that is resource-poor. Since economic solutions are unlikely to improve, the only other means to combat HIV and AIDS is through education. Therefore, according to the researcher, various HIV and AIDS campaigns should be sensitive not just to the socio-economic status of the area, but also be supported by the actual discourse practices and cultural models applicable to Manenberg, as these aspects highlight the types of identities that need to be addressed.



2.2 A Brief History of HIV and AIDS in South Africa

The history of HIV and AIDS in South Africa is arguably the most controversial in the world. It is smeared with government inaction, harmful interference and pseudo-science. HIV and AIDS is a major challenge that South Africa faces. It appears that South Africa is not gaining sufficient ground at winning the war against this challenge. More than twenty years has passed since the virus publicly raised its head and forced the world to acknowledge the onslaught of death that accompanies it. The fatalistic nature of HIV and AIDS’ characteristics and the epidemiological condition of the virus has branded many sufferers with stigmatisation, prejudice and discrimination. The marginalised groups such as the poor, young children, women living in underdeveloped areas, the uneducated and so forth are predominantly badly affected by the HIV and AIDS virus (WHO, 2011). As discussed

previously, Manenberg's socio-economic status places the community at a high risk with respect to this deadly disease.

However, the statistics indicate that one out of every four South Africans is a carrier of the HIV virus (WHO, 2011). In essence, every South African is affected by HIV and AIDS either directly or indirectly. Furthermore, HIV and AIDS has devastating consequences on the socio-economic system of South Africa. Thus the pandemic is a national issue that deserves more scholarly studies that may help with understanding its nature and consequently finding better ways of curbing it and ameliorating its menacing effects. Next is a review of recent medical discourses surrounding HIV and AIDS.

2.3 Medical Discourses

Banda and Oketch (2011) investigated the applicability and comprehensibility of the linguistic landscaping pertaining to HIV and AIDS preventative and educational campaigns in a rural Kenyan Province called Nyanza. They indicated that the rise of multimodality has sparked change agents in the Nyanza Province - electronic instruments such as television screens, portable videos and LCD screens (occasionally powered by batteries) were being used as vehicles to promote this type of communication. These researchers have focused on the effectiveness of the co-occurrence of multimodal texts with visuals or imagery coupled with verbal texts in the realm of HIV and AIDS information dissemination campaigns within an economically poor rural context.

Notably Banda and Oketch (2011) analysed multimodal texts using the analytical framework espoused by Martin and Rose (2004) and Kress and van Leeuwen (2006). In their research, this framework was used to analyse multimodality and the effectiveness of twenty billboards, posters and brochures together, triangulated with the interview data from twenty one-on-one interviews and six focus groups.

Banda and Oketch (2011) have posited that language has in recent times been less favoured as the sole meaning-making tool and has been infiltrated by different codes (different sizes, style fonts, different colours, pictures, numbers and so forth) and various ensembles thereof. Kress and van Leeuwen (2006) have categorically stated that this phenomenon is intentional and not merely incidental.

Banda and Oketch (2011) have identified oversights in these multimodal HIV and AIDS campaigns in Kenya, such as ‘Western writing conventions’, ‘misplaced posters and assumptions’, the employment of ‘gadgetry and celebrities’, ‘depiction of types and traits’, ‘disparity in co-occurrence of the modes’, ‘mismatch of verbal and visual modes’, ‘overloading messages on one medium’ and the presence of ‘stereotypes and cultural antagonism’.

Banda and Oketch (2011) acknowledged that the task of meaning-making and interpreting of these publicised multimodal ensembles proved to be a near impossible task to undertake, as most of the receivers have not encountered formal Westernised education. They have highlighted that the placement of codes plays an important role in aiding the understanding of the value ascribed to each component and the combinations thereof. Westernised conventions are noticeable in the communication as the texts are arranged so that reading occurs from left to right and top to bottom. They further stress that in order to gain true insight as to the intended meaning of these messages, the audience should have formal Westernised education to acquire the tools (schemata) to interpret and understand these messages. The residents of Nyanza Province have had very little or no contact with Western education and lack what is needed to be able to identify and read across the intended direction paths and comprehend the value ascribed to each counterpart. Therefore, the assumption that these HIV and AIDS

campaigns will be welcomed and understood by the locals is a major inaccuracy (Banda & Oketch, 2011).

Banda and Oketch (2011) criticized the use of billboards with multimodal codes centering on written codes. They investigated the locals interpretation of the billboards and found that it is recognized as “*Mano gir jo ukimwi wan wakya nyathi jomoko, wati joma kadho e ndara ka ema idwaro ni osom gigo*” translating as “that belongs to the people in charge of the HIV and AIDS campaign, us we don’t know, perhaps it is meant for the commuters who are using the road” (Banda & Oketch, 2011:23). Clearly, this ‘transit advertisement’ (Smith, 2002) was ineffective as could be established by the respondent’s statement, even though, she frequents the location of the billboard because she conducts her daily business there, she was oblivious and disinterested in the HIV and AIDS messages. The campaigners’ expectation of a literate audience was highly misplaced as Nyanza is a resource-poor province whose residents have low or no formal Westernised education. Although the advertisement was in the local language, it was greeted with resistance. Most women interviewed by Banda and Oketch (2011) had negative feelings towards it as they understood that it proclaimed them to be ‘promiscuous’. Regrettably, the particular billboard was being presented throughout the Kenyan landscapes at the time of Banda and Oketch’s research.

Furthermore, Banda and Oketch (2011) have posited that the physical placement of advertisements adds to the effectiveness of the multimodal advert itself. For example, “we found multimodal texts meant to warn mothers-to-be to be tested for HIV/AIDS in maternity wards” (Banda & Oketch, 2011:24). “The placement of the poster inside maternity wards limits the dissemination capacity to only those who end up in the ward” (Banda & Oketch, 2011:24). In rural areas, such as the one being discussed, medical services are often a luxury and difficult to reach due to financial and logistical challenges.

The inclusion of electric gadgets and celebrities becomes ‘noise’ in HIV and AIDS campaigns, as the audience would not be able to read the advertisement as a complete whole, but their attention may be captured by the foreign gadgetry. Unfortunately, the attractiveness of the posters inevitably compromises the audience’s attention as they will interpret (the small percentage that is literate) the HIV and AIDS message as an opulent concern. It obliterates the intended message and the poster is resemiotised as wall decorations and memoirs of a life possibly beyond their aspirations and imaginations, (Banda and Oketch 2011).

The research by Banda and Oketch in 2011, articulates the foundation of the present researcher’s argument that campaigns regarding important issues such as HIV and AIDS should heed to the target audiences’ local language practices. In doing so, policy-makers and campaigners would be localising and contextualising educational and preventative campaigns, which in essence will maximise the effect of information dissemination. Bok (2009) has reiterated this sentiment in her master’s dissertation.

In 2009, Sarah Bok completed her research on whether the LoveLife HIV and AIDS preventative campaigns were successful or not. The LoveLife campaign is South Africa’s largest government funded national HIV and AIDS preventative initiative. Bok (2009) focused on the interplay that exists between the texts, images and graphics of the advertisements that LoveLife engineered. She investigated how the LoveLife’s messages have been organised to disseminate the HIV and AIDS information to the target audience. The collected data for the research on LoveLife were past advertisements, billboards and the LoveLife series on television.

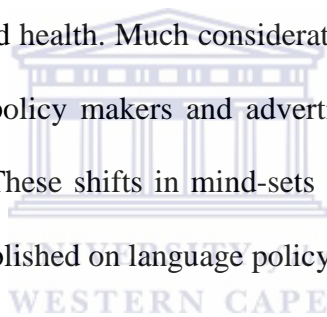
Bok (2009:122) concluded that LoveLife presents a campaign that is “a particular form of heterosexual normativity as most desirable for young South Africans”. She explains that

despite the campaign having an open reputation, it maintains the societal acceptable sexual relationships such as heterosexual male and female couples. It excludes any relationship outside this structure of normativity. The HIV and AIDS advertising excluded topics such as “sexual violence, cross-generational sex, sex work and sex as a form of exchange” (Bok, 2009:122). Bok identified pitfalls in the LoveLife campaigns and highlighted a huge discrepancy in the actual languaging of advertisements.

The researcher is in agreement with Bok, who stipulates that advertising campaigns of that magnitude should basically incorporate a bottom-up approach for advertising. This bottom-up approach to manufacturing HIV and AIDS linguistic landscaping should be sensitive to the audience’s emphatic, influential elements so that the campaign can be effectively contextualised and socially and culturally appropriate. This argument forms the basis for the study at hand because it is for this reason that the researcher investigated the language practices of the youth and adults that reside in Manenberg. From this research, it is hoped that policy-makers and campaigners will have the in-depth linguistic information to make informed decisions before wasting the tax-payer’s money on advertising that is ineffective.

On the other hand, Norton and Mutonyi (2009) conducted a case study research to investigate the effectiveness of HIV/AIDS campaigns that take on a top-down approach amongst the target audiences. Norton and Mutonyi (2009) conducted a case study in Uganda, where they analysed the debates and critiques by twelve young people about four research articles on HIV and AIDS that were assumed to be relevant to the Ugandan youth. The rationale behind their study was to create an opportunity for the Ugandan youth to have a say in health research that affects them directly. The study primarily focused on the extent to which languaging was productive for African youth engagement in policy. Norton and Mutonyi (2009) highlighted that research of this nature is pivotal with respect to language policies,

meaning that language policies include language and linguistic practices from grassroots level and not only entertaining top-down policy-making approaches. They found that the acumens of the informants, which are reinforced by vast literature, proposed that the HIV and AIDS epidemic has had an overwhelming effect in Africa and has caused many of the local communities to reconsider their traditional customs and social associations, some to the extent that it aggravated the onslaught of the disease. The students identified that gender disparities made both males and females more susceptible to the disease, but in essentially various ways “that poverty undermines freedom of choice; and that beliefs and practices perceived to be “Western” should be negotiated with care” (Norton & Mutonyi, 2009:45). It should be noted that these discernments have imperative insinuations for policy making with respect to education, language and health. Much consideration is lately given to reversing the normal top-down approach for policy makers and advertising planners to restructure their approach to bottom-up instead. These shifts in mind-sets are reiterated by Ramanathan and Morgan (2007) in their article published on language policy.



Ramanathan and Morgan (2007) have argued that research on language planning and policy has concentrated on macro decision-making. They highlighted that studies need to take into account everyday contexts as language policies impact on the manner in which people will make sense of their everyday lives, including their plans for the future. This article is relevant to the current study as it emphasises that HIV and AIDS campaigns should heed the local customs and language practices of the target society and not assume that campaigns that stem from a Western paradigm will be universally encumbersome.

Discourses in healthcare have been well researched over long spans of time; however, they centered on language access to a large extent. Language access relates to whether individuals are supplied with health information in their languages and whether an interpreter is made

available when consulting with their doctors (Martinez, 2008; Ngo-Metzger *et al.*, 2003; Partida, 2007; Vahabi, 2007; cited in Higgins, 2010). However, the researcher shall argue that planning for information dissemination about HIV and AIDS should be part of a wider national language policy and planning endeavor. In this regard, Higgins (2010) investigated the Life Skills Education (LSE) curriculum developed by WHO and its applicability in Tanzania. This LSE is a set of ten skills that is meant to promote positive behavioural change. Higgins (2010:67) posited that “the concept of multi-literacies is important for language policy and planning because it asks policy-makers and educators to acknowledge that language is not simply about using one linguistic code or another, but rather, that language encompasses ways of speaking and interacting that are shaped by different worldviews.” She further argued that it is pivotal for international agencies to plan beyond functional health care literacy and expand to provide people with language access, language planning and policy efforts so they may develop critical health literacies. The researcher agrees with Higgins (2010) that acknowledging the disparity between the global cultural model of LSE and the local cultural models, which manifests in audience resistance, can be beneficial in aiding the contextualisation and localisation of improved policy-making and languaging for HIV and AIDS campaigns. One way to arrive at contextualised languaging for HIV and AIDS campaigns is to focus on a community’s discourse practices specifically, the way in which the community positions its identity by exercising othering.

2.4 Identity and Othering

Identity as a concept is extremely complex. It has been vastly theorised and investigated across disciplines. Identity has been labeled as the most heated topic by Bauman (2004). Identification, self-categorisation, understanding, commonality, groupness, social location and connectedness are used interchangeably amongst others in identity discussions (Cooper

& Brubaker, 2000). In other words, identity allows people to arrange their social experiences by relating them to different others, communities and groups.

Pavlenko and Blackledge (2006) have distinguished three types of identity namely: imposed, assumed and negotiated. Imposed identity is defined as an identity that is non-negotiable at a specific time, in a specific place. On the one hand, the form of identity that is generally accepted is the imposed identity which an individual was born into. On the other hand, assumed identity is the identity that the individual adopts which in turn is in opposition to the negotiated identity that is created, challenged and re-created by groups as well as individuals (Pavlenko & Blackledge 2006:21). The researcher questions the validity of these terms and definitions as espoused by Pavlenko and Blackledge (2006). Identity is a phenomenon that is always fluid and is never stationary. The present researcher therefore challenges the two theorists for confining identity to a specific time and place. Such a characterisation of identity is a gross over-simplification of a phenomenon that defies boundaries.

In times of modernity and globalisation, the 'imposed' identity can be dismissed just as easily as a woman can become a man, just as easily as Michael Jackson transformed into a "white" person, just as easily as a Christian can embrace Islam and become a Muslim or *vice versa* and just as easily as an Afrikaans first language speaker can adopt an identity assimilated to an English first language speaker. The definitions provided by Pavlenko and Blackledge (2006) of imposed, assumed and negotiated identity is unsubstantiated, as an individual is an ensemble of those three identities at all times. Assumed identity erases the phenomenon of negotiated identity because an individual does not stop existing or displaying their identity to negotiate an identity and after a choice is made, it is then that the assumed identity is performed. Leading from this, it could be concluded that those three distinctions should be dynamics that contribute to the overall identity repertoire that is internalised and performed

which remains transient throughout an individuals' natural life. Discourse practices and language performance would be analysed to yield insights as to the identity portrayal of the residents of Manenberg.

Jovchelovitch (2007:76) explained that some identities are strengthened in response to emotions, such as loneliness and emptiness, but also because of the threat and uncertainty that globalisation may elicit. He also posited that this process has led to religious, traditional and cultural practices to be recharged for identities to be renewed to maintain continuity. In aligning the self with identity, continuity will be created which will cause considerations of the individuals' 'make-up', affiliations and connectedness of the self, ultimately leading to the establishment of the individual's group or community identity, which is bound together by similarities, which unavoidably distance themselves from others that have differences. This process is simply referred to as othering.

Othering is practically making or marking the difference. This is in essence another way of social representation which is related to stereotypes. For centuries, stereotypes have been geared towards mainly women, race and ethnicity (Said, 1978; Clifford & Marcus, 1986; Wilkinson & Kritzing 2006). Abu-Lughod (1991), in her critique of the notion of culture, explains that marking the 'other' is an important tool for self-clarification (cited in Fox, 1991:143). Similar to stereotypes, othering allows individuals to construct difference, sameness and to assert their personal identity (Bock, 2008). Therefore, it could be noted that othering is not only about the other but in fact, more about the self. It is the opinion of the researcher that depicting which subjects and topics are taboo is representational of the identity of the self as well as the community. These taboo topics that elicit accompanying Politeness Strategies such as euphemisms could be considered and used as a differential marker between in-group individuals, groups and communities from the out-groups.

2.5 Taboos and Euphemisms

Taboo, or in Tongan (Polynesian language) “*tabu*”, was introduced to English in 1784 by Captain Cook as a verb which translates into making someone or something taboo (Ngirabakunzi, 2005). The concept of prohibiting certain topics dates back as far as biblical times. According to Vetter (1971:170), in these sainted times, topics relating to sexuality, finance, domestic issues, sins of the neighbour and so forth, remain frowned upon, and still persist even in our times of modernity. Vetter (1971:170) further explains that Moses and the Hebrew Law publicised taboos in the scriptures of the Ten Commandments: “*Thou shalt not take the name of the Lord God in vain*”. Taboos are words or actions that are measured as immoral in taste by certain members of the society and are preferred to be avoided at all cost because they reference realities that are blunt or discourteous. An act has the potential to be taboo and any reference to this act may also be regarded as taboo, says Fromkin *et al.* (2003). Said another way, one is forbidden to either perform an act or talk about it.

Ngirabakunzi (2005) explained that in many religions such as Brahmanism, Judaism and Islam, direct mention of the name of God is taboo (Ngirabakunzi, 2005:15). However, the researcher partly disagrees with Ngirabakunzi, as she has failed to acknowledge that in Islam, a Muslim is rewarded for keeping Allah’s (God’s) name alive on their tongue. This act is known as Thikr (repetition of chanting Allah’s names and Islamic prayers). Jannah (heaven) is promised to those who die with Allah’s name on their lips.

Taboo words, acts and topics are no longer clear-cut as we are faced with acculturation, globalisation and modernity. The world over, people come into contact with many different languages, cultures, norms and prohibitions. Therefore, taboos are a much contested debate as many researchers feel that in these times of modernity, we should exercise our constitutional

right to freedom of speech and expression, whereas the more traditionalist researchers point towards a subtle substitute, known as euphemism.

Cobuild (2006:483) explains that euphemism “is a polite word or expression that is used to refer to acts or ways of being which people may find upsetting or embarrassing to talk about, for example, sex, the human body, or death”. According to Allan and Burrige (1991:63), euphemisms are terminologies that pursue to avoid being presented as belligerent as taboos. Fromkin *et al.* (2003:476) echo the same sentiment by stating that the reality of taboos creates a gap for the creation of euphemisms, which they describe as words or phrases to replace taboos which serve to avoid fear-provoking or hostile matters.

Allan and Burrige (1991) identified that euphemisms, due to their polite nature, may mislead people from the factual information, especially with respect to information dissemination of the HIV and AIDS virus. They used an example, “*exchange of bodily fluids*”, and this was understood and accepted to relate to saliva and sweat, while in actual fact it was referring to sex (Allan & Burrige, 1991:53). The argument by Allan and Burrige (1991) lays the foundation for this research: the impact of the use of euphemisms as a linguistic resource in consideration of the HIV and AIDS epidemic. Attention will be given to the identity that is constructed or deconstructed by those individuals who employ the act of euphemisation. Allan and Burrige (1991:116) identified that euphemisms are categorised by dodgy language and elusive expressions, which a person employs as a linguistic protective shield against the anger or disapproval of natural or supernatural beings, or not to transgress the “Face” of the immediate community or cultures to which you are affiliated.

2.6. Face

The notion of a Face was coined by Brown and Levinson (1987). It stemmed from Goffman's (1967) study on face-work where he describes a Face as being an image of the self that is delineated in terms of approved social attributes. Bowe and Martin (2007:27) posited that Brown and Levinson's theory has three principle philosophies, namely: Face, Face Threatening Acts (FTA's) and Politeness Strategies. These theorists explained that a Face is the image of a person that they would wish to preserve and to portray in a public domain. Brown and Levinson explain that, a Face is like a coin, it has two sides, a positive and negative side. A Positive Face is concerned with being liked, consulted, involved, approved of and accepted by the immediate public. Kitamura (2000:1) posited that a Positive Face indicates similarities among interlocutors and appreciates the interlocutors' self-image. In contrast, a Negative Face is the right which people exercise to be independent, not to be interfered with or requested to do or say certain things (Brown & Levinson, 1978:34). Kitamura (2000:1) explains that a Negative Face is expressed by individuals to exercise the right, want or need to be able to preserve the right to freedom of imposition and the freedom of action. The researcher argues that Brown and Levinson's (1987) theory is not universally applicable as Face appears to be the image that an interlocutor wishes to portray which is aligned to societal customary norms and changes within different contexts that is understood and accepted by the interlocutors within a communicative event. Face could be considered as a personal quest to portray an image that is representative of the approved and expected behaviour of one's personal culture and society and that of those culture and societies that you commonly or presently have social interactions with.

It could be noted that introducing a topic such as HIV and AIDS into an interaction between individuals could threaten the positive and negative face of different people. Interlocutor/s in this instance (as described above) would be coerced to divulge their opinion about HIV and

AIDS that might not be favourable to the present company which would challenge the positive face of these individuals because it makes them vulnerable to being disliked. In the same situation, an individual's negative face could be challenged by being expected to participate in this subject so as not to appear as a victim of the virus and also the stigmatisation that accompanies it. These phenomena are labelled Face Threatening Acts or (FTA's) in abbreviated form.

2.7 Face Threatening Acts (FTA's)

As illustrated in the above example, the preservation of rights and freedom is sometimes challenged. In light of these challenges, Brown and Levinson (1978) refer to those as a Face Threatening Act (FTA). These FTA's appear when socially inappropriate behaviour has the potential to demean and disconcert an individual. However, there are means to buffer potential Face transgressive episodes, such as employing euphemisms into the interaction, (see euphemisms summary in literature review above) which in essence is a politeness Strategy.

2.8 Politeness Strategies

Euphemisms could be categorised as a means of linguistic politeness which is a facet of Brown and Levinson's (1987) Politeness Strategies. The kind of linguistic behaviour that people sport to verbalise interest and concern in others, is referred to as linguistic politeness. According to Bowe and Martin (2007:28), politeness strategies refer to behaviour that can preserve an individual's positive self-image and circumvent imposing on a person's freedom. Grundy (2008:12) echoes Brown and Levinson's (1987) politeness theory as he explains that politeness construes the formulation of an individual's face as a public self-image. Brown and Levinson also highlighted that people's faces are human properties that are largely analogous to their self-esteem. However, the researcher agrees with Holmes (2006:685), that one can

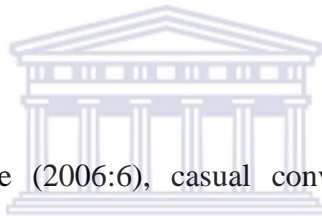
never know what people are actually feeling, thinking or experiencing in a conversational situation.

Brown and Levinson's (1987) theory was researched in three different languages, namely: English, Tamil (a Dravidian language) and Tzeltal (a language used by a Mayan family in Central America). The theorists developed a formula based on three socio-cultural variables: social distance (D); power (P) and the ranking of the imposition between speakers. The Brown and Levinson (1987) theory has received criticism from a number of researchers, namely Holmes (2006) and Shi-Xu (2005, 2007), as this Brown and Levinson's notion is contentious because it dismisses many socio-cultural elements that vary considerably between the West and East and also within these opposing paradigms. Shi-Xu (2005) has criticised this theory on the grounds that it lacks universality and merely addresses a small percentage of the Western paradigm in which this theory was borne. Shi-Xu (2005) argues that politeness strategies should be conducive to the culture and context relevant to the specific space. Therefore, in applying the notion of Face and Politeness Strategies to the data, the researcher will take into account the local contexts and cultures in Manenberg by using the following analytical framework.

2.9 Discourse Analysis, Sociolinguistics and Conversation Analysis

According to Cameron (2001), Discourse Analysis deals with numerous phenomena enshrined in language forms simultaneously. It is a technique of conducting social research; it is a body of empirical knowledge about how talk and text are systematised; it is the body of several theories about the nature and workings of communicative nature amongst human beings; and also of theories about how social realities are created and reproduced. Discourse Analysis concerns itself with language and life. It is the opinion of the researcher that Discourse Analysis is imperative to attain the investigation's objectives as stipulated above.

Terre Blanche *et al.* (2006) explain that Discourse Analysis is an act of showing how certain discourses are positioned to realise specific effects in certain contexts. However, these theorists posit that different analyses stress different facets of this definition. They further highlight that “Some may be most concerned with identifying the discourses that operate in the text, others may focus more on how particular effects are achieved in the text, yet others may be most concerned with explicating the broader context within which the text operates” (Terre Blanche *et al.*, 2006:328). The position that Terre Blanche *et al.* (2006) take on Discourse Analysis brings in the view that this theory will facilitate the study with unearthing the euphemisms. This will be done using Politeness Strategies and other ascending themes in the analysis of the discourse practices employed by Manenberg’s youth and adults when discussing HIV and AIDS.



According to Eggins and Slade (2006:6), casual conversation has attracted restricted diagnostic consideration, whereas conversation has been more spoilt. Conversation has been analysed across various perspectives with linguistic, critical, semiotic, sociological and philosophical approaches. They also suggest that the analyses of casual conversation should be dealt within a heterogeneous approach as it will add loads of wealth to the analyses, and it would be important in dealing with the intricacies of casual conversation. Casual conversation has been dismissed, as the nature thereof appears to be aimless and unfruitful. However, it is in actual fact, an institution that is a “highly structured, functionally motivated, semantic activity” (Eggins & Slade, 2006:6). Casual conversation has been identified as an important linguistic site for negotiation of social identities in terms of “gender, generational location, sexuality, social class membership, ethnicity and subcultural and group affiliations” (Eggins & Slade, 2006:6). Thus casual conversation will form the basis of this sociolinguistic study.

Sociolinguistics is concerned with the descriptive study of context, all aspects of society, expectations, and cultural norms and, more specifically, the effect these have on the way language is used. It is closely related to pragmatics and linguistic anthropology (Eggins & Slade, 2006:8). Sociolinguistics aids this study by establishing how language varieties differ between groups separated by particular social variables, for example, religion, level of education, ethnicity, status, and age and gender, which are variables that inform this study. Sociolinguistics also explores how the creation and adherence to these rules organises and labels individuals into social or socio-economic classes. Notably, language usage varies from place to place as well as among social classes (Eggins & Slade, 2006:23). These varying uses give rise to sociolects or social class dialects and these become the epicenter of sociolinguistics. In this idiom, the researcher expects the kinds of euphemisms and taboos operating to vary across ages, social classes, religion, gender, and so forth.

Fundamental concepts that are investigated when undertaking a sociolinguistic analysis are speech community, high and low prestige varieties, social network, internal versus external language, differences according to class, social language codes and so forth. These concepts, made apparent by Conversation Analysis (CA), formulate an in-depth understanding of attitudes, beliefs and aspirations toward language and language use.

Conversational Analysis, as a subdivision of ethnomethodology that centers on conversation, provides a suitable and reachable resource for an ethnomethodological enquiry, such as the study at hand. Sharrock and Anderson (1987:299) posit that witnessing the logic of everyday activities creates the ability of seeing what people are doing and saying, and therefore this is one sphere which permits an individual to view how logic is realised, which is made possible by comprehending ordinary talk. The significance of researching the Politeness Strategies and euphemisms in Manenberg, employing the above theoretical framework, is to make a positive

contribution practically and theoretically. In practice, this investigation may provide contextualisation cues on how to deal with people in Manenberg in a wide range of social activities. In theory, it also aims to contribute positively to the academic discussion, in order to inform people from different cultural backgrounds and disciplines what is considered socially polite and impolite as well as what is socially acceptable and understandable or not, in this township area being researched.



Chapter 3: Research Design and Methodology

3.0 Introduction

This chapter elaborates on the logistics surrounding the execution and specific lay-out of the research. It highlights the specific design that the research followed. The method that was employed by the researcher, to efficiently collect the research data is explained in this chapter. The foci of the study are to analyse the language practices with respect to HIV and AIDS discourses in the Manenberg community, with special emphasis on euphemisms and politeness strategies.

3.1 General Position

This investigation followed the guidelines of the qualitative research methods. The data collection methods and sample selection process will be explored later on in this section. This study employed the use of interviews as a data collecting tool. The choice of the location where these interviews were conducted will be mentioned too. The raw data was transcribed following Eiggins and Slade's (2006) transcription keys and later it was translated into English. The data was analysed according to the framework supported by a combination of theories by Cameron (2001) and Terre Blanche *et al.*'s (2006) theory on discourse analysis, Eiggins and Slade's (2006) theory on conversational analysis and Brown and Levinson's (1978) theory on 'face' and politeness strategies.

3.2. Research Design

3.2.1. Qualitative Research methods

Research methods generally fall into two main forms, namely, quantitative and qualitative. The proponents of this dissimilarity claim that quantitative methods are supported by measures like statistics, facts and focus on variables that are autonomous from existing research (Nunan, 1992; Neuman, 2000). It can be noted that the main difference between

qualitative and quantitative is that the former is subjective in nature and the latter is unbiased and employs figures (Nunan, 1992). Neuman (2000) has highlighted that as different as these two discerning research methods are, they have the ability to complement each other (Neuman, 2000:122). This very distinction between the two methods has been labelled too simplistic and, as explained by Nunan (1992), they overlap each other.

De Vos (1998:241) explains that qualitative research methods bring forth an all-inclusive tactic with the goal of understanding social and behavioural meanings, which human beings ascribe to their daily doings and experiences. Qualitative research methods are systematic, contextual, rigorous, and flexible and should be purposefully conducted (Mason, 2001:5). Neuman (2000:122) highlights that qualitative research methods allow for a detailed investigation of issues, such as HIV and AIDS discourses, that arise in a natural flow of social life, to be recorded. Bryman (1988:61) argues that qualitative research aims at viewing events, norms, actions, values and so on from the worldview of the research subjects.

Furthermore, Denzin and Lincoln (1994:2) postulate:

Qualitative research is multi method in focus involving an interpretive, naturalistic approach to its subject matter. This means that qualitative researchers study things in their natural setting, attempting to make sense or interpret phenomena in terms of meanings people bring to them. Qualitative research involves the studied use and collection of a variety of empirical materials-case study, personal experience, introspective, life story, interview, observational, historical, interactional, and visual texts-that describe routine and problematic moments and meaning in individuals' lives.

Qualitative methods appeared to be the most suitable choice for the current study; however, it is not without its pitfalls. A pitfall that has been highlighted by Terre Blanche *et al.* (2006) is the subjective nature of qualitative research methods. The researcher has been governed by her own schemata and framework whilst analysing the data. However, the researcher

remained cognizant to the subjectivity present. For example, some euphemisms used to replace HIV and AIDS and sexual related topics, were in the opinion of the researcher, to severe to include in this thesis. Despite the researcher's thoughts, the euphemisms that were predominantly used are recorded in this thesis.

In closing, Terre Blanche *et al.* (2006) highlight that each research method has its shortcomings, as in the matter of subjectivity with qualitative research methods. They argue that the analysts form part of the texts' (discourses) context and have to be aware and account for their impact on the texts (discourses) while collecting data and in the analysis thereof. They posited that researchers need to be cognizant to the impact of their presence in the investigation, from the beginning all the way to the study's finalities (Terre Blanche *et al.*, 2006: 340). The observer's paradox manifested when the researcher herself was present for the interviews using voice and video recorders. The participants were conscious of the fact that they will be recorded and studied, which possibly created a predisposition to foster theatrical acts synonymous with the recording instruments. According to Wray *et al.* (1998:153), "the presence of the tape recorder, experimental equipment or even simply yourself may have an effect on the linguistic behaviour of the subject(s)".

However, Wray *et al.* (1998:153) postulates:

In actual fact, the inhibitions associated with informants knowing that they are being recorded are usually short-lived. Therefore, although you may want to consider concealing your microphone or camera, do not assume that this is the only way of getting the data you need. Most people will soon forget about the recording as they become involved in the activities.

The underlying argument of this study is that HIV and AIDS campaigns should be sensitive and informed by the local norms, language practices and culture of a particular area. This will ensure effective preventative and relevant educational campaigns. The researcher has noted

the vast literature available on qualitative research methods and the results that it yields when correctly administered (De Vos, 1998; Mason, 2001; Neuman, 2000; Bryman, 1998; Denzin & Lincoln; 1994). After reading these resources on research methods, the present researcher realised that qualitative methods were the most suitable for this research that is based on HIV and AIDS taboos and euphemisms which require in-depth analyses. The pitfalls of qualitative research methods with respect to the researcher's subjectivity raised by Wray *et al.* (1998) have been especially the fact that the participants became oblivious to the recording equipment. However, this was not a major problem in this research as the participants only showed signs of being affected by the recording machine at initial stages of the interviews but gained more confidence as the interviews proceeded. Next, we discuss how data for this research was collected.

3.2.2. Data Collection

Sarantakos (1988) explains that qualitative research methods of data collection and subsequent analysis facilitate investigation in that they ensure that social realities are discovered as experienced by the research participants. This study is ethnographic and qualitative in nature. The investigation relied entirely on interviews that were conducted. The duration of each interview lasted between 25 and 35 minutes for the one-on-one interviews, and the focus group interviews lasted between 50 minutes and one hour and 50 minutes. A sample of the target population was selected to act as the informants. Interviews were recorded by a digital video camera and an MP3 voice recorder. These interviews were held in the homes of the interviewees within the Manenberg community during times convenient for both the participants and the researcher.

3.2.3. Interviews

Interviewing is a process whereby the researcher uses verbal questioning as the main means to collect data. According to May (1997:109), “interviews yield rich insights into people’s experiences, opinions, aspirations, attitudes and feelings.” In the same vein, Silverman (1997) explains that interviewing is a way of engendering empirical data about the social world by asking people to talk about their lives. According to Stroud and Dlayedwa (2010:28), there are three types of interviews: “non-scheduled unstructured interview, non-scheduled structured interview and scheduled structured interview”.

According to Stroud and Dlayedwa (2010), a non-scheduled unstructured interview requires that the participants will be asked to supply their views on a wide topic and they will have *carte blanche* with their responses. The informants would have the freedom to focus on certain segments of the topic or they may choose to relate what they have been informed about that particular topic or narrate their personal experiences about it. In this case, the researcher only interrupts to probe the respondents in a way that ensures the flow of the talk. Such interviews are generally not governed by a time limit. Ethnographic and case-study researches have been favourable of this form of interviewing (Stroud & Dlayedwa, 2010). In this research, the researcher asked questions that could be answered in a broad range of ways, for example, “What are your views on HIV and AIDS in Manenberg?”

On the other hand, Stroud and Dlayedwa (2010:28) have explained that a non-scheduled structured interview “is structured in the sense that the researcher makes a list of the issues to be investigated before the interview. This means that the interviewer makes a list of precise questions, but depending on the answers from the participant, the interviewer can use alternatives or sub-questions”. In this scenario, the interviewer has the option to articulate additional questions dependent on the situation and the responses. This type of interview is

conducive to ethnographic and case-study research as well. For example, “What are your views on HIV and AIDS in Manenberg, with regard to:

- a) The prevalence thereof in the community?
- b) Are there any differences between views held on HIV and AIDS patients that are homosexual or heterosexual in Manenberg’s community?
- c) Currently, are there adequate HIV and AIDS awareness campaigns in Manenberg?

Lastly, the third type of interview is known as a scheduled structured interview. Stroud and Dlayedwa (2010) describe this form of interviewing as the most structured means of eliciting information directly from informants. They explained that the wording and sequence of presenting the questions are fixed and the research participants have options as to which of the supplied answers they would choose from. Each interviewee that participates in the study will be required to complete exactly the same questionnaire. Generally, the scheduled structured questionnaire will be created in such a way that it has space allocated for the answers of the interviewees (Stroud & Dlayedwa, 2010:28). This form of interviewing is predominantly used in quantitative research methods, which was previously explained to be concerned with numbers, formulas and statistics. For example:

1. How many new HIV and AIDS victims have you encountered this year?

a) zero? []

b) less than 5? []

c) more than 5? []

2. Do you agree that permission should be gained to do HIV and AIDS testing on pregnant mothers?

a) yes []

b) no []

3. How often is HIV and AIDS discussed in your home?

a) never []

b) occasionally []

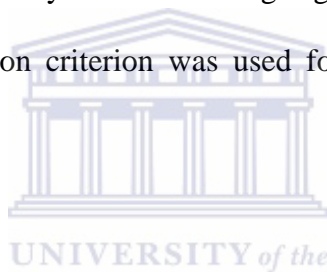
c) all the time []

As mentioned before, interviews are the main data collecting tool preferred by most qualitative researchers for studies that are ethnographic in nature, such as the current study. The interviews were conducted in a non-scheduled structured way because they were governed by guideline questions that were posed to the interviewees. This form of interviewing elicited the different worldviews held by different respondents and it facilitated the flow of 'natural' conversation about HIV and AIDS that took place. The 'natural' conversation data formed the database that was analysed to extract the euphemisms, politeness strategies, taboo-avoidance, de-tabooing and so on, which are present in discourses on HIV and AIDS held by the youth and adults of Manenberg. Interviews were held with three focus groups of four informants per focus group, including eight one-on-one interviewing sessions.

3.2.4. Sampling

The sample was sourced in Manenberg, a township on the Cape Flats area of Cape Town, South Africa. The researcher chose, without prejudice and personal biases, volunteer participants for the study based on the recommendations of medical, religious, educational

and/or social networks. This process of sampling is known as random sampling. It is most suited to attain the research's objective and minimises familiarity between the researcher and informants, as familiarity may hinder participants' true inflective accounts or answers pertaining to the research. The research is comparative in nature, with respect to age (youth versus adults) and gender (male versus female). After the sample of 20 (between the ages of 18 and 65) was selected, 12 were stratified into three focus groups, based on age and gender. Focus group one comprised four youths (two girls and two boys). Focus group two consisted of four adults (two women and two men). Focus group three was made up of two youths (one girl and one boy) and two adults (one man and one woman). These focus groups were interviewed in a semi-structured way. The remaining eight respondents were balanced by gender and age, and that selection criterion was used for the one-on-one semi-structured interviews.



3.2.5. Location

As mentioned previously, the research took place in a township called Manenberg in Cape Town, South Africa. The interviews were conducted in the informants' homes or at a mutually convenient setting that did not lose the essence of the 'natural' setting (such as their neighbours' or family homes) that the respondents were accustomed to and comfortable with.

The reason behind this choice of venue was to ensure that the participants were not threatened by a foreign context, which would possibly have impacted their natural behavioural and linguistic practices. The venues were economically convenient, as most residents of Manenberg are members of the lower class; in this way, it was not too taxing on their time (little or no travel time) and also on their finances (no travelling fare) and were therefore not discouraged from participating in the research by these factors.

The researcher relocated to the area as part fulfilment of this ethnographic study that required extensive time with the target population. Ethnography as a choice was made by the researcher to make the community become accustomed to her presence in the community. The taking up of residence by the researcher in this target community had many advantages, for example, saving on fuel cost, flexible working hours, familiarising with the community's norms, cultural and linguistic practices, revisiting informants if data was unclear and so forth.

3.2.6. Data Analysis

Interviews were transcribed and translated a few days after the interviews took place and were treated as the primary source of data. The interviews were analysed using Discourse Analysis / Conversational Analysis (Cameron, 2001; Terre Blanche *et al.*, 2006; Eggins & Slade, 2006) focusing on euphemisms and politeness strategies.

In order to simplify the understanding of the transcription data, the researcher used the same transcription key as Eggins and Slade (1997), as presented below:

- (_) Researcher guess/ explanations
- = = Interruption / simultaneity
- ... Speech drifts off
- [] Inaudible/ irrelevant utterance
- False start/ restart

CAPS Emphasis

3.3. Ethics

3.3.1. Ethics Statement

All interviewees who participated in the study did so voluntarily, and no rewards were given to participants as this would have been unethical. The researcher ensured the delivery of fair,

truthful and accurate information supplied by the informants in this study by way of not promising incentives. The research required that each of the interviewees were to participate in a one-on-one interview and/or a focus group. Participants gave their consent to participate in this research by means of signing an informed consent form, hence providing permission before the interviews were recorded. Participants were informed about the following:

- Should they choose to participate in the study then their participation would be confidential and anonymous.
- They could withdraw from the interview at any stage.
- Interviews could be stopped at any stage, should they become uncomfortable for any reason.

3.3.2. Ethical Considerations

Anonymity and the principle of non-maleficence (First do no harm)

Due to the sensitive and confidential nature of the HIV and AIDS research issue, the researcher employed extra protection and cares to safeguard the informants' identity from being publicised randomly. This measure was strictly adhered to: firstly, because it is the right of any informant; secondly, it would create a safe plateau for "true and inflective" data to be collected and, thirdly, because the researcher could be prosecuted for failure to protect the identities of informants. There was and is anonymity in terms of not disclosing personal information such as names and telephone numbers. Furthermore, access to raw data is limited to the researcher and the supervisor who are both committed to observing research ethics. The information found during the research period was not used in any harmful manner to the Manenberg community.

Chapter 4: Othering

4.0 Introduction

This chapter is concerned with the notion of othering, which was coined by Spivak in 1985. Up until recently, scholars have focused on othering from a collectivistic worldview on a macro-scale and associated it with biasness, stereotypes and prejudices which, in essence, forms the foundation for racism, sexism, ethnocentrism and so forth (Spivak, 1985; de Beauvoir, 1997; Hughes & Witz, 1997; Said, 1995; Gingrich, 2004). Essentialism, culturalism and many other sociological subjects within intercultural research have directed the focus on othering by means of enforcing cultural features as elucidations for human behavioural and social patterns. However, othering is employed by individuals or groups that postulate themselves as the in-group and superior to others who they classify as the out-group, and who they automatically place in a subordinate position. Similar to stereotypes, othering allows individuals to construct difference, sameness and to assert their personal identity (Bock, 2008).

Leading from this, the present research considered othering on a micro scale and on an individualistic scale in relation to the community that resides in Manenberg. This chapter will highlight the manner in which the respondents employ multi-semiotics to orchestrate othering. These respondents' multi-semiotic choices include different linguistic choices, codes, code-switching, facial expressions, gestures, accents, speech tones and tempos and so forth. The informants' objective of making use of othering with respect to identity portrayal and the contestations that accompany them will also be highlighted in this section. The researcher will highlight the conscious and deliberate abstinence of community-laden terms by the informants as a means to establish boundaries between themselves and the others. Othering has been found to be common amongst the language practitioners of Manenberg's

speech community. It appears that othering is not only being promoted as a social norm by the Manenberg society, but is also hugely accepted.

Othering as a language practice will be elaborated on in Chapter 8 which is concerned with recommendations and the general conclusions. The phenomenon of othering will be illustrated by use of the excerpts that follow.

Subsequent to the excerpts, an in-depth discussion will follow. The six dynamics of othering that the researcher proposes will be used to ascertain whether the othering used by informants is positive, neutral or negative.

4.1. Othering in Context

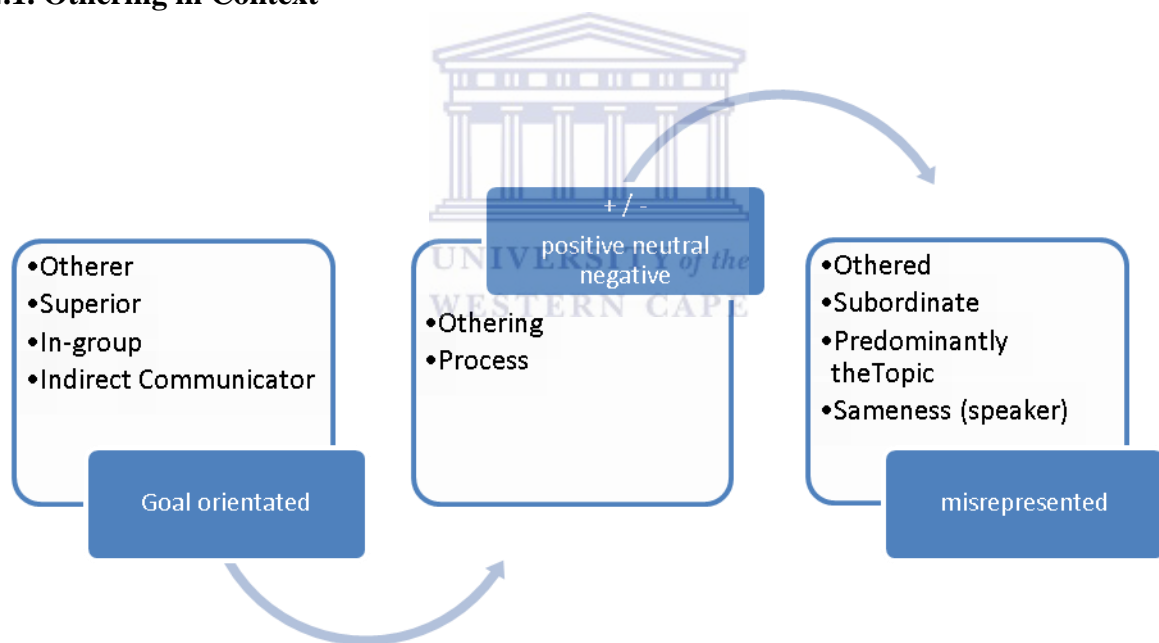


Diagram 4. 1 Othering in context

Othering, simply defined, is concerned with compartmentalising differences and similarities within a homogenous or heterogeneous group. Bock (2008) describes othering as a vehicle

that allows individuals to manufacture and assert their personal identity in comparison with differences and similarities that they can align themselves with or against, so that their personal identity becomes clearer and most suited to the identity they would wish to be associated with. Therefore, it can be noted that othering is not only about the other but in fact more about the self. Furthermore, Jensen's (2011) has investigated the case of young black men who adopted a pro othering stance. Jensen's participants capitalised on the hyperactive sexuality that is generally attributed to black males. Interestingly, he alludes to the point that not all othering is being dismissed by the othered party, but is selectively embraced and used as symbolic capital.

Leading from this, it could be established that othering is not necessarily negative. Contrary to this, it can be neutral or positive. Therefore, the researcher proposes six dynamics to be considered before cataloging the use of othering as negative. To realise the objective of this investigation, othering will be considered as a mechanism or tool which is not necessarily an oppressive entity.

The study acknowledges that othering forms part of Manenberg's language practices, due to its high prevalence rate in all interviews cross-generationally and cross-gender, whether in a one-on-one interview or in a focus group setting. The actual employment thereof is manipulated for the individuals' desired goal. This study's findings have alluded that othering is mainly used to highlight personal distance or closer proximity exists within a group of supposedly homogeneous communities. Othering is also used as a tool to permeate that HIV and AIDS belongs to a particular segment of societal outcasts such as sex-workers, adulterers, drug addicts and homosexuals. The respondents employ othering as a means to postulate their aspired, portrayed and real identities as well and to assimilate themselves to a more preferred in-group or higher social class. The study's findings have indicated that

othering is not only an opinion marker, but also an indication of exercising self-autonomy within the social group to which the interviewees has allegiance. The researcher is in agreement with Bock (2008) with respect to othering being employed by respondents to proclaim their individual identities and distance themselves from their social group. However, the othering that has been presented in this investigation has occurred as three noticeable categories, namely, othering for sameness-power related, othering for sameness-decency related, and othering for difference.

4.2. Othering Types

4.2.1. Othering for Sameness-Power Related

In certain instances, ‘othering for sameness-power related’ is employed, whether in one-on-one interviews or in focus group interviews, it becomes noticeable that (mostly) adult males and females claim authority in the manner that they position themselves as having equal power as the interviewer. This becomes evident when they (adult respondents) assume the researcher’s job by acting as the mediator between informants, align themselves to the researcher (with respect to assumed religious instruction, language preference, socio-economic-status and education status) and sway communicative interaction away from the topic proposed by the interviewer or start asking the interviewer questions. This power negotiation is in light of the adult respondents mediating their personal identity as fore-runners and not as followers. In this instance, they are othering themselves from their daily societal positions and use multi-semiotics to achieve this.

The following extract illustrates the manner in which ‘othering for sameness-power related’ is negotiated by an adult male respondent pseudo-named Alpha. The contestation for power is realised by redirecting the proposed question to the interviewer and choosing the same code and code-switching as the interviewer employed while posing the question.

Extract 4. 1:

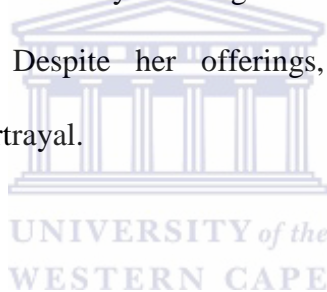
Interviewer: *Wat praat die mense hieso nou eintlik van? (What do the people actually speak of here?) What are the biggest concerns and worries of people here in Manenberg?*

Alpha: *Hoe mien jy nou? [smirking] Os praat net **natural**.. hoesit in Manenberg?..how is it in Manenberg? In Manenberg, **jy wiet** mos hoesit in Manenberg. [laughing] but what **you** know from Manenberg, **I awso** know from Manenberg! (What do **you** mean **now**? [smirking] We speak just **natural**.. how is it in Manenberg? ... In Manenberg, **you know** how it is in Manenberg. [laughing] but what **you** know about Manenberg, **I also** know about Manenberg!)*

In the above extract, it is clear that the respondent is aware that the interviewer is local and challenges the power relations and social distance between himself and the interviewer. He mimics the researcher by firstly speaking Kaaps and then English and accompanying it with the same tone and speech tempo. Alpha uses intersentential and intrasentential code-switching to index the *natural* manner in which people in Manenberg speak, as opposed to answering the question pertaining to the topics that are spoken in the community. He sits in his armchair in a position that would be akin to one relaxing and watching a movie on television, accompanied by his jesting and laughter, which signifies that he intends to re-contextualise the interview setting from formal to informal. Alpha reclaims his power when he insists that the interviewer is aware of the topics that are discussed in Manenberg. He can be described as othering himself as the interviewer as evidenced by how he positions himself as someone not expected to answer the question and simultaneously reminds the interviewer that she is on the same socio-economic level as him, due to the common residential area and knowledge that is common between the researcher and himself. This kind of communication constitutes what the researcher has defined as ‘othering for sameness-power related’.

This is an example of the first dimension that Spivak (1985) offers as part of her three dimensional othering theory. The first dimension is concerned with power and whom it belongs to and who is subjected to it. In the case of Alpha, the interview setting positions the interviewer as the one in power and Alpha aligns, assimilates and ‘reclaims’ his ‘natural’ position as head of the house, by attempting to reduce the interviewer to the position of a subordinate.

The following extract will illustrate the manner in which the respondent, Beta, identifies the issue of different language use between herself and the community as a means of exercising ‘othering for sameness-power related’. She sets herself apart from the community that she is ethnically and residentially affiliated to by othering them and simultaneously declaring her allegiance to the interviewer. Despite her offerings, she subliminally brings forth contestations with her identity portrayal.



Extract 4. 2:

Interviewer: *Is there perhaps a switch in languages when discussing HIV and AIDS?*

Beta: ***Kaapse** Afrikaans would say jy't 'n vrot [pointing towards her private parts with her eyes looking upwards]...of jy **vrot** weg! (Cape Afrikaans would say you have a rotten [pointing towards her private parts with her eyes looking upwards]...or you're rotting away!) You know things like that it's...er...myself and you would say it's the virus or it's the full blown...we would say shame it's the disease.*

In the above extract, it is noticeable that the informant uses the plateau of answering a question pertaining to language employment to fabricate that distance exists between herself and the community she resides in. Beta's statement about the lexical words and terms that ***Kaapse** Afrikaans* comprises, highlights her opinion about the language and the speakers

thereof. Her disgust for the language and the speakers is re-iterated by her eyes moving upwards and by her abstaining from verbalising the intended words.

The respondent others herself when she states *myself and you*, whilst doing this, she classifies herself and the researcher in the same category, that is as possibly educated, sympathetic and informed persons. To achieve this, she uses Standard English and a softer tone whilst attempting to assimilate with the researcher. The respondent simultaneously identifies herself in the same category as the interviewer and severs her ties with the community that she resides in. She indirectly hints that Kaaps (*Kaapse Afrikaans*) speaking people are uncouth, uneducated and unsympathetic.

However, contestation amidst her identity portrayal arises when the researcher compares the voice and video recording of Beta to that of the other informants. Evidently, she is exact in her rendition of her sample of Kaaps with respect to the accompanying tone, tempo, accent, syntactic and semantic formation which makes it apparent that she is a practising member of the very Kaaps speech community that she denounces. The researcher is of the opinion that Kaaps vocabulary is fluid in nature as it is consistently recontextualised and resemiotised. Frequent exposure and use of Kaaps is the only manner in which members of this speech community become familiar with the rapid changes and additions of Kaaps as minimal literature exists on this language variety. The absence of literature in this variety is even underscored by the fact that no up to date translation dictionary from English or Afrikaans to Kaaps and *vice versa* exists. Beta's response to the interviewer's question informs us that her vocabulary includes the most recent vocabulary additions to the code, with respect to HIV and AIDS, for example.

This analysis of Extract 4.2 can also be related to a combination of the second and third dimensions by Spivak (1985). Beta alludes to Kaaps as unsympathetic and disrespectful of

people living with HIV and AIDS and human life in general; and belittles not only the language but the speakers of Kaaps as well. This is in agreement with Spivak's second dimension which posits that othering is about fabricating others as lacking in morals. When Beta abstains from using certain terminologies, it indicates disgust and for this reason Beta deems users of Kaaps as inferior to herself and the researcher. Beta classifies herself as being on the same education level (she has no formal tertiary education but has attended social work workshops) as the interviewer because the respondent and the researcher could converse in Standard English.

Beta also assumes that the interviewer is compassionate and sincere about the people living with HIV and AIDS because of the nature of the research. She assumes that the researcher does not use Kaaps, which she views as a low function language that only the insensitive residents and delinquents of Manenberg employ for scolding and insulting. Beta's assumption is incorrect as the researcher uses Kaaps as a member of Manenberg's community and mostly as a Capetonian because Kaaps is understood by the majority of people living on the Cape Flats.

This form of othering illustrated by Beta is commonly found in Manenberg as a means for the residents to distance themselves from the unsuitable behaviour that is ascribed to most Kaaps speaking communities (Stone, 2002). This highlights a challenge that the community members endure by aspiring to other more 'socially' accepted identities in place of the imposed identity that accompanies the Kaaps language. In the above example, identity is constantly negotiated through the use of language within a specific time and place. Beta interchanges between her imposed identity (Kaaps identity), negotiated identity (Standard English identity) and her assumed identity (combination of Kaaps and Standard English). Leading from this, the transient nature of identity is presented and therefore the three identity

classifications of Pavlenko and Blackledge (2006) are consistent with the actual dynamics of identity formation and presentation.

The following extract indicates the manner in which a 58-year-old male, who was part of a focus group interview, draws on religious discourses to exercise ‘othering for sameness-power related’.

Extract 4. 3:

Interviewer: *What are considered taboo topics in Manenberg?*

M1: *Listen here my sister, especially the Muslims... there **she's** witness [nodding his head]... I don't criticize nobody... judge nobody... but they are **all un-Islamic most of them!** [eyes wide open] Because there is **no respect** right in the house... me and Tiema **drink** from Friday night till Monday night we **don't worry** about our children tena clock (10pm) levena clock (11pm) then I scream for this one and she scream for the next one...*

Extract 4.3 illustrates how the respondent, M1, uses the term of endearment *my sister* to align himself with the researcher with respect to a shared religious instruction. This connotation was used to reduce the distance between himself and the researcher. The respondent could be making use of this term as a way of indexing the Islamic identity of the researcher so that she may share his opinion on the ill-parenting displayed in the dilemma he describes. In this instance, the respondent claims the researcher as his own or alike his family by saying *my sister*. Henceforth, he expects that his statement remains unchallenged by the researcher based on a shared religion and that he asserted her to be closely affiliated to his beliefs. This phenomenon highlights the presence of othering for sameness. M1 states that he is someone who *criticise nobody... judge nobody*. However, for him to position himself as superior, he draws power from a religious standpoint when he says that *they are all un-Islamic*. Othering

for sameness does not appear in isolation, but is coupled with othering for distance, and M1 does this to negotiate his identity of a righteous, good Muslim parent.

The statement made by M1, *they are all un-Islamic*, forms a mental picture of M1 pointing away from himself towards others as a personified version of his verbal statement. The use of the term *they* signals that othering of this nature is distanced. The respondent's choice of terms, tone and facial expressions signify disapproval of those that are *un-Islamic*. While M1 directly posits that his neighbours are unfit and non-religious parents, he simultaneously portrays himself indirectly as a better example of a good, responsible and religious parent. However, contestation arises when he fails his objective by his own conviction. Despite his claim *criticise nobody... judge nobody* when he immediately begins to judge and criticise others in complete contradiction to the traits of a staunch Muslim. M1's othering practice could be situated within Spivak's (1985) three dimensional theory on othering.

According to Spivak (1985), the second dimension has been established from a letter written by a General about "*these highlanders*" where he expresses that they (the highlanders) "*only possessing all the brutality and perfidy [sic] of the rudest times without the courage and all treachery of the modern days without the knowledge of refinement*" (Spivak, 1985:254-255). In a modern code, the second dimension is concerned with fabricating the other, and in the above example, M1's fellow members of his community are othered as morally mediocre and compulsive. Othering appears to be a useful tool that is consistently and commonly used by cross-generations and genders of Manenberg. It serves as a tool for the purpose of expressing their self-value, identity, worldview, biasness, stereotypes, and prejudices and so on indirectly, which leaves room for meaning negotiation. The following section exhibits an in-depth discussion about this phenomenon with more examples to illustrate the manner in which it is practised.

4.2.2. Othering for Sameness-Decency Related

In this category, three extracts have been selected to highlight the manner in which the respondents employ othering to bring forth certain qualities that they denounce in others. However, the informants' objective is not just to obliterate those being referred to, but mainly to promote the alluding contradiction as a constituent of their persona. Othering is a form of indirect speech that is hugely practised in Manenberg and that the majority of the residents employs and prefers to direct speech. The following examples will illustrate clearly how the informants perpetuate othering and that their linguistic repertoire does not include direct speech as a resource to promote the idealised identity they wish to model.

Extract 4. 4:

M1: [speech tempo is fast and tone is strained] *They rather think of music, but it's very upsetting, the parents stand there [frowning and eyes narrowed] and the dogs have sex with other dogs then the children look at it and laugh but the parents won't chase them away, now one girl she played with the dog so she sit on top of the dog... (silence)... is Muslims...*

F1: *Daarom is my kinnas soema vroeg in die huis, as ek binne is dansit kla! Net nou en datit speeltyd is en dan ==*

(That is why my children are early in the house, when I am inside then it is finished! Just now and then that it is playtime and then ==)

M1: *== my seentjie en haa seentjie hulle is vrinne==*
==(my son and her son are friends==)

F1: *== hulle is vrinne jaa, [slight confused look] net nou en dan wat hulle hulle speeltyd het, soms Vrydaas aane of Sarags aane ma oekie te laatie ==*

==(Yes, they are friends, just now and then that they have playtime, some Friday evenings or Saturday evenings but also not too late==)

M1: *==of miskien as hulle gan baseball speel*
==(or perhaps when they go to play baseball)

F1: ja
(yes)

The male respondent, M1, at the onset of the dog tale, announces that whatever he is about to say is *very upsetting* and his evaluation and verdict immediately takes precedence. Leading from this, he already posits himself and all those present (focus group interview setting) as the superior other and those that he is about to describe as subordinate with respect to decent behaviour. The participant refrains from using direct speech that possibly would be constructed like, for example, 'I was very upset'. This statement made by M1, automatically includes his audience as sensors of that specific emotion. In doing so, he instructs the focus group and the researcher that that is the correct emotion which should be felt after the incident has been relayed. The issue at hand becomes a scale as to whether the respondents and researcher are a part of M1's in-group of staunch Muslims and/or group of proper, decent parents who prohibit child rearing of that nature.

F1 responds negatively to the narration told by M1 with respect to the parenting style displayed in the tale. She states that she curtails her children's playtime that happens outside the house and with this offering she simultaneously positions herself as the preferred child-minder and proclaims that the parents of the dog scenario are guilty of bad parenting and as the wrong, subordinate other. She begins her declaration with *Daarom* (that is why) because she is offering information as a solution and advice in response to the ill-parenting, which is apparent in Manenberg as explained by M1. The contribution made by F1 indicates that she detests the practice of the parents of the dog tale and uses othering as a tool to illustrate her sentiments and promote herself as a better parent in an indirect way. In this manner, she asserts her motherly identity as exercising control over her children and her personal identity as being righteous.

M1 immediately latches on to the preferred parenting style of F1 and attempts to affiliate himself with F1 when he announces that his son is friendly with her son. By him doing this,

he shows that he and F1 have consensus with respect to that parenting route and also denounces the parents of the dog scenario as the subordinate other, simultaneously placing himself in a superior parenting position with F1. The alignment with F1 is questioned when she claims that the friendship between the sons is of a temporary nature. M1 then attempts to solidify his attachment to F1 by highlighting that the two sons play baseball together which she then agrees with. M1 is satiated when F1 finally agrees that they are bound by the boys with her *yaa* (yes), he then ceases the negotiation, as he has attained her confirmation thereof.

In Manenberg, there is a shared general consensus that an individual is that of which he or she keeps the company of. F1 and M1, through their negotiation of preferred parenting and friendship between their sons, exercise othering towards the parents of the dog incident. M1 employs othering for sameness with F1, in his attempt to be viewed as a good parent who has control over his children, similar to F1.

The extract 4.4 alludes to a combination of all three dimensions of Spivak's (1985) othering dimensions. As in the first dimension, it is noticeable in the above excerpt that a negotiation for power is at play. In the instance where M1 denounces the parenting skills of the parents in the 'dog tale' and when he chooses to assimilate with F1 when she states her parenting routines, he is assertive in the effectiveness thereof. On F1's behalf, she too negotiates her power by distancing herself from the claim of M1 of their allegiance through the children and eventually agrees half-heartedly with M1.

The second dimension is concerned with the moral and pathological behaviour of the other. In the above example, it is noteworthy that M1 questions the moral and pathological makeup of the 'dog tale' parents by stating *but it's very upsetting, the parents stand there* and then continues by building up a silent crescendo and then he draws on a religious discourse, ... (silence)... *is Muslims...*

The third dimension is illustrated in the first line of the excerpt, when M1 states that they (referring to Muslim parents to follow from his narration) *They rather think of music*. In retrospect, M1 is claiming that *they* would rather concern themselves with music than learning to rear their children properly and this statement could be correlated to Spivak's (1985) third dimension, whereby knowledge is only with the superior other. In this instance, the knowledge referred to is the knowledge a parent should gather to exercise 'proper' parenting and M1 regards himself as the superior other and parent.

The extract below illustrates how the informant blatantly exercises 'othering for Sameness-decency related' on himself and assimilates with a drug addict with an objective of displaying him as being pro-active in the state of Manenberg's affairs.

Extract 4. 5:

Interviewer: Do you think you do you feel *as iemand se kind nou 'n gangster is* do you feel that you can go and approach the parent?

Tiger: line 1 ==*Naai ek het al dai gedoen al* [looking at researcher
 line 2 directly], *I don't want to mention names... of my*
 line 3 *neighbours* [speaking in softer tone, speech is
 line 4 slowed, tilting head towards window] *ek het hulle*
 line 5 *kin by my gevat terwyl hy mos op drugs gewies het,*
 line 6 *toe vat ek hom by my.. maa toe wil hy mossie reg*
 line 7 *kommie, toe sê ek right jy moet ma gooi, you*
 line 8 *understand? cause I did, ma ek* [touching chest with
 line 9 his right hands finger tips] *sallie sleg praat van hom*
 line 10 *affie van is sy liewe ek mien ek kom van dai lewe af*
 line 11 *ek sal try om vi hom weg te haal en sê kyk hie ek het*
 line 12 *self dai ding gedoen, verstaan jy oppie einde van*
 line 13 *die dag dan verdien jy niks uittie lewe -uit tie*

(No I done that already [speaking in softer tone, speech slowed, looking at researcher directly], I don't want to mention names...of my neighbours [tilting head towards window] I took their child while he was on drugs, so I took him by me but he didn't want to come right, so I told him right you must rather go, you understand? Because I did, but I [touching chest with his right hands finger tips] won't talk bad of him because it is his life I mean I come from that life I will try to get him away and

say look here I myself did these things, you understand at the end of the day you earn nothing from life].

The above extract points towards othering being two-fold. The respondent indexes 'othering for sameness-decency related' as well as 'othering for difference', which exhibits that othering could be a constant negotiation between turns. In lines 4-6, Tiger states that he chose to assist a neighbour's drug-addicted child by sponsoring him, but when it was to no avail he told him to leave his home. This statement highlights that Tiger's actions personify othering for difference by him being agentive and having voice when he ceases to assist the drug addict. On the other hand, Tiger explains in lines 6-7 that he comes from a life of being a drug-addicted gangster and that presently he attempts to encourage others who are in addicted to reform their lives. This statement brings to the fore 'othering for sameness-decency related' whereby he assimilates with the drug addict as having known the life that he is leading but uses that opportunity to promote himself as an upstanding, drug free and hardworking citizen who does not associate with that kind of illegal life anymore. Simultaneously, he identifies himself as a previously drug-addicted gangster, as well as a reformed drug-free businessman. Othering as a communicative tool has made this exercise possible to promote both spheres at the same time and allows Tiger to other and distance himself from those who are still addicted to drugs.

The following example of othering takes place when the other's agency, voice and religious background are deemed inept to facilitate the reinstating of the other party's son into an educational system after being expelled from school.

Extract 4. 6:

M1: *Kyk soes my neighbour die kin was uit die skool geskorts, right toe vra ek vi hom nou wat maak jy by die huis, wat bunk jy? Toe sê hy hulle het hom geskorts, toe sê ek gat gou eeste af na die council toe en dan gat ek af na die prinsipaal toe... right hys mos geskorts... ek het gegaan na die principal ek het hom a picture gegee van die conditions en als, en uhm, toe't hy vi my gesê kyk hie Mr. Pauls, bring the student, bring hom.. ek kom by hom ek sê vi hom kyk hie jy moet saam met my skool toe gat jy kan môre in die skool wies, hy sê jaa ma my ma en my pa was dan kla daa vaoggend vra ek vi hom met watter gebed het julle gegat right saam watter dua het jy daa gegan daa ...because hulle kan vi my straight gesê het die concern nie vi jou nie os het hom geskorts en is kla*

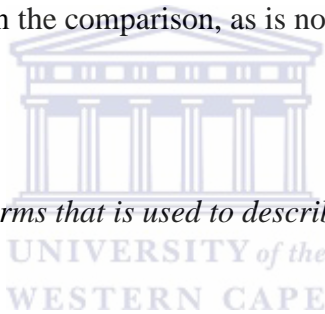
(Look like my neighbour this child was expelled from school, right so I asked him, now what are you doing at home, are you bunking? So he told me they expelled him, so I told him I'm going to the council and then I'll go down to the principal... right he was expelled... I went to the principal and painted a picture of the conditions and everything, and uhm... So he told me...Look Mr. Pauls, bring the student, bring him... I come so I told him look here you must go with me to school you can be in school tomorrow. He says yes but my mother and my father was there already this morning. So I asked him with which prayer {Christian} did they go with right with what prayer {Muslim} did you take with there... because they could have told me straight that this matter does not concern you, we expelled him and it is finish.)

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In the above extract, M1 narrates an event when a neighbour's son was expelled from school. He employs othering to illustrate that the child's parents are of a lesser kind, for two reasons: firstly, their son is out of school, and secondly, they could not reinstate their child. Furthermore, the employment of othering by M1 indirectly portrays himself as a 'good Samaritan', a concerned member of the community, role model, good parent and a righteous person. He draws on religious discourses to further his plight for his ability to achieve what the neighbours could not, rendering the neighbours as the insignificant others and himself as the significant other.

4.2.3 Othering for Difference

Othering appears to be an automatic practice for most human beings, to exercise their beliefs, which are practised on anyone that is different or possibly a threat (mentally, verbally or physically) at any given time. The objective is to distance oneself over time or at best, instantly adhere to beliefs, norms and standards of their ‘superior’ group, hence, the vast research and literature that is available on this phenomenon. At worst, othering could subjugate out-groups enduringly or eliminate them entirely. Othering for difference has been amongst the strongest and most obvious of the othering practices in the research on HIV and AIDS discourses in Manenberg. This category of othering forms the foundation for wars, genocides, xenophobia and so forth. In this research, othering for difference furnishes more information about the speaker than the comparison, as is noticeable in the illustrations below:



Extract 4. 7:

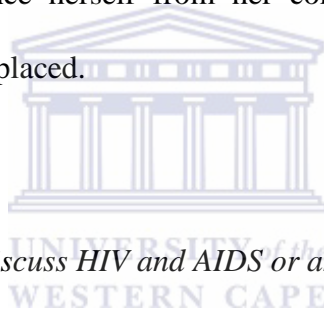
Interviewer: *Any other special terms that is used to describe somebody living with Aids?*

Beta: *Mmm... people lie about it people lie... [hitting palm of hands flat on table] someone says they have cancer... some will agh man, [speech hastens] they come up with all sorts of illnesses even though they [moving head from side to side] don't even know about it and you in your right mind [pointing her index finger to her temple] would think dai kannie dai siekte wiessie... (that can't be that sickness).*

In the above extract, Beta blatantly accuses ‘people’ of lying about the actual illness that the person is suffering from to dismiss the prospect of the disease being HIV and AIDS. The respondent mentions *people* and that automatically excludes her from the accused. In doing so, she simultaneously separates herself from the people she is about to speak of as well as her opinion about them. In the first sentence of her response, *Mmm... people lie about it people lie* she deliberately posits herself as an honest and truthful person pertaining to HIV

and AIDS statuses and related health issues. The statement, *agh man, they come up with all sorts of illnesses even though they don't even know about it* clearly indicates that Beta does not consider herself to be a part of the group that she is discussing. In this instance, the other is *they*, the people that she is in close contact with. In effect, Beta positions herself as an honest and educated person who can view her community as less knowledgeable about HIV and AIDS.

In the following extract, the respondent's employment of othering for difference has been earmarked by her use of the pronoun, *they* to externalise the discussion. This pronoun was used to refer to the community of Manenberg. The informant Beta is a resident of Manenberg too, but uses othering to distance herself from her community before she insults their behavior, which she views as misplaced.



Extract 4. 8:

Interviewer: *Do adults feel free discuss HIV and AIDS or anything with anyone?*

Beta: *Yes they are very boisterous,[eyes widening] **they** come out with the thing, whether they say it in a nice way intelligent way or a **very** rude way, you know or when they start scolding at each other it becomes part of the insult then all these things will also be included.*

In this instance, the question was general and applied to the respondent too. She employs othering to indicate her position as unlike that which she describes. Her response, independent of 'Othering', would possibly be, *'I am a very composed person, I am not blatant and I'll choose appropriately the manner in which I conduct my liaisons and I'll not divulge someone's HIV and AIDS status as part of an insult within an argument'*. Being a Manenberg community member, her options do not include being conceited and putting

herself forward as the better alternative, in first person. Beta and all the respondents of this study never speak about themselves as the correct way of being because it has been ingrained in them that being conceited is a social transgression and that they should “Stick to what you are” and do not pretend to be otherwise or different than your community members. This concept of not pretending to something else than yourself, relates to the community members assimilating with other residents and should refrain from attempting to appear to be different or better. On the other hand, when they do portray themselves directly as right, they are considered brave and outlandish, putting themselves in a vulnerable position, being ridiculed and possibly, being challenged as a claimant of being a society role model. This tacit rule is strictly adhered to out of fear of their past or their children’s behaviour being brought into question by fellow community members. Therefore, othering is an embedded part of Manenberg’s language practices.

In a community where Kaaps is the dominant language used by the in-group, it is expected that Standard English will be used to exercise othering; however, it does not always happen like that in practice, as is illustrated below.

Extract 4. 9:

Interviewer: *When discussing AIDS would you switch to a different language?*

Versa: *Depending on the people I’m having the discussion with... I normally look at my situation and think okay jy’s a bietjie ielitrit jy moet **direk** gesê wid ‘n mens **ennie** en ‘n mens **pee** nie soe **nie** en dai maak lat jy **soe** gan kry!*

*(I normally look at my situation and think okay you are a bit illiterate, you must be told **directly** a person **don’t** (sex) and a person don’t (**vagina**) like that and that will cause you attracting **AIDS**).*

The above extract highlights how the participant changes from one code to another, from Standard English to Kaaps. Kaaps has been labeled as a degenerate code that symbolises the “Coloured” race. This hybrid language (Kaaps) combines Afrikaans, Arabic, Dutch, English, Malay, isiZulu and of late, isiXhosa. The participant indexes a Kaaps identity to other the members of Manenberg’s community who he claims are *illiterate*, vulgar and have a very low level of education (cf. Stone, 2002). Therefore, whilst communicating to his fellow community members, his choice of code would be that of Kaaps and using profane language as the most suitable code to address them. The informant uses the interview platform to set himself aside from those he discusses (Kaaps speakers) so as to mark himself off as mostly educated, intelligent, affluent and respectable as he mostly answers in Standard English. Contrary to his offering, contestation arises within his identity portrayal.

Firstly, it is expected that someone who has lived in Manenberg for his entire life, being over 55 years old, would use Standard English only to perform othering or stylisation, as Kaaps is engraved in his identity. He answers most questions in Standard English and by doing that he indexes an identity affiliated to education, decency and affluence. However, this identity becomes compromised when he states that he *think okay jy’s a bietjie ielitrit jy moet direk gesê wid* (think okay you are a bit illiterate, you must be told **directly**). In fact, by supplying the research with a sample of Kaaps, Versa makes it obvious that he employs Kaaps to be agentive as part of the in-group of the Manenberg speech community. Versa’s answer indicates that he thinks in Kaaps and with his stylisation of the speakers of that language, exhibits that he has both productive and cognitive skills in the language and sports being an advanced native speaker of Kaaps, despite his claim of otherwise.

4.3. Othering and Harmful HIV and AIDS Biasness

In this section, the extracts offered allude to the presence of othering amidst talk on HIV and AIDS. This phenomenon is particularly obvious when respondents discuss the virus, the people that are most susceptible to the virus, people living with HIV and AIDS, the deaths caused by the virus and so on. The extracts will illustrate how informants communicate their worldview on daily life surrounding HIV and AIDS. Henceforth, relative extracts and the analysis and discussions thereof will follow to the extracts.

Extract 4. 10:

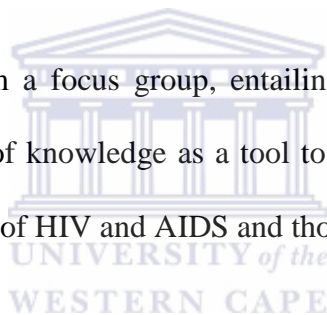
Interviewer: What is the possible reason for HIV and AIDS spreading in Manenberg?

Beta: *...because they are afraid mmm they are scared mmm...like I know of someone who went into someone's house and they were not aware that of the person who was infected with it and then finally when the person got to hear it,[speech tempo hastens] they **IMMEDIATELY** ran for an aids test, because of the stigma of the aids them being fearful of the aids because they ate there and slept there because he was not aware of the aids situation **IN** the house...so that [crossing her arms in front of her chest] is where it would fall into that they are very fearful of discussing that ja. (yes).*

The above extract points to othering in relation to a number of issues pertaining to people living with HIV and AIDS and others who have interaction with them. The participant immediately attributes the spread of the deadly disease to the fear of those people who are infected. It is obvious that she is of the opinion that they should publicise their status to the community. Publicising their HIV and AIDS status to the members of the community would make everyone aware of their health situation which would, in the researcher's opinion, affect their mental well-being, as they would for sure be ostracised. Hence, she explains the reason for their silence is because of their fear of being stigmatised by the community that

they (people living with HIV and AIDS) interact in. The participant uses othering to discuss the matter of “someone that she knows” who employed haste when that person found out that the people he was visiting were infected with the virus. In her speaking, Beta makes it obvious that she believes that when the general community is aware of the people living with HIV and AIDS, they would cease socialising with them. The othering process that is actioned by this participant is concerned with establishing boundaries between people that are living with HIV and AIDS as the ‘out-group’ and the people who are not infected by the virus, as the ‘in-group’. This statement is in line with Gillespie’s (2006) postulation that this process steers people toward an extensive penchant to draw clear distinctions between the ‘in-group’ and the ‘out-group’ and (on an individual level) the ‘self’ from the ‘other’.

The following is an extract from a focus group, entailing two adult males and two adult females, whereby they use lack of knowledge as a tool to draw borders between those who are knowledgeable on the subject of HIV and AIDS and those who are not.



Extract 4. 11:

Interviewer: Change *die way soes die mense praat as hulle van AIDS of seks praat?*

(Does the manner in which people speak change when they discussing AIDS or sex?)

Key: F1 = Female participant number 1

F2= Female participant number 2

M1= Male participant number 1

Turn 1 F1: *Nie hulle praattie hulle lykkie die nie ==*

(No they do not speak, they do not like this==)

Turn 2 F2: == [left hand on hip, right hand with index finger raised and waving swiftly around, drawn out

stressed syllables, accent stylisation of Manenberg's
gays] *nancies girl! nancies girl*==!

(nonsense girl! nonsense girl!)==

- Turn 3 F1: ==*die* [moving head from side to side; drawing
mouth downwards in disapproval] *moffies is open
met alles*==

(the gays are open with everything) ==
- Turn 4 F2: ==*die moffies sê nancies, ek sal vi jou sê*

==(the gays talk nonsense, I will tell you)
- Turn 5 F1: *Die moffies sê straight use a condom, hulle prat
straight jy moet a condom het voo jy 'n ding gat doen
met hulle*

(the gays say straight use a condom, they speak straight you must have a
condom before you going to do a thing [sex] with them)
- Turn 6 F2: *Hulle loep op n af en dan sê hulle vi jou moenie
sonna jou reënjassie loeppie*

(they walk up and down then they will tell you, do not walk without
your raincoat [condom]).
- Turn 7 F1: *Hulle sê soe*==

(They say so) ==
- Turn 8 M1: == *Kry vi Hannes*

==(Get hold of Hannes)
- Turn 9 M2: *Hulle gat baie by die dag hospital vi dai* ==

(They go many times to the day hospital for that)==
- Turn 10 M1: ==*En Prada*

==(and Prada)

When the focus group was faced with the question about whether adults indulge and entertain topics on HIV and AIDS, their immediate reaction was *Nie...* (no) and by overlapping turns the females immediately switched to role-playing by code-swapping to Gayla (a Cape Flats gay code) and accent stylisation (imitation of the code, tone and accent) to imitate the gays of

the community. Through accent stylisation, the females institute othering of the community of gays and index their HIV and AIDS and sexual discourses in their code. Leading from this, the picture that is painted by the female interlocutors is that the topic is reserved for gay people only as they are the only ones that should have a concern for HIV and AIDS. This stylisation was executed by the females only and the males abstained from participating in this rendition.

The lack of input from the male respondents could not be due to them lacking in knowledge on HIV and AIDS because towards the latter part of the interview the males made obvious their knowledge with respect to the topic. Interestingly, after the females have completed their rendition of the gays, the males join in and mention two well-known gays in the community, Hannes (also an informant of this study) and Prada (a previous domestic worker for the researcher's parents' household). When the male respondents suggest that the researcher ask the well known community gays (*moffies*) for further information about the gay discourses on HIV and AIDS, their intention of culminating the talk on homosexuals and HIV and AIDS is realized. A deduction could be made that their refusal to partake in the discussion around gays was due to them fearing being ridiculed and associated with HIV and AIDS by the participants after the interview or due to possible gossip concerning the content of the interview possibly leaking to the neighbours despite the fact that anonymity and confidentiality agreements were signed by all concerning parties. Othering on the male's part has taken the form of abstinence from the conversation. The male participants did this to avoid being grouped with those who are vulnerable to HIV and AIDS, hence making them part of the 'in-group' and denouncing the gays and HIV and AIDS conversers to the 'out-group'.

In the above interaction, othering is being produced by the participants towards the Manenberg gay community. However, the classification thereof cannot be situated amidst

one of the three dimensions of othering offered by Spivak (1985). This is one of the pitfalls of Spivak's (1985) three dimensional othering theory. Analysing the above extract to establish whether it is negative, neutral or positive will be considered in the section on the six evaluative dynamics of othering that follows.

The HIV and AIDS preventative campaigns advise that information dissemination, especially between parents and children, is pivotal to curtail the disease. In the following extract, it is acknowledgeable that the respondent follows this advice but the effectiveness of the message is questionable as the respondent contorts the information offered to his daughter.

Extract 4. 12:

Interviewer: Discuss *julle sex en AIDS met julle kinnas?* (Do you discuss sex and AIDS with your children?)

M1: line 1 you see my sust... you see my girl the problem is we
line 2 mus just just lift ourselves up and go forward and
line 3 get education and go to workshops then er os stel
line 4 belang man van Aids is 'n baie belangrike siekte... a
line 5 very sensitive issue sê byvoobeeld Shurie van my ryt en die
line 6 boeta gat nou uit rght dan gat ek vi Shurie sê om te gan
line 7 zienna nou is a **groot straf** ryt jy trou nie jy hettie seksie
line 8 **trou eeste** dan kan jy seks het...ek sal sê seks ek sal sê seks
line 9 vstaan ? En dan sê ek oek vi haa kyk hie jy ken jousef jy's
line 10 innie huis in laat jou vrin gan laat jou boyfriend gan en sê
line 11 hy moet gat vi 'n **aids test** see what is happening and when he
line 12 must be open and honest [nice tone] with you and if he got it
line 13 then then uhm you love the man it is your decision no I can't
line 14 tell you don't marry him tomorrow you marry somebody
line 15 else then it's a sorry for the word then its fucked up then it's
line 16 cause of my daddy that I'm sitting like this ek willie jou
line 17 lewe vi jou choosie jy moet jou eie lewe choose en
line 18 uhm ...as julle trou gebruik ma a condom van 'n
line 19 French kiss kan jou nie anstiekkie unless...

(you see my sist... you see my girl the problem is we must just just lift ourselves up and go forward and get an education and go to workshops then er we are not interested man about Aids it's a very important sickness... a very sensitive issue say for example Shurie from me right and this man are now courting then I am going to tell Shurie not to go have premarital sex

now it is a **big punishment** right you **must marry first** you don't have sex marry first then you have sex...I will say sex I will say sex understand? And then I will also say to her look house let your friend go let your boyfriend go and tell him to go take an **aids test** see what is happening and when he must be open and honest [nice tone] with you and if you got it then then uhm you love the man it is your decision no I can't tell you don't marry him tomorrow you marry somebody else then it's a sorry for the word then its fucked up then its cause of my daddy that I'm sitting like this I don't want to make the choices in your life and uhm ...say you get married then use a condom cause you can't get it from a French kiss unless...).

The above extract points to Spivak's (1985) second othering dimension, which in sociological terms, "is about constructing the other as pathological and morally inferior." (Jensen 2011:65). In this instance, othering is employed by an adult male, that is, a father to a daughter. The father attempts to illustrate the difference between his daughter that is pure and chaste in marked contrast to any man that she will seek a relationship with. M1 actions this othering dimension by embedding it in the advice he would offer his daughter in the instance that she would possibly be interested in marriage or courting a man. It is worth highlighting that M1 assumes that his daughter is "in the house" that she is pure (virgin) and saint-like and need not concern herself with testing for HIV and AIDS (line 6-9). However, he is abundantly clear that the other party is morally inferior. According to M1, premarital sex is a *groot straf* (big punishment) and therefore he deems the other party will be susceptible to HIV/AIDS.

Having discussed the second dimension of othering, let us now establish whether this othering exercise is positive, neutral or negative by discussing the six evaluative dynamics of othering.

4.4. Six Evaluative Dynamics of Othering

The six evaluative dynamics of othering that establish whether the occurrence of othering is positive, neutral or negative are: firstly, the purpose (goal) for which it is employed; secondly, the participants; thirdly, the immediate context and; fourthly, the “Face” of the audience. The fifth dynamic of othering is post-interaction interpretation. Lastly, the sixth dynamic is the influence othering has on social action.

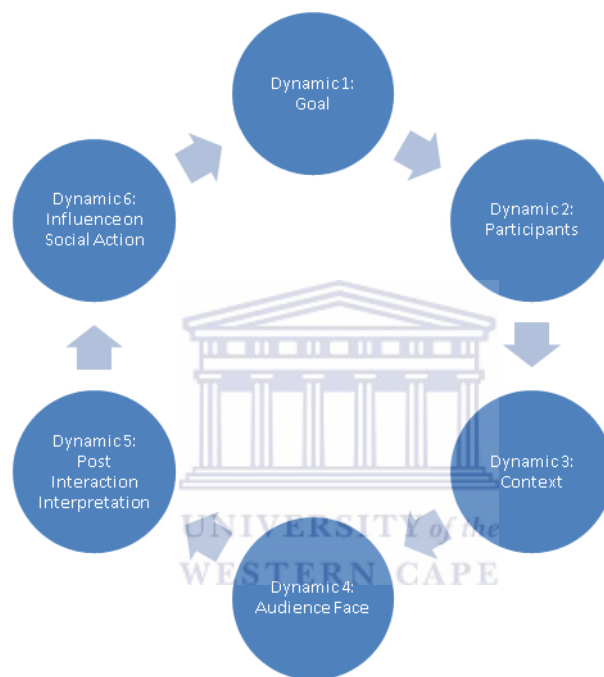
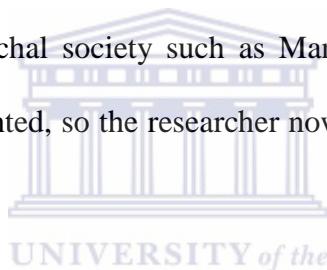


Diagram 4. 2 The six evaluative dynamics of othering

To examine the conclusive effect of othering, the three extracts that were analysed above will be evaluated according to the six evaluative dynamics of othering. The discussion of the six dynamics will lead us to determine whether or not employment of othering could result in a positive, neutral or negative effect.

Extract 4.1 will be used to discuss the six evaluating dynamics of othering. The first evaluative dynamic focuses on the goal of othering by the respondent. In this case, Alpha’s

goal is to reclaim his power. The second evaluative dynamic looks at the participants, who are the interviewer and the respondent. The third dynamic is related to the context in which othering has occurred; this is an open-ended interview with structured questions. Fourthly, the “Face” of the audience needs to be considered and in this instance, it is positive, as the interviewer is also the audience. Post-interaction interpretation is the fifth dynamic and occurs as data for an M.A thesis at the University of the Western Cape that reports on the HIV and AIDS discourses that the youth and adults of Manenberg employ. The sixth evaluative dynamic pertains to the influence othering has on social action and in this case the researcher is of the opinion that no social action will be expected because of the occurrence of othering of this nature. In this instance, othering could be classified as neutral and appears to be a social norm in a patriarchal society such as Manenberg. Furthermore, the neutral effect of othering has been presented, so the researcher now has brought forth an extract that has a different result.



Extract 4.5 is an example of a positive effect of othering. Tiger performs othering for ‘sameness-decency related’, and is effective when he assimilates with the drug-addicted child as being a rehabilitated drug addict himself and achieves his goal (dynamic 1) when he manages to inspire the addict to move in his home and allow Tiger to be a sponsor for him. The participants (dynamic 2) are Tiger and the researcher. The context (dynamic 3) is the scheduled unstructured interview for research. The “Face” (dynamic 4) of the audience, who is the researcher, would be positive as explained throughout the evaluation of othering in one-on-one interviews. Post-Interaction Interpretation (dynamic 5) is consistent throughout the research and appears as data for an M.A thesis at the University of the Western Cape that reports on the HIV/AIDS discourses that the youth and adults of Manenberg employ. Influence on Social Action (dynamic 6) renders this form of othering as positive, like when

Tiger others himself from the community of drug abusers; he becomes a tangible role model and inspiration to those who aspire to living their lives differently. The researcher has highlighted the phenomenon of othering having the capacity to have a neutral (Extract 4.1) and positive (Extract 4.5) effect which alludes to the popularised, much researched negative effect of othering.

Extract 4.12 is concerned with the participant M1, explaining the advice he would offer his daughter pertaining to HIV and AIDS, which subsequently would only take place when the daughter is considering marriage. This extract would be an example of negative othering practices. Dynamic 1, which is concerned with the goal of the otherer for performing othering for difference, in this case would be to highlight distance between his daughter and possible suitors. Dynamic 2 focuses on the participants who are the researcher and the informant. Dynamic 3 has to do with the context, which is explained as an interview for research purposes and Dynamic 4 visits the “Face” of the audience, which appears to be positive as the researcher does not feel that her privacy is easily impeded on and always prefers to be well liked. Post Interaction Interpretation is the fifth Evaluative Dynamic and in this case, as in all the cases of the extracts, it is for an M.A Linguistics thesis. The sixth dimension “influence on social action” is where the reality of the level of negativity of this othering manifests. M1 has accepted the much publicised advice of talking openly in your homes with your children about HIV and AIDS.

In this extract, M1 discourages his daughter to test for HIV and AIDS because he assumes that she is chaste because she is predominantly home-bound. It can be deduced from his statement that only people who are sexually active and outgoing people should be testing for HIV and AIDS. The negativity of othering in this extract is that he misleads his ‘chaste’ unmarried daughter into believing that she is not vulnerable to attracting the virus and that the

spouse that she intends wedding, will be prone to HIV and AIDS. M1's othering statement places his daughter and his audience's life at risk. Despite him attempting to preserve life and that he openly discusses HIV and AIDS and related issues within the home environment, his opinion comes across as if HIV and AIDS is someone else's problem.

These othering practices were not only produced by the employment of words, terms and different languages in isolation as previously mentioned. The following section will focus on the multi-semiotic codes that were used by participants to place emphasis on meaning making while practising othering.

4.5 Multi-Semioticity in Othering Practices

Multi-semioticity is the study of a combination of signs that perform together to negotiate meaning. Multi-semioticity is based on the theory of Ferdinand de Saussure who explains that semiotics is the science of the existence of signs (codes) that is or was employed in a society. Kress and van Leeuwen (2001) have identified that ensembles of these various codes are in fact multimodal occurrences. Multimodality, according to Kress and van Leeuwen (2001), is the combination of codes that act together to make meaning that has coherence and salience. The findings of this investigation has unearthed that the production of othering is not only marked by words, but also makes use of different combinations of signs. The researcher has noted that when informants produced othering it was a combination of social signs that was undertaken concurrently to negotiate and emphasise meaning. The researcher would refer to certain extracts above to draw the attention to the presence of multi-semioticity that was presented in the investigation at hand.

The most obvious othering semiotic was when the participants would switch between different codes, as illustrated in extract 4.9 in lines 2-5: the respondent Versa attempts to portray an identity of an English speaking person but fails as he unwittingly announces that

he thinks in Kaaps when performing othering on Kaaps language speakers. This alludes to Versa having the cognitive ability that only native advanced speakers of the language possess. In extract 4.11, Turn 2 F2 illustrates how different codes can be negotiated instantaneously by multi-linguals to achieve the maximum meaning making to exercise othering. F2 switches from Kaaps to Gayla (Cape Flats' gay code) to demarcate talk on HIV and AIDS to the gay community of Manenberg. The switches between codes are not the only signs that are displayed when othering is being executed; it could occur concurrently or independently with, for example, changes in the manner in which it is spoken.

The researcher is referring to speech tempos speeding up or slowing down as is evident in some extracts discussed above and the change in intonation has been noted in square brackets [], as in Extract 4.5 line 3-4, where the participant's tone becomes softer and his (Tiger's) speech slows down. This exercise in itself alludes to the fact that the informant will be discussing others and that he fears being overheard, or it could be a sign of humbleness as he is sympathetic toward the drug abuser and would like to keep his identity confidential. Multi-semioticity found in othering practices are not limited to codes-switching, speech tempos and intonation variances, but includes stylisation, accent stylisation and gestures such as facial expressions, eye movements, body movements and so forth as is clearly illustrated in the Extract 4.11, turn 2 by the informant F2. When performing her othering, she uses multi-semiotics comprised of putting her left hand on her hip, right hand with index finger raised and waving swiftly around, stressed syllables, accent stylising the gay community and changing her code from Kaaps to Gayla. This othering practice was to inform the interviewer and the audience that the speaker is not familiar with HIV and AIDS and that it is a gay concern. The argument presented about othering not existing within one specific code or sign,

but in a combination of signs brought together to negotiate the meaning, has been realised. Next, we look at othering terms.

4.6 Othering Terms

As highlighted previously, othering is a multi-semiotic process that combines ensembles of signs that include the employment of Kaaps, Kaaps accent, a different tone to their norm, speech tempo, specific linguistic terms, gestures and so on. However, these signs include the use of linguistic terms which are classified mainly as determiners, pre-determiners and third person plural pronouns, for example, “hulle” (they/them), “die mense” (the people / these people), “dai mense” (those people), “sukke mense” (such people), “anna mense” (other people) and “iellitrit” (illiterate people). Othering is a language practice which is predominantly practised by the Manenberg community members to the extent that it appears as if it has become the social norm. The question arises whether the contrary of direct talk in first person is dissuaded by the community as none of the respondents employs it cross-generationally and across genders.

The strong presence of the othering phenomenon in the data by the study’s respondents alludes to the possibility of direct speech going against the societal norm. The researcher, being a resident in the community, is aware that the inhabitants will almost never speak about themselves in direct speech. This tends to promote them as the better other in all spheres of life.

Othering becomes a safety net for the residents of Manenberg: firstly, so that they may conform to society’s rules; secondly, so that they may be agentive in their community; thirdly, to ensure that their present or past behaviour is not brought into question. Finally, the information that they are offering indirectly about themselves stands little chance of being contested. Othering in this regard appears to have found a secure place in the language

practices of the youth and adults of Manenberg. The appearance of othering is cross-generational which leads to the on-going debate between nature versus nurture to establish whether the community members of Manenberg were born with the tendency towards othering or been socialised into it.

4.7 Conclusion

Essentialism and culturalism, amongst other elements within intercultural research, have speared in the direction of othering by means of enforcing cultural features as elucidations for humans' behavioural and social patterns. AbuLughod (1991) shares sentiments with Hannerz (1999) on othering by emphasising that resorting to cultures as a separate entity will ultimately progress to othering. Ultimately, when cultures are considered and comparisons are drawn, othering will become unavoidable. However, this phenomenon could be viewed as discriminatory as it appears to be the seeds on grassroots level of stereotyping, stigmatisation, xenophobia, biases and so forth. Many linguists and other social actors have spent much funding on research to establish how this phenomenon could be eradicated. However, Abdallah-Preteille (2006) posits that non-othering is impossible. The researcher of this study has developed a six dimensional theory on othering to facilitate the unearthing of the presence and possible degree of harmfulness of this phenomenon. She agrees with Abdallah-Preteille (2006) that non-othering is realistically impossible to exterminate due to its expected inflicted harmful nature.

The six dimensions in numerical order are: firstly, the purpose (goal) for which it was employed by the speaker; secondly, the participants (tenor) using it and the distance between them and the receivers; thirdly, the context in which the interlocutors are in; fourthly, the "Faces" of the interlocutors concerned in the interaction. The fifth dynamic of othering is post-interaction interpretation by agents who second-handedly experience the analysis of the

data of the initial interaction between the interlocutors. The sixth and final dynamic is the influence of othering on social action after the phenomenon's occurrence. Leading from this, it is noticeable that there are at least five out of the six dynamics that will be present and which influence a positive, neutral or negative outcome. It has been previously mentioned that the evaluation of othering will remain fluid and could be reformed depending on the discipline that the data is being analysed in and the person doing the analysis.

The researcher agrees that non-othering is virtually impossible because it is a language practice that is common amongst most cultures and nations and Manenberg is no exception. In certain cultures, othering is replaced by speech that is in third person which still disassociates the speaker from the speech, as is the case with othering. The constant with these speech dimensions is that individuals need to express their similarities or differences in a comparative nature, as posited above.

The researcher has established that othering is not always employed to subjugate subordinates but to assimilate themselves with a person or persons in superior positions such as the interviewer. Interviewees have also shown that they want to be associated with wealthy, educated and kind-hearted people. Findings have suggested that othering practices have been used by mostly adults and Muslim males to assume an authoritative stature within the interview by drawing on religious discourses that portray them as religiously upright people versus the religiously lacking members. It appears that the adults and youth of Manenberg have an identity crisis in terms of them distancing themselves from Kaaps speaking people as they do not wish to be viewed as uncouth, uneducated, criminal and so forth. They are therefore agentive when they employ othering within the interview setting to distance themselves by denouncing the common behaviour of their fellow community members as well as from certain taboo topics such HIV and AIDS.

Analysing conversation between respondents within the focus group setting and the one-on-one interviews has presented the reality that the youth and adults of Manenberg employ various dimensions of othering with respect to talk on HIV and AIDS. Firstly, talk on HIV and AIDS is viewed as conversation held by homosexuals, prostitutes and drug addicts only. In this regard, the respondents place the concern and responsibility of awareness of HIV and AIDS on social outcasts. Furthermore, the notion exists that if a community member speaks or entertains talk on HIV and AIDS, it then constitutes that the interlocutors are victims of the disease. Secondly, othering has progressed to others concealing the true cause of death by offering cancer, tuberculosis, swine flu and so on as socially acceptable false alternatives to admitting to HIV and AIDS as the cause of death. It's worth acknowledging that othering is not confined to living participants only, but as previously highlighted, for the deceased as well.

This chapter postulated that othering appears in various forms for various objectives. It can be used to highlight similarities or differences. The data collected from the interviews have unearthed that othering is a language practice that transcends generations as well as genders. Chapter four has explained that othering in the community of Manenberg, like in any other community, is virtually impossible to eradicate. Othering has emerged as a strongly embedded language practice of Manenberg's residents so much so that they action it 'naturally' and this could be associated with taboo topics and politeness strategies which will be discussed in the next chapter.

Chapter 5: Taboo Topics and Politeness Strategies

5.0 Introduction

This chapter focuses on the topics that the community of Manenberg considers taboo. It explores the diametric distinctions in taboo topics. In this chapter, the researcher draws a distinction between taboos that are avoidable and those that are inescapable. The former are classified as negotiable taboos and the latter as non-negotiable taboos. In this chapter, politeness strategies are discussed in terms of how they are used to de-taboo taboo topics. It is further illustrated that politeness strategies are not universally applicable. The chapter draws on extracts for illustration purposes.

5.1 Non-Negotiable Taboos

Non-negotiable taboos are taboo topics that are avoided at all costs. It is important to note that a taboo topic stems from a specific fear, such as fear of bringing discomfort to oneself and/or the interlocutors, fear of being ostracised by your community, fear of not being part of the in-group, and so forth. However, the extracts included in this section will point towards the community of Manenberg abstaining from non-negotiable taboo topics stemming from fear of being physically harmed.

In Extract 5.1 below, Versa (one of the male respondents) gives his opinion about taboo topics that would be categorised as non-negotiable, in particular those that are concerned with abstaining from talking to others about their children.

Extract 5. 1:

Interviewer: Wat sal Versa sê is taboo topics in Manenberg?

(What will Versa say is taboo topics in Manenberg?)

Versa: *You shouldn't ask about **their children** you shouldn't ask about their children you shouldn't ask **questions** to their children you shouldn't point fingers to the children! Even though you an adult and you know that that person's child is doing something wrong, it's like TABOO, you must be afraid to approach the mother because then they will say nie my kind nie (no not my child)! Jy maak 'n (you making a) mistake, hy **het nou net** vi my gesê hy doenit (he **just** told me **now** that he doesn't do it)! So there er you got something that people don't like talking about. Is what the children is really doing but they need to shy away from it.*

The non-negotiable taboo topic that Versa is referring to is abstaining from addressing others about their children or addressing the children. This is corroborated unanimously by all the informants of this research. Upon being asked about taboo topics, he immediately highlighted the non-negotiable taboo about enquiring or informing parents about their children's possible misconduct. Versa illustrates that there is an expectation that as an adult you are afforded certain privileges over younger children, but it is no longer honoured in the community as it was in the past. He observes that this non-negotiable taboo is a defense mechanism of denial that helps an individual cope with stressful situations such as drug abuse, teenage pregnancies and so on. Therefore, the residents of Manenberg refrain from entering conversations about other people's children to avoid a conflicting interaction that might result in huge arguments or at worst, physical confrontation.

Extract 5.2 below supports the non-negotiable taboo that has been identified in the transcribed and translated data about abstaining from questioning or reporting on the children of the neighbours.

Extract 5. 2:

Interviewer: What are you not allowed to discuss at all here in Manenberg?

Jacqui: *Die een is meer **bang** vi wat die anna een gat sê soes anty Chrissie sal nou miskien vi 'n anna grootmens wil sê ma gat anty Chrissie **twie kee** dink van it gat nou in anty Chrissie wiet nou it gat nou in 'n aagument lei jy try om iets goet te doen en dan oppi einde vannie dag is it 'n **groot** problem. Basically, **dit** is hoerit is, nou gat sê jy nou net vi die ma sorry but jou kin moet skel kry dan jy meera skel as wat die kind moet skel kry but nou hoe gemaak?*

(This one is more **scared** of what the other one is going to say like aunty Chrissie will perhaps would want to go tell another adult but aunty Chrissie will think twice because it is going in aunty Chrissie know it is going to cause an argument. To do something good and then at the end of the day it's a **big** problem. Basically, this is how it is, now you go tell the mother but your child must be scolded at, then you get more scolded more than what the child must get but now what must we do?)

This non-negotiable taboo topic has been identified as a topic that is better left unventured, despite having good intentions and the objective of doing something good. However, the non-negotiable taboo topic discussed in Extracts 5.1 and 5.2 was not always the usual practice in Manenberg. Leading up to the 1990s (apartheid era), consensus around parenting styles were present and the societal norm of 'your child is my child' was exercised. This relates to the latch-key generation where young children were responsible for themselves and their younger siblings while the parents worked from dawn till dusk. The roles of the unemployed neighbours were to keep watch over the children of the absent parents and make sure they went to school, were fed and clothed, performed their designated chores and behaved appropriately according to societal norms. The children obeyed the unemployed neighbours as if they were their own parents, as these neighbours were given permission by the absent parents to punish bad behaviour accordingly. A high level of respect for the elders was the norm in this era. Consequently, vices such as drug abuse, alcohol addiction, teenage pregnancies and gangsterism and so on, were kept to a minimum. In this research, it has

emerged that the present-day Manenberg is quite different from that of old, as evidenced by how the informants agreed that they religiously conform to the non-negotiable taboo of discussing other people's children as they fear societal upset. This is one of the reasons why criminal activities among the youth are currently rife in Manenberg.

In the new millennium, the rate of unemployment increased and has ripped through this community which resulted in a huge shift in parenting styles. A contributing factor would be that previously symbolic capital would be presented by money earned from employment and tangible goods bought, but in the event of loss of jobs and decrease in household income, parents appeared to use their children's 'good image and personal progress' to attempt to outshine the neighbours and their children. A contributing factor to the non-negotiable taboo is the phenomenon that there has been a tremendous drop in the levels of respect from the youth towards the adults which has brought forth this Non-Negotiable Taboo of not approaching community members about their children. The shift in parenting styles and the non-negotiable taboo index the transition that Manenberg's community has undergone, that is, from traditional collective system to an individualistic and modern way of parenting. This transition is represented in the following extract as well.

In Extract 5.3 below, the non-negotiable taboo is concerned with abstaining from talk of other people's household finances, government grants and so on. In this extract, it can be established that it is considered a transgression (taboo) to be discussing the matter of finances.

Extract 5. 3:

Interviewer: What topics should not be discussed here?

Beta: *Especially with me I've been in the national security field all my life, soo usually they very cautious with me... most of their topics would be*

taboo for me [full hand on chest, shaking head up and down] to be listening to but I pick up on the topic with the fact that the moment the poverty steps in and the struggling and the hunger in the families I pick up that they probably lie about getting money for grants or they lie about getting money for kinna geld (children's government grants/money), you know, things like that... soo... uhmm yes they very cautious you know and like yesterday where example a small baby past away and certain topics were not discussed in front of me coz I would say that was taboo for certain of us to hear...

The above extract point towards the non-negotiable taboo that focuses on household finances.

The respondent, Beta, explains that due to her being employed in the *national security field* automatically places her in a position where most subjects are taboo because of her being a 'threat' to her immediate society. As a legal officer, Beta testified that certain topics would be omitted in her presence by her fellow community members, such as government grants, cause of death or any child related issues. It is note-worthy that even in a traditionally close-knit community such as Manenberg, Beta would not confront neighbours about their financial status; she will remain distant and just observe and neither would the neighbours come forward and divulge their need for financial help or venture into discussing Beta's financial position. Once again, it points to the issue of appearing to look good with respect to symbolic capital as expressed in extracts 5.1 and 5.2 as well as a shift from a traditional to a modern and individualistic community.

Extract 5.4 below has been included to substantiate the argument of the non-negotiable taboo that concerns personal finances or that of others.

Extract 5. 4:

Interviewer: *Hoe voel die community oor in en uit vra oo personal en anna mense se geld?*

(How does the community feel about discussing their personal finances and asking others in and out about their personal and other people's finances?)

Mrs G: *Gi een sal sê how much money they earnnie because why jy gat net hoo we don't have enough money but nobody will tell the truth.*

(Nobody will tell how much they earn because all you will hear is oo we don't have enough money but nobody will tell the truth.)

In the above extract, the respondent, Mrs G, suggests that the non-negotiable taboo is concerned with the non-disclosure of personal information and enquiring about other people's finances is in corroboration with Extract 5.3's analysis. This unearths the phenomenon that the community of Manenberg avoids discussing and abstains from questioning each other about personal financial matters. The reason could be that residents are ashamed if they are destitute, or if they disclose that they are privileged, they would render themselves a target for ill-wishes. Divulging their personal finances could leave them vulnerable to crime. Furthermore, expectations will be high for them to make donations to other financially unstable members of the society. In contrast, members of the society who are poor do not want to be known that they are dependent on government grants. They fear that they will be ridiculed by those who are financially stable. Thus personal finances in Manenberg fall under non-negotiable taboos.

The extract that follows deals broadly with a number of issues that are considered serious non-negotiable taboos that should never be transgressed.

Extract 5. 5:

Interviewer: *Is daa enige anna taboo topics wat osse mense nie van praattie?*

(Are there any other topics that our people leaves unsaid?)

M2: turn 1 *most things has been said already, but I would add to it generally... the household would be a huge thing if I must come into your house and tell you yor listen wanna laas het jy jou huis uitgevee?*

(When last have you swept your house?)... *man stuff like that just in general everything about the house stuff ... even like the family as well... stuff like van jou man (of your man)*

F2: turn 2 *ek het jou man hie gesien met dinges en dinges Heere! embaRRasing.*

(I saw your man here with this one and that one God! embaRRasing.)

F1: turn 3 *en mmm nou like soes, as nou se ma nou is my man wat nou daa in gan, en die vrou se kind jol nou met my man, jy kan oekie daavan praattie van hulle hou alles hulle hou alles onna stoele en banke.*

(and mmm now like this, say now if this is my man that is going in there, and this women's child is having an affair with my man, you can't just talk about it because they sweep everything under carpets.)

The above example of non-negotiable taboos was taken from a focus group interview. Interestingly, it was an adult male (M1) who mentioned about house cleaning in general and the issue surrounding the fidelity of the men who reside in Manenberg. F2's exclamation in turn 2 points towards the thoughts that the community has on men's infidelity, that it is *embarrassing!* Furthermore, it indexes a patriarchal society where men are in charge for a number of reasons and women should remain subservient and unchallenging of their husbands' affairs. This taboo is non-negotiable due to the understanding that it is *embarrassing* and as such should never be discussed.

Interestingly, the infidelity of women has not been discussed by any male or female informant in any of the interviews. This is characteristic of women who live in a patriarchal society where husbands or partners are the sole-breadwinners in the household. In such societies, women are mostly silent about their husbands' or partners' infidelity as they cannot cater for their basic needs on their own. However, the percentages of women who are employed are higher than that of men in Manenberg, which completely contradicts the capital that empowers a patriarchal society.

The following non-negotiable taboo is based on human beings' primal fear of survival. Extract 5.6 below will illustrate how non-disclosure of criminal behaviour could be a matter of life and death.

Extract 5. 6:

Interviewer: What else is not discussed in Manenberg?

Sam: *I think when it comes to people doing crime soes jy wiet **dai persoon** het nou **dai persoon** se huis in gebriek os [shaking head from side to side] praattie daa oo nie os **gattie** praat wie isittie om te piemppie man van dan wiet jy dai is a **groot** [signaling big with her hands] ding môre taaget hulle jou huis oek dai sit vi **jou** in a ding. Even here by us you can see the people you just keep quiet, some people will say you know you don't talk about that because that dai persoon maak jou soema dood of whatever. So dais so that's how it goes...*

(like you know **that person** burgled **that person's** house we [shaking head from side to side] will not speak about who it is to tell tales man because then you know it is going to be a **big** [signaling big with her hands] thing omorrow they target your house also then it puts **you** in a thing. Even here by us you can see the people will say you know you don't talk about that because that that person will kill you or whatever. So that's so that's how it goes...)

Transgressing the non-negotiable taboo about discussing criminals and their identity in Manenberg is a threat to the lives of the discussants. This non-negotiable taboo is born out of fear of the power that criminals hold in that community. Most respondents mentioned that despite the presence of law enforcement agents and a fully functional and equipped police station, it appears as if criminals are above the law. As such, discussing criminals and their identity in Manenberg is a life threatening activity. This sentiment is also echoed in the following extract.

Extract 5. 7:

Interviewer: Is it ‘n algemene ding dat julle glattie oo gangsters praattie of betrokke raak met julle nie?

(Is it a general thing that you people do not talk about gangsters and don't get involved with them too?)

*Theresa: Man eendag toe is daa a man wat hulle in a kar slat en die vrou skree **kan julle nie vi hom helppie!** Amal kyk rond van niemand is prepared om involve te raakkie van amal is bang, amal is bewus ek kan see kry, ek kan help, ek will help MA my hat gat uit vi dai persoon ma ek kan hom nie helppie. So amal het ma net gestaan sy het geskree, **Heere wat soot mense is julle julle kan mos help** ma sy gat oekkie voorentoe nie om te helppie sy call en skrie leweste vi amal en sy kyk oek ma hoe hy geslaan wid, toe eventually kom hy weg en hy haloep poliestasie se kante toe.*

(Man one day so there was a man that they were hitting in a car and this woman was shouting can you people not help everybody was looking around because nobody was prepared to get involved because everybody is scared, everybody is aware that I can get hurt, I can help, I want to help BUT my heart goes out to that person but I can't help him. So everybody just stood she was screaming, GOD what kind of people are you people you can help him but she also does not go forward to help she rather calls and shout for everybody and she also just looks how he gets hit, so eventually he got away and he ran to the police station side.)

Extract 5.6 reiterates the non-negotiable taboo that is concerned with non-disclosure of criminals and neither partaking in talk surrounding such topics. These two extracts have consensus from the respondents with respect to not involving themselves with criminal activity whether it is to prevent it, curtail it, bring justice to it or assist someone from being a victim. It appears that this wave of thinking will have victims suffer in silence without justice and appears to be a contributing factor to the escalation in the crime rate in Manenberg.

These non-negotiable taboo topics originated from the fear that residents have for the after-effects of addressing these topics with the involved parties. Notably, the Manenberg community has one politeness strategy of strict avoidance. The researcher has noted that as the community has transformed from traditional to a more modern society, so has certain

taboos transformed from previously being non-negotiable taboos to negotiable taboos. Interestingly, the adults displayed a greater amount of non-negotiable taboos than the youth. The youth appear to have more de-tabooing methods in place so that taboo topics will be welcomed and publicly discussed. Furthermore, the following branch of taboo topics that are negotiable will be brought forth and subsequently, the politeness strategies that were negotiated to de-taboo the taboo topics will also be discussed.

5.2 Negotiable Taboos

Taboo topics are generally avoided, but often unavoidable for various reasons. When this need presents itself, interlocutors resort to different methodologies to negotiate making meaning. The term 'negotiable' suggests that change is possible or is about to happen or has already occurred. Whilst interlocutors are making meaning, they negotiate cues so that the community's norms surrounding taboos are not threatened. The manner in which taboos are verbalised becomes negotiated, and in the process, socially permissible and acceptable dialogue is established. The following section deals with the negotiated taboos that have been unearthed from the data supplied by the informants of Manenberg. The different ways that the subjects use to negotiate a taboo will also be highlighted in this section and referred to as politeness strategies. The politeness strategies take different forms, named multi-semiotics (Kress, 2010), which will be elaborated later in this chapter.

5.2.1 Negotiable Taboo Topics in Practice

The data indicated that certain taboo topics are unavoidable and have been de-tabooed with many dimensions to make these topics accessible to the members of the Manenberg community. The researcher identifies these dimensions as politeness strategies that appear to negotiate the taboos. The negotiable taboos that have been unearthed in the data are as

follows: confronting a person, talking about sex, sexual organs, HIV and AIDS status and the cause of death (if HIV and AIDS suspected) and related topics. Extracts will be discussed to illustrate the presence of these negotiable taboos accompanied by the respective politeness strategies.

5.2.1.1 Confronting Someone as a Negotiable Taboo

In the data, the researcher has identified that confronting someone about a sensitive topic is a negotiable taboo, and depending on the manner in which this issue is undertaken, it will be regarded as a societal transgression or not. The respondents agreed that should confrontation be required, it should be done when the two parties are alone in a private space. They indicated that the presence of an audience may put the discussants under pressure and that may make the issue difficult to resolve. The majority of the Manenberg informants agreed that confronting someone about a sensitive topic is laudable, except three adult women who remained steadfast in their thinking that people should *let sleeping dogs lie*. The respondents who were in favour of addressing a sensitive topic with a person or persons had a similar strategy of breaching communication in favour of their objective, should they not be able to rid themselves of an audience. In this instance, the respondents pointed towards employing the indirect approach.

The indirect approach follows a more or less pattern of assimilating with the crowd by joining in the conversation and then establishing the mood of the topic at hand. The informants mentioned that should the topic be a heavy conversation, they would jest to reduce the tension amidst the crowd. Finally, they would sway the present topic to their goal topic and in that way the message would be carried across to the correct person. The success of this depends on whether the target person realises that the goal topic is meant for him or her. The respondents claim that the residents of Manenberg are skilful in analysing a

conversation which is meant for their own sakes. Interestingly, the three adult females who disagreed with confrontation dismissed the indirect approach as well, not because the approach is ineffective, but because they believe that people should not involve themselves in other people's business. It can thus be deduced that adult women in Manenberg are peace-keepers and are accustomed to practising avoidance of this negotiable taboo.

5.2.1.2 Sex and Sexual Organs as Negotiable Taboos

Discussing sex and sexual organs is an age old taboo topic that has persisted to date. Societies differ as to how they wish to regulate sexual behaviour with respect to issues such as appropriate partners, frequency of sex, suitable times to engage in sex, premarital sex, virginity, sex in marriage and so on. The data collected for this research has provided some interesting information about the manner in which sex as a taboo topic is conducted and received amongst the youth and adults in Manenberg.

In the adult, one-on-one interviews and in the adult focus group, respondents spoke covertly about sex and employed multi-semiotics (Kress 2010) such as different intonations, facial expressions, gestures, euphemisms and metaphors and so forth to express themselves. Using multi-semioticity to refer to sex and sexual organs indicates that discussion of the topic is strained and is addressed with their normal language practice that includes politeness strategies. On the contrary, the older generation of adults (aged 55 and over) displayed linguistic skills when discussing sex and mentioned that they have the ability to speak about sex, but they have noticeably abstained from the taboo when it was presented within the context of the interview.

The older generation adults explained that they would discuss sex and sexual organs with their younger counterparts should the context be educational. Their disgust was clear and that they frown upon the blatant manner in which sex is discussed in schools with young children

because as child-minders, they are then forced to openly discuss these matters with youngsters against their better judgement. They denounce this practice as being unreligious and attribute the fall in morale and high prevalence rate in teenage pregnancies and HIV and AIDS to this current educational practice. It can be deduced that the older generation informants in Manenberg do not entertain discussions on sex and related topics despite their claim of doing just that.

Furthermore, in the one-on-one interviews and the youth focus group, the youth appeared to speak comfortably about sex. However, like the adults, they made use of multi-semioticity that comprise different intonations, facial expressions, gestures, euphemisms and metaphors and so forth to express themselves. The sexual terminology employed by the youth appears to be employed when discussions about sex and related topics take place within their peer groups but subjected to the relationship and social distance they have with the interlocutors. One informant mentioned that sex has become very casual amongst her age group due to drug abuse. She further explained that a tacit and sometimes explicit agreement is in place when two or more people agree to do drugs together. Leading from this, it is acknowledged that some of the euphemisms used by the youth have an influence on the drug terminology that refers to sex or sexual activity (see Chapter 6).

5.2.1.3 HIV and AIDS as a Negotiable Taboo

Africa is the continent that has been hit the hardest with HIV and AIDS and no specific country, race or social class has been protected against this virus. The Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC, 2010) distinguished that there is a ‘most at risk population’ (MARPs), with respect to the HIV and AIDS epidemic. These high risk populations are among the most relegated and are the most defamed. According to HSRC, South Africa’s MARPs are African females between the ages of 20-34, African males aged 25-49, men who

have sex with men, high-risk drinkers, people who use drugs for recreational purposes and people with disabilities (www.cdc.gov/globalhealth/countries/southafrica/what/at_risk.htm).

Despite the statistics that place Manenberg high on the list of MARPs, with no antidote expected in the near future, it appears that Manenberg's residents do not consider HIV and AIDS to be a grievous concern. Informants were asked as to the nature of topics that are generally discussed or what the concerns of the Manenberg people were. In response, they mentioned, crime, drug trafficking, drug abuse, prostitution, sexual interaction from young ages, rapes, gang violence, shootings, poor education, poverty and so forth. HIV and AIDS was only mentioned as a concern by one informant. However, the researcher is of the opinion that the informant only mentioned HIV and AIDS, as he was fully aware that the research under hand was concerned with this virus as he had read and understood his consent form. Possibly, he could have mentioned it as a concern to assimilate with the researcher for having a concern for HIV and AIDS in the community.

The data alludes to the fact that the respondents of Manenberg consider HIV and AIDS to be a taboo topic, based on the argument made previously. An adult male pointed out that his community has the understanding that when HIV and AIDS is discussed the interlocutors are either victims of the disease or are prone to it. Therefore, the community abstains from discussing it and any other related issues. The fear of being labelled as a person living with HIV and AIDS would result in that person, their spouse or partner and their family being ostracised and gossiped about by the community. However, since this taboo is negotiable, there have been various de-tabooing processes and politeness strategies that have made it possible to refer to or converse about the virus, such as gestures, metaphors and euphemisms.

5.2.1.4 Cause of Death (if AIDS related) as a Negotiable Taboo

There are many taboos in place about the dead and these vary from culture to culture (Giger *et al.*, 2006). Taboos about the dead mainly focus on the processes that have to be followed when a person dies. The common taboos regard the viewing of the corpse, the burial procedure, the touching of the corpse and so on. The existing taboos commonly found also serve to regulate the behaviour of the spouse and family left behind by the deceased.

Previously in Manenberg, the cause of death would be enquired about under 'normal' circumstances. Since the onslaught of HIV and AIDS, the cause of death has become a negotiable taboo in Manenberg and funeral attendees have to exercise discretion and confidentiality not to make the cause of death a topic. Furthermore, in an instance where the question about the cause of death is asked by someone who is oblivious to the HIV and AIDS suspicion, a socially acceptable illness will be offered as a cause of death. The majority of the informants shared consensus on this. These socially acceptable illnesses otherwise termed euphemisms, serve as a politeness strategy because it appears to be less threatening to use than actually admitting that the cause of death is HIV and AIDS. The euphemisms act as a two-fold solution to a potentially threatening situation to the dead and the living family. Firstly, the reputation of the deceased is kept intact and therefore secures funeral attendants. Secondly, the family does not stand the risk of being ostracised by the community and will still be in an agentive position and exercise their voice within their community. The euphemisms used by Manenberg residents in place of HIV and AIDS will be discussed in depth in chapter 6.

5.3 Politeness Strategies

The researcher acknowledges that politeness strategies are understood, practised and recognised within a specific community. This practice and recognition is synonymous with

being an agentive member of Manenberg's Kaaps speech community. Brown and Levinson's impression of politeness is that the strategic conflict-avoidance ability functions in light of a social role, to potentially manage possible belligerence between interlocutors (Brown & Levinson, 1987:1). The data presented that these politeness acts are tacitly agreed upon by the speakers of Kaaps residing in Manenberg, as they all adhere to the politeness laws unofficially scripted by the community.

5.3.1 Politeness for Non-Negotiable Taboos

The data for this research highlighted that the only politeness that is practised when faced with a non-negotiable taboo is complete avoidance. The non-negotiable taboos mentioned above appear to be most feared by informants and hence, they do not even attempt to negotiate a de-tabooing politeness strategy to address these non-negotiable taboos. As Brown and Levinson (1978/1987) explained, politeness is present in social interaction and can be achieved through complete avoidance. The residents of Manenberg state that if someone attempts to raise a non-negotiable topic with a fellow member, he/she would be creating conflict. In a communicative event that wishes to address a non-negotiable taboo, Brown and Levinson's model places the responsibility on the speaker to ascertain what "Face" the hearer will be displaying. This sentiment is corroborated by the informants of Manenberg, as they unanimously acknowledged that it is their obligation not to transgress or threaten the "Face" of their audience by initiating talk on non-negotiable taboos.

5.3.2 Politeness Strategies for Negotiable Taboos

This section focuses on the politeness strategies that are used as de-tabooing methods meant to ensure that talk on negotiable taboos can flow without threatening an interlocutor's "Face" or causing conflict within a communicative event. In essence, it explores how taboos are negotiated. This model is individualistic in nature and considers the speaker to be a rational

agent that is unimpeded by social practices and is free to choose egocentric, asocial and aggressive intentions. However, the data supplied by the respondents in Manenberg allude to the phenomenon that both the speaker and the hearer are left to constantly negotiate meanings through a communicative event in order to maintain a harmonious communicative interaction. This meaning negotiation is a social practice to facilitate politeness, especially when discussing sensitive issues such as negotiable taboos.

5.3.2.1 Going with the Flow/ Acting Ignorant as Politeness Strategy

The researcher has established from one-on-one and focus group interviews that untruths and trickery are far more prevalent in Manenberg than Grice's (1975) maxim of quality. The respondents were asked how they react to a situation when they are convinced that a person is living with HIV/AIDS or that it was the cause of death of a family member and they were informed of the contrary. The majority of the informants stated that they "go with the flow" and this means that they abstain from threatening the claimant's "Face" by leaving his or her statement unchallenged. They explained that they do not question or make negative remarks, despite them possessing different information than what was offered. This politeness strategy is in line with the Brown and Levinson's (1978/1987) politeness model on refraining from threatening a speaker's positive "Face", which means that the speaker wants to be well-liked and believed by society.

The politeness strategy of "going with the flow" or, in simpler terms, 'acting ignorant', brings into the relativity of the maxim of quality that is concerned with truth value. This politeness strategy is exercised when the audience is aware that the speaker is telling untruths and they abstain from challenging him or her about proof to substantiate his or her claim and accept what he or she has to offer. This politeness strategy is not featured in one of four of Grice's (1975) conversational maxims, namely: manner, quantity, relation and quality. The

linguist claims that these maxims should be adhered to in order to guarantee the smooth running of a social communicative interaction (Grice, 1975). Leading from this, he neglects the phenomenon that the individual's psychological make-up influences their actions and that falsehood is told for many reasons such as: to save their personal or family's "Face", be accepted socially, be part of the conversation, be given attention, gain the latest information on gossip and so on.

Furthermore, the researcher identifies that the smooth running of a communicative interaction is not solely reliant on the speaker, as Paul Grice suggested with his conversational maxims. Leading from this, it is note-worthy that the politeness strategies such as "going with the flow", employed by the audience, ensure social interaction without conflict. The researcher considers that Grice (1975) and Brown and Levinson have erroneously placed the responsibility of conflict-free communication solely on the speaker's intuition to ascertain the "Face" displayed by the receiver at the time of the communicative interaction. Subsequently, Brown and Levinson (1978/1987) expect that the speaker would negotiate his or her messages so that meaning could be adjusted according to the "Face" that the speaker has identified within the audience.

5.3.2.2 Sarcasm as Politeness Strategy

Numerous studies across disciplines posited that sarcasm has been considered a form of speech that only witty individuals and those with a high IQ employ for jesting, as a passive aggressive technique and so forth (Chin, 2011). Sarcasm is also a linguistic tool that is used to negotiate meaning in a communicative event when direct speech would be considered transgressing a social norm and threatening the audience's "Face". Sarcasm has been highlighted by two (youth females) out of 40 informants who mentioned that when they need to address a negotiable taboo topic they employ sarcasm as a form of politeness. However,

they also explained that they discovered that Manenberg's residents do not understand sarcasm and often their messages have been compromised due to denseness on the part of the audience. Salo (2004) has indicated that the level of education in Manenberg is considerably low due to school drop-outs, gangsterism, drug addiction and so on. Therefore, the informants who have highlighted that their politeness strategies are wasted on their community have attained tertiary education and probably have a higher IQ than most residents. Politeness strategies are thus meant to be understood by both parties (speaker and hearer).

5.3.2.3 Gossiping as Politeness Strategy

Gossiping is an action that is associated with people discussing other people's private affairs with the objective of ill-intent or passing the time. However, in Manenberg, gossip appears to be used for different reasons. The researcher posed the question to the informants about the manner in which they were informed or how they would caution others about a person's HIV and AIDS status. One of the ways was by gossiping in hushed tones despite the absence of an audience. The respondents explained that they attempt to save the "Face" of the victims and their families and also not to be confronted as people who are spreading rumours.

Furthermore, it can be deduced that gossiping has been reformulated from the norm of spreading rumours and discussing the private affairs of others, to a vehicle of HIV and AIDS information dissemination for the protection of people living with HIV and AIDS and those who are susceptible to attracting the disease. Even though gossiping for ill-intent and passing the time is a common language practice due to the high unemployment rate and many other socio-economic vices (cf. Salo 2004), in this instance, gossiping acts constitute a politeness strategy that is employed by community members. Due to Manenberg's reputation for being an area rife with gangsterism, low level of education, poverty and so on, it is generally

assumed that the residents use vulgar and profane language (cf. Stone 2002) and would act in an ad-hoc manner when addressing sensitive issues such as HIV and AIDS. However, Extract 5.8 below illustrates the reformulation of gossiping, the presence of politeness towards those living with HIV and AIDS and how fellow community members are protected from the disease.

Extract 5. 8:

Interviewer: *Toe wat jou vrin vi jou ko sérit vannie aidsit toe op hoe a manier het hy jo gesê oepelik of skelmpies of hoe?*

(When your friend came to tell you about AIDS, so in which manner did he tell you, openly or secretively or how?)

Lucky: *Hy was dood ernstig [eyes widening]secretive hy willetti hat gepraatittie [tempo slowing and tone softening]van os was in a company gewies toe kom hy so skelmpies na my toe en approach my en vra my wat wiet ek van die goed en wiet ek vannie mense wat aids het daa*

(He was dead serious[eyes widening] secretive he didn't want to speak loud [tempo slowing and tone softening] because we were in a company so he came secretively to me and approached me and asked me if I knew about that stuff and if I knew about the people that have AIDS there)

In the above extract, it is noticeable that the manner in which the speaker chooses to realise his objective of informing and protecting *Lucky* against HIV and AIDS is synonymous with gossiping. The act of isolating the hearer from the crowd relates to the negotiable taboo of 'confronting someone'. The speaker takes precautionary measures not to threaten the positive "Face" of *Lucky* and therefore he softens his tone and asks leading questions before divulging the information about the friends of *Lucky* that are infected with the virus. Politeness was executed by the speaker employing multi-semiotics such as *serious secretive* tone and the fact that he *didn't want to speak loud* and referring to the HIV and AIDS situation as *that stuff*,

indicates a politeness strategy employed by the speaker. Using this politeness strategy, the speaker not only protects himself from being associated with the disease and Lucky from possibly attracting the virus, but also those people living with HIV and AIDS, as he is not publicising the HIV and AIDS status to the general public. On the contrary, due to the nature of gossiping and the socio-economic vices of Manenberg, the very protection that was the objective becomes lost, as news such as someone's HIV and AIDS status spreads rapidly, causing such information to become public knowledge, hence threatening the "Face" of the victims as well as the interlocutors.

The study's participants highlighted that HIV and AIDS is a topic that people avoid and this was also apparent when the respondents compiled a list of general concerns that are shared amongst the community members of Manenberg. They unanimously agreed, after the researcher pointed out that the general concerns of drug addiction, prostitution, rapes, woman abuse and so on cause the community to be high on the MARP's list, which in essence should make HIV and AIDS one of Manenberg's pivotal concerns.

5.3.2.4 Language Convergence as Politeness Strategy

Language convergence appears to be a politeness strategy not only related to negotiable taboo topics, but also to language practice in general. 'Coloured' people living in Cape Town and especially on the Cape Flats predominantly speak Kaaps. As mentioned in Chapter 1, Kaaps is a hybrid language, which is an ensemble that has structures that are closely linked to primarily English and Afrikaans, amongst others.

Extract 4.9, presented in Chapter 4, illustrates that the respondent pseudo-named Versa demonstrates that he first establishes which code would be suitable for his objective, and which code the audience would understand best. Versa will base his linguistic choice on these two variables before he indexes a certain language identity. The interesting part about this

extract is that an adult male, whose mother tongue is Kaaps, exercises this politeness strategy of language convergence to those that he is in a communicative event with to accommodate them and ensure that the meaning that he is trying to negotiate is well understood and does not get misinterpreted.

Discussing politeness strategies, Brown and Levinson (1978) explained that the speaker is a rational agent that always makes choices so as not to threaten the positive or negative “Face” of the interlocutors. In Extract 4.9, this sentiment is illustrated as the speaker is the individual who is about to discuss a negotiable taboo topic and eases the possible aggression by language convergence to ensure a smooth communicative event. However, despite Versa clearly pointing towards himself as being superior to the hearer and at a more powerful social distance, he reduces the social distance by resorting to the language most appropriate for the communication between himself and the hearer, despite his claim of employing English predominantly. Language convergence has thus been illustrated to be a politeness strategy. Similarly, language divergence appears to be a politeness strategy too. The respondents exercise language divergence to show respect to elders or to divert talk on a negotiable taboo topic from young children.

5.3.2.5 Language Divergence as a Politeness Strategy

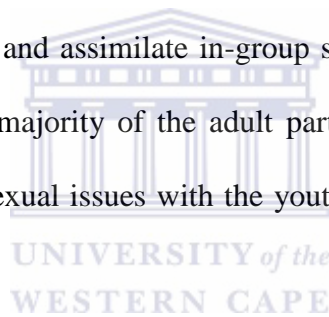
The transcribed and translated data indicated that language divergence is used as a politeness strategy by the residents of Manenberg when caught unaware by an interlocutor who does not belong to that specific generation group. This politeness strategy appears to be employed when conversation is centred on HIV and AIDS and related sexual topics. Informants were asked to explain how they would address a scenario when a person who is not their peer joins in a communicative event that entails HIV and AIDS and related negotiable taboo topics. The informants initially shared consensus about openly discussing the issue of HIV and AIDS

cross-generationally. However, when the researcher posed the above question in the scenario described, the informants differed in their responses. Contestation arose not only amongst the responses between the two different generations, but also from the informants' personal perceptions about open discussions on HIV and AIDS and related sexual topics as advised by HIV and AIDS preventative campaigns.

The youth explained that formal education instructed them to do home exercises on HIV and AIDS and sex, and this forced them to openly discuss these topics with their caregivers. However, the youth explained that all that the exercises achieved was out of context rebuking from their care-givers or parents, which caused them to fear discussing these matters with their care-givers or parents in future. According to the youth informants, the HIV and AIDS topic is almost never spoken about amongst their peers, and if they are sporadically surprised by an adult or younger child, they resort to communicating in a different language, code or variety, which is unfamiliar to the unwelcomed party.

On the other hand, the youths identified sex as a constant discussion in their daily social interaction with their peers, but should they be surprised by an unwelcomed guest (young or old) they would communicate in a different language, code or variety, which is unfamiliar to the unwelcomed party or alternatively use euphemisms. The different codes or varieties that the respondents have identified are Gayla (Cape Flats gay community dialect) and biology jargon. These would be employed as a divergence from the initial code that was spoken. The youth explained that they resort to such language divergence as a politeness strategy when discussing negotiable taboos such as HIV and AIDS and related topics. They added that they resort to language divergence to show respect to elders and not expose young children to such matters.

Furthermore, the Manenberg adults have indicated that they are in favour of the prescribed open communication about sex and HIV and AIDS topics with their younger counterparts, but unmistakably refuse to have these discussions with their elders. Approximately 12 to 15 minutes later in the interview, the researcher enquired as to how the adult informants would react if an elder enters the room while they are discussing negotiable taboo topics such as HIV and AIDS and related sexual matters, and their responses were similar to their initial statement. The informants explained that they would opt to remain quiet or they would change their code to Gayla. Gayla is not generally understood by the seniors in the community because in the past the *moffies* (gays) were ostracised by the society and merely used for entertainment purposes and domestic services. The *moffies* would resort to employing Kaaps so as to attain and assimilate in-group status and to be covert about their sexual orientation. Initially, the majority of the adult participants agreed that they support discussing HIV and AIDS and sexual issues with the youth. However, what happens in real life is the opposite.



The adult informants stressed that they were raised with strict morals, and any talk of sex was a non-negotiable taboo and that they attribute the increase in the HIV and AIDS infection rates to sexual matters becoming common and casual. Furthermore, the subjects informed the researcher that as adults and caregivers, they act in a protective capacity and therefore have the responsibility to inform the youth about the HIV and AIDS disease, as they fear that the youth will fall victim to the virus. However, this becomes challenging for the adults to execute HIV and AIDS information dissemination without discussing sexual issues as well. As a result of this contradiction, it seems as if the adults cease all talk about sex, but would possibly continue discussing HIV and AIDS, depending on the level of maturity and personality of the youth who suddenly join in the communicative interaction. It appears as if

the adults are unsure of their position as they claim to support speaking openly about sexual topics and HIV and AIDS to the youth, yet this is lacking in their practices, as was confirmed by the youth, as mentioned above.

The researcher notes that language divergence as a politeness strategy could only be practised if the individual has a code that could be indexed from his or her linguistic repertoire that is unfamiliar to those parties who politeness needs to be displayed for. It could be deduced from the data that the youth is in the most versatile position to practice this politeness strategy to their older and younger generations. On the other hand, the adults may only exercise language divergence when faced with their elders, but when they are faced with the youth, the adults would resort to the politeness strategy of remaining silent so they may conceal the nature of their discussion. The adults resort to remaining silent because their linguistic repertoire has been exposed throughout the youth's life and therefore they understand it well. On the contrary, the youth has a more advanced linguistic repertoire that comprises the codes that are beyond the understanding of adults. The politeness strategy of remaining silent, used predominantly by adults, is associated with the multi-semiotic politeness strategies that will be elaborated upon in the next section.

5.4 Multimodal Politeness Strategies

Kress and van Leeuwen (2006) posited that communication is a multimodal phenomenon. The researcher has established that this phenomenon is particularly present in high-context speech communities such as Manenberg. Politeness strategies in this community comprise multi-semiotics, including language and gestures that have coherence. This high-context speech community places focus on the manner in which a message is negotiated and conveyed, thereby rendering the content of the message as secondary. The gestures that the researcher is referring to are the verbs that describe hand or head movements in the

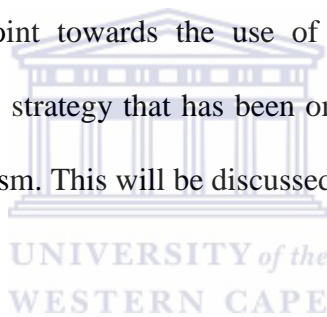
negotiation of meaning. The researcher has discovered that politeness strategies in Manenberg are as Kress and van Leeuwen (2006) explain as multimodal, which is the combination of two or more codes co-appearing for one communicative objective.

In most cases, the analyses of the video recorded data, presented the phenomenon that the study's informants relied on multimodality, such as gestures coupled with silence, to de-taboo a taboo topic. The goal of the multimodal politeness strategies appears to replace the verbal communication with gestural communication and silence. The informants' politeness performativity has indicated that remaining silent is predominantly used in communicative events, as a politeness strategy, when words or any other politeness strategies elude the speakers. This multimodal politeness practice is used cross-generationally by both genders when faced with negotiable taboos.

Furthermore, the use of hands is a constant amongst participants and employed for various reasons, namely: emphasis, signage of words, indexing the correct terminology from schemata, code-switching and displaying in-group membership. However, in this study, the use of hands is deliberately used to signify various elements of talk which respondents prefer not to verbalise as a means to perform politeness in the presence of the interviewer. Interestingly, the majority of the informants resorted to using hand gestures to avoid appearing vulgar and impolite by verbalising the actual terminology they intended communicating.

Extract 4.2, presented in Chapter 4, illustrates this phenomenon where the respondent is discussing the ways that the community of Manenberg employ profanity to insult people living with HIV and AIDS. Beta, the respondent in the extract, predominantly expressed herself verbally, but in lines 1-3 she omits the profanity and gestures with her arms to indicate a vagina. Given that no linguistic forms are inherently imbued with politeness or

impoliteness, it can be hypothesised that cursing may actually be a manifestation of politeness within a given community of practice (Lave & Wenger, 1991; Eckert & MacConnell-Ginet, 1992 in Dynel, 2011). Swear words within communication serve many goals such as, sign of (im)politeness, indexical of a particular identity, a display of in-group membership and so on. However, Beta has exercised this politeness strategy, to: firstly, distance herself from the users of that language, and; secondly, to show politeness to the researcher, regardless of the fact that she (researcher) is younger than her (Beta). Leading from this, the variable of social distance that Brown and Levinson (1987) proposed, appears to impact the politeness strategies the informant employs while communicating with the researcher in terms of an educational hierarchy, and also because of the context of the interview. These illustrations point towards the use of multimodal gestures to exercise politeness. However, a politeness strategy that has been omitted from this chapter due to its vast content is known as euphemism. This will be discussed on its own in Chapter 6.



5.5 Conclusion

To conclude, this chapter focused on taboos and politeness strategies employed by residents of Manenberg. As noted, such taboos and strategies constitute Manenberg residents' language practices. This chapter established the existence of non-negotiable taboos and negotiable taboos and discussed their differences in depth. Non-negotiable taboos have been explained as having predominantly one politeness strategy, namely, avoidance. A discussion was held on negotiable taboos, which are those taboos that have de-tabooing strategies in place like politeness strategies. It has been noted that such de-tabooing is a meaning-making resource that eases talk surrounding the taboo; it ensures that a taboo is discussed in a communicative event without undermining the norms and culture of the society. It has also been noted that consensus between the youth and adults with respect to politeness strategies exist, so talk and politeness is understood between these age groups. This existing consensus also facilitates

that talks between these generations occur unhindered. Next, the study will examine whether consensus exists between the youth and the adults with respect to their employment of euphemisms as a politeness strategy.



Chapter 6: Euphemisms are a Discourse Practice

6.0 Introduction

Foucault (1972:80) describes discourse practice as an individualised group of statements that has coherence and a common force associated with it. These discourse practices become apparent in a communicative context which illustrates the fundamental variances between participants' knowledge and outsiders' knowledge. In the simplest of definitions, a discourse practice is a societal or speech community's norm. This chapter commits itself to demonstrating a variable to discourse practice, namely, the employment of euphemisms used as a politeness strategy with respect to discussions held on HIV and AIDS and related sexual matters within the Manenberg community. This chapter aims to illustrate that euphemisms are part of the Manenberg community's discourse practices by drawing comparisons between the youth and adults, and males and females. The chapter will commence with the consideration of the euphemisms with respect to age first and then followed by gender.

6.1 Age Related Euphemisms

This section aims to analyse the discourse practices between the youth and adults of Manenberg to establish whether there is a differential effect with respect to their employment of euphemisms as a politeness strategy to de-taboo a taboo topic focusing on HIV and AIDS and sexually related topics. It will present whether or not the differences aid or hinder communication between the two groups.

6.1.1 Euphemisms for Sex Used by the Youth

The table below displays examples of euphemisms related to the sex topic as used the youth.

Coding	Kaaps Terms	English Translation	Sex Discourse
Drug Related	<i>pyp saam roek</i>	Smoke marijuana together	Sex Invite/ Had sex together
	<i>ek het a lollie vi os twie</i>	Do crystal meth together	Sex Invite
Resemiotised profanity	<i>poenang</i>	None	Sex
	<i>poerna eh</i>	None	Sex
Sound Related	<i>oench kadoench</i>	None	Sex
	<i>flah flah</i>	None	Sex
Position Related	<i>upsai en under</i>	Upside and under	Sex
Possessiveness Related	<i>dai kin gehet</i>	Had/owned that child or girlfriend	Had sex with that girl

Table 6. 1 Euphemisms for Sex used by the Youth

As can be seen in the table above, the youth's euphemisms can be classified into five different categories. A discussion of each category will now follow.

6.1.1.1 Drug Related Sex Euphemisms

The euphemisms listed above have been identified by the researcher upon analysing the data of the one-on-one and focus group interviews where the youth have been the subjects. These euphemisms were freely and predominantly used by the youth amongst one another. Interestingly, the first two euphemisms *pyp saam roek* (smoke marijuana together) and *ek het a lollie vi os twie* (do crystal meth together) are drug related. The two examples indicate that, amongst the youth, it is deemed a politeness strategy to rather offer the sharing of drugs than to outright request or invite a partner for sex. Furthermore, it would be unjust to assume that all the youth who use these euphemisms are narcotics abusers. They are merely Kaaps speakers who have been socialised into the language practices of Manenberg. Fromkin, Rodman and Hyams (2003) highlighted that referring to a taboo act is synonymous with committing the act. Furthermore, it could be established that drug abuse is more socially acceptable than having sex in the community of Manenberg. Much research across

disciplines has proven the close correlation between drugs such as cocaine, heroin, ecstasy and crystal meth abuse resulting in higher sexual inclinations. According to Fromkin, Rodman and Hyams (2003), the epithets used by a certain community inform others more about the norms of that society.

The above euphemisms could have been borne from the normative behaviour of the youth of Manenberg when sharing drugs. During the act of sharing drugs, the sexual expectation or incidents automatically occur. In this instance, for an interlocutor to understand the euphemism with ease, that person needs to be part of the Manenberg youth speech community. The drug-related euphemisms were very covert and do not hint at sex, at least, to an outsider. Similarly, consider the following ensemble of profanity related euphemisms of the youth.

6.1.1.2 Resemiotised Profanity Related Euphemisms

Stone (2002) associates the use of profanity with Kaaps speaking people. In this category, words have been identified to have profane influence. In practice, a vocabulary 'assigned' to a specific language may include words that are not used unanimously by all speakers of that specific language, as in the case of profanity and Kaaps speaking people. It was discovered by analysing the data that many residents of Manenberg might not employ these euphemisms or form of speech, but the meanings associated with these euphemisms are broadly understood. Vetter (1971) noted that in certain circles, mainly within in-groups dominated by males, qualities such as machismo, fierceness and cleverness is judged by the amount of times profanity is used within a conversation. The data alluded to the phenomenon that males tend to use profanity more often than females. Despite swearing being a common discourse practice in Manenberg, caution is exercised when interlocutors, who wish to indulge in

profanity, are in the presence of elders or persons who do not belong to their immediate circle of friends. One of the common profane euphemisms found in Manenberg is *poes* (cunt).

The two euphemisms, *poenang* and *poerna 'eh* have been established from the profane induced euphemism *poes* (cunt). The respondents referred to this term as a referrant of the vagina, or a male that acts and/or dresses like a woman, or someone who fears some sort of threatening situation or person. The Kaaps euphemism *poenang* is a combination of *poes* (vagina) and *oenang* (invite). The euphemism *poenang* could be translated as a 'vagina invitation' representing sex. The euphemism, *poerna 'eh*, does not have an analytical connection to sex. Despite this disconnection, the data highlighted that it is commonly used by the youth and is part of their daily discourse practice within their speech community.

6.1.1.3 Sound Related Sex Euphemisms

The category of euphemisms that is featured in this section has no English, Afrikaans or isiXhosa translations. The origin of the euphemisms, *oench kadoench* and *flah flah*, could not be verified by the informants. However, the youth explained that they were socialised into using these euphemisms by their peers. After being questioned about the origin of these specific euphemisms, the informants stated that they never enquired about the origin of some of the words they use, they just use them. However, the researcher is of the opinion that the covertness and polite role of euphemisms becomes exhausted and loses its function, which warrants the creation of new ones, hence the sound related euphemisms. Vetter (1971: 71) concurs that euphemism has a transient nature and is immersed as an ordinary referrant which signals the loss of the initial purpose of a softer, more socially acceptable de-tabooing strategy.

As can be noted, the respondents were not in a position to clarify the origin or the additional meanings of these euphemisms, except that it was a referrant to sex. However, the researcher

relates the euphemisms to a form of speech, known as onomatopoeia. Onomatopoeia is the term for words that sound like the noise the words are referring to (Cobuild, 2006:1002). Furthermore, these euphemisms could be indexical of sex, due to the sound that is emitted from sexual acts.

6.1.1.4 Position Related Sex Euphemisms

Table 7.1 above included *upsai en under* as a euphemism for sex used by the youth of Manenberg. The euphemism *upsai en under* (up side and under) is influenced by positions assumed by partners in a sexual act. This euphemism has English and Afrikaans and is the only one that has the switching of codes within the euphemistic terminology, which is synonymous with the ingenuine discourse practices of Kaaps speakers. The euphemism forms part of the politeness strategies that the youth exercises when the context requires it. Generally, the youth refers to ‘their age respective euphemisms’ when adults or younger children are present when they need to be covertness about discussions of sexual content.

6.1.1.5 Possessiveness Related Sex Euphemisms

Table 7.1 above illustrates that the euphemistic terminology of *dai kin gehet* replaces “had sex with that girl or child”. It appears that heterosexual males predominantly use this euphemistic terminology to avoid physically indicating to a person being discussed. However, the researcher could not establish whether lesbian women also employ this term to do the same. The data alluded to the phenomenon that pointing towards the person being discussed is not naturally exercised in a communicative event for the youth and adults of Manenberg. The act of physically pointing at someone or mentioning the person’s name is considered a serious transgression as the data alluded to in chapter five, when discussing the noticeable and preferred othering practices prevalent in Manenberg. Corroborating this sentiment is Schladt (1998), who says that avoiding personal name mentioning forms part of

the normal language practices in certain native ethos of Australia, Austronesia, America and parts of Africa. A possible explanation could be that the youth males use this phrase to exhibit symbolic capital (to the peers) of ‘gathering’ power by having sexual intercourse with many women. This ideology is associated with a patriarchal society where women are objectified. Hence, the use of the verb *gehet*, which means had or owned an asset, but in this case it refers to owning a female.

6.1.2 Euphemisms for Sex Used by the Adults

The table below highlights the most predominantly used examples of euphemisms used for the sex topic by the adult respondents. The euphemisms are listed as it appeared chronologically within the data.

Coding	Kaaps Euphemisms	English Translation	Sex Discourse
Gay	Antie Lissie	Aunt Elizabeth	Lust
	Jessica/Jas	Jessica	Horny
	<i>Nit</i>	Knit	Sex
Physical activity	<i>Skrop</i>	Scrub	Sex
	<i>Op klim</i>	Climb up	Sex
	<i>Swem</i>	Swim	Sex
	<i>Gaan Kimberly toe</i>	Going to Kimberly	Lengthy Sex
Criminal Activity	<i>In doen</i>	Done in /Cheated	Raped
	<i>By gekom</i>	Come by/ Got to	Raped
Eating/Food	<i>Stuk</i>	Piece	Sex
	<i>Oentjie burger</i>	No translation / burger	Sex
	<i>Pineapple</i>	Pineapple	Sex
	<i>Ertjie blikke vol maak</i>	Filling a peas tin	Sex or impregnating
	<i>Koek iet</i>	Eating cake	Oral Sex
	<i>Opskep</i>	Dishing Food	Sex
Profanity	<i>Hoer</i>	Whore	Paid Sex/ Adultery
	<i>Naai</i>	Sewing / Fuck	Sex

Table 6. 2 Euphemisms for Sex used by the Adults

As can be seen in Table 6.2 above, the euphemisms predominantly used by the Manenberg adults could be classified into five different categories. A discussion on each category follows.

6.1.2.1 Gay Related Euphemisms

These euphemisms *Antie Lissie*, *nit* and *Jessica* are words and terms that are situated within Gayla. Gayla is a code mainly used by the speech community that includes homosexual males and heterosexual females who reside in the Cape Flats area. Most words or terms in Gayla are English, used in conjunction with Afrikaans nouns and verbs that have been reformulated with feminine influence, for example, *kyk* (look/see) transforms into *kaala*, which is a combination of the female name Clara and *kyk*. These euphemisms are predominantly used to refer to matters of sexual nature. Previously, Gayla was a covert code used amongst the gay (male) community only, as they were ostracised by the community. In recent times Gayla's use has spread to heterosexuals and appears to be understood somewhat by the female adults of the community due to their interaction with the gay community. The spread of Gayla has possibly occurred because Manenberg society has become more tolerant of homosexuals in the community for various reasons such as domestic services, hairdressing services, family ties, and influence from the West and so on. The adult males seem to be ignorant with respect to Gayla, but when they refer to homosexuals, they use euphemisms they are accustomed to but switch to a frivolous girlish tone to index the gay community.

6.1.2.2 Physical Activity Related Euphemisms

As previously mentioned, the adults attempted to portray an image of people who do not discuss sexual matters and when they supplied 'special words' (euphemisms) they claimed that the youth uses the euphemisms and not them. Contrary to their claim, the adults used these euphemisms with proper syntactic, semantic formation and their pronunciations of the

euphemisms were in line with other Kaaps speaking adults. In addition, the data analysis of the youth informants did not yield any of these euphemisms offered by the adults. The cluster of euphemisms *skrop, op klim, swem* and *Kimberley toe gan* is orientated towards physical activities that are somewhat symbolic of sex to the adults of Manenberg. As was previously mentioned, Fromkin, Rodman and Hyams (2003:481) explained that the type of descriptions or euphemisms used by a specific community enlightens others about their types of norms and practices that are present in their society. In retrospect, the euphemisms in the above table indicate that the adults use everyday Kaaps words and reformulate them into euphemisms to de-taboo the taboo topic of sex and sex related matters. It has been established that the adults seldom discuss sex with their peers but when they do, the euphemisms are of a covert nature, especially in the company of younger and older generations. Moreover, understanding the euphemisms that are employed by members of a society is a typical indicator of in-group membership of a particular speech community.

6.1.2.3 Criminal Activity Related Euphemisms

Rape awareness and women abuse campaigns have been widespread to educate women and men about the constitutional rights and safety of women and children. However, the presence of the euphemisms *in doen* and *by gekom* (done in/cheated and come by/got to) that are used as a politeness strategy to de-taboo the taboo topic of rape, indicates different ideologies present in the community. Firstly, it shows that the subject of rape is frowned upon by the society. Secondly, many transgressions of rape and related sexual offences go unnoticed and unreported due to the taboo in place and the stigmatisation that is attached to being raped and raping. In a gang infested township like Manenberg, rape is a crime that is committed on a regular basis and coupled with the many educational campaigns promoted in the area and by the media, it would be expected that speaking about crimes such as rape would not be silenced or tabooed. On the contrary, the existence of these euphemisms used by the adult

sample, hint that rape is still a taboo subject. The existence of these euphemisms makes speaking about rape socially acceptable without upsetting the norms of that society. Interestingly, euphemisms were not singled out for the occurrence of molestation and various other sexual offences against women and men, except in the context of rape with regard to a female.

6.1.2.4 Eating/Food Related Euphemisms

Universally and over many eras, eating and food are and have been associated with sexual acts and sexual organs. For example, Banda and Mambwe (2013:7) analysed Zambian music and reported that an “enjoyable pineapple” was used as a euphemism for sex, “pineapple with peels on” was used to describe sex with a condom on. The sex euphemisms *stuk*, *oentjie burger*, *pineapple*, *ertjie blikke vol maak*, *opskep* and *koek iet*, offered by the adults, all relate to food and the consumption thereof. However, these euphemisms are everyday Kaaps words (except *oentjie burger*) that in normal contexts would carry the lexical meaning, but is reformulated depending on the interlocutors, topic, social distance (Brown and Levinson 1987) and the context that the words are spoken in. Moreover, it could be established that the context chooses whether the words are accepted as the everyday lexical terms or as sexual innuendo.

6.1.2.5 Profanity Related Euphemisms

Euphemisms have been hypothesised as having a transient nature (Vetter, 1971). However, the researcher posits that euphemisms appear to have a cycle that reformulates and resemiotises, for example, the word *naai* (sew) was reformulated as a euphemism to mean sex (which could be attributed to movement of the sewing needle making a hole or in the case of a sewing machine, the needle goes into a hole). Due to over-use the euphemism transformed into profanity, the very euphemism (*naai*) has been resemiotised to mean ‘no’ in

Kaaps. In this section, the researcher has illustrated the transition that euphemisms undergo and pointed towards the various meanings of the euphemisms that co-exist within the Kaaps language system. The data alluded to the phenomenon that adults 'reserve' these profanity related euphemisms as a category, to exercise politeness to interlocutors when discussing a taboo topic, such as sexual issues relating to prostitution, adultery and promiscuity.

6.2 Differences of Sex Euphemisms between the Youth and Adults

It is noteworthy that the discourse practices of Manenberg have subsections that are associated with the youth group and adult group. Quantity is the most obvious difference between the adults and the youth in the employment of euphemisms as discourse practices. The data analysed in this research highlighted that the adults offered 16 different euphemisms for sex as opposed to eight from the youth. Even though the adult respondents were more forthcoming about the various euphemisms and the fact that they were euphemisms (lighter amusing words), they pretended that 'others' and the youth use it as part of their daily speech. The contradiction hereof has been discussed above. On the other hand, the youth claimed full responsibility for the fewer euphemisms provided by them, in response to questions that were posed to them by the interviewer.

Tables 6.1 and 6.2 did not host duplicate euphemisms or categories of both age groups, except the class of profanity related euphemisms of which the influence thereof was vastly different. The data informed the study that the youth does not employ Gayla as part of their euphemisms like the adults do. Therefore, it could be ascertained that each generation has their tacitly assigned and specific euphemisms. Initially, the researcher thought there were no notable differences between the euphemisms used by the adults and youth because the youth displayed native-advance competency with respect to the adults' euphemisms when they

were in the presence of adults. This phenomenon could be considered as a politeness strategy on the youth's behalf, as they resort to using the euphemisms adults use in their presence and as a form of respect towards the context of the interview. On the other hand, the youth may be securing their euphemisms from over-exposure so that the covetous nature thereof may remain intact.

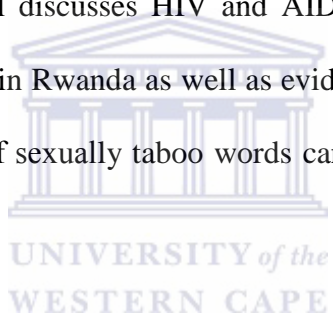
Furthermore, it has been established that sex remains a negotiable taboo, even in these times of modernity despite the fact that Manenberg is displaying various signs of moving from a close-knit traditional community to a more individualistic community. With this in mind, the euphemisms that the youths employ have no obvious linkages to sex, which could be attributed to their ingenuity and their ability to resemiotise and recontextualise terms creatively. On the one hand, the youth's euphemisms are drug related and have onomatopoeia influence. On the other hand, the euphemisms used by the adults are centred on physical activities and on food and the consumption thereof. These distinctions between the discourse practice subsections are clear.

The list of adults' euphemisms includes lighter and amusing terms for the discussion on rape. However, the youth did not make any indication that there are euphemisms of that nature or that rape was a concern for them. This could be assigned to the society's belief that if you are discussing an issue, it means that you either a victim thereof or you are a perpetrator. Leading from this, Manenberg's youth lives a risky life and they might be resigned and cynical about rape being a permanent part of their daily lives and one more risk that they have to endure without fussing about it. The respondents were asked what the main concerns are for people living in Manenberg, but rape and HIV and AIDS (except for one informant) were not mentioned.

6.3 Euphemisms used for HIV and AIDS by the Youth

In this research, it has emerged that HIV and AIDS is not a subject that brings much interaction amongst the youth. It was not mentioned as a grievous community concern, but a peripheral concern for them. In the few instances when the youth discussed the virus, they predominantly used the actual terminology of AIDS.

Leading from this, there are many implications that could be deduced from this phenomenon. Firstly, HIV and AIDS does not appear to be a major concern for the youth of Manenberg as they mentioned that it is a “Black” disease which is supported by the HIV and AIDS preventative campaigns (cf. Bok, 2009). Secondly, as mentioned earlier, Manenberg it is believed that when an individual discusses HIV and AIDS he or she is infected with the disease. This sentiment is shared in Rwanda as well as evidenced by Ngirabakunzi (2005:46) who observed “that a violation of sexually taboo words can be compared to the violation of the taboo itself”.



The World Health Organisation (2010) has singled out that the youth of the South Africa is particularly high on the list of people prone to attract HIV and AIDS and of persons living with HIV and AIDS. Despite this reality, the community of Manenberg chooses to exist in oblivion with respect to their susceptibility and HIV and AIDS prevalence surrounding them. Only one out of 20 youth informants mentioned that HIV and AIDS is a general concern for the Manenberg community (see Chapter 5). The researcher noted that the youth’s contribution to the disease’s discussions ranged between minimal and absent in their focus group and one-on-one interviews. However, the youth once again displayed native-advanced comprehension of the HIV and AIDS euphemisms used by adults when the topic was presented in the presence of the adults.

6.4 Euphemisms used for HIV and AIDS by the Adults

The table below illustrates the the most predominantly used euphemisms by Manenberg's adults to discuss matters related to HIV and AIDS. The euphemisms are listed according to the chronological order in which they appeared in the data.

Coding	Kaaps Euphemisms	English Translation	Hiv and Aids Discourse
Gay	<i>Gatsiekte</i>	Ass sickness	HIV/AIDS
	<i>Antie Aida</i>	Aunt Aids	HIV/AIDS
Prostitution/Adultery	<i>Liggaamsiekte</i>	Body sickness	HIV/AIDS
	<i>Hoersiekte</i>	Whore sickness	HIV/AIDS
	<i>Vuilsiekte</i>	Filth sickness	HIV/AIDS
	<i>Vrot weg</i>	Rot away	End stage AIDS
General	<i>Die Vierus</i>	The virus	HIV/AIDS
	<i>I-Memarie Kaat</i>	Memory Card	HIV/AIDS
	<i>Knopjig</i>	Knob/Button arthritis	HIV/AIDS
Sincerity in the Case of a Death due to AIDS	Cancer	Cancer	HIV/AIDS
	TB	Tuberculosis	HIV/AIDS
	Brain Cancer	Brain Cancer	HIV/AIDS
	Lung Cancer	Lung Cancer	HIV/AIDS
	Full Blown	AIDS	End stage AIDS

Table 6. 3 Euphemisms used for HIV and AIDS by the Adults

Table 6.3 above hosts the euphemisms predominantly used by the adults of Manenberg when discussing the HIV and AIDS topic. From the data populated for this study, five categories emerge. Below is a discussion on each category.

6.4.1 Gay Related HIV and AIDS Euphemisms

The first category in Table 6.3 above is that of euphemisms predominantly used by the gays in the community. The euphemisms *gatsiekte* and *Antie Aida* are the most common euphemisms used to describe gays in Manenberg. The data alluded to the phenomenon that

heterosexuals (predominantly females) appear to use these euphemisms should they wish to exercise othering or index homosexuality into a discussion on HIV and AIDS. The township of Manenberg is still relatively homophobic as can be evidenced by respondent Hannes, who attempted to hide his sexual orientation yet the researcher is aware of his background and mind-set as she was a resident of Manenberg at the time of the study.

6.4.2 Prostitution and Adultery Related HIV and AIDS Euphemisms

According to the law of South Africa, prostitution is an illegal source of income. It is a practice that is frowned upon even in a poverty-stricken area such as Manenberg. The act of adultery is also viewed as a transgression in many religions and is often viewed in the same light as prostitution. The informants expressed that prostitution, adultery and homosexuality are presently considered to be HIV and AIDS triggers. In light of this, the respondents unanimously agreed that the euphemisms *liggaamsiekte*, *hoersiekte* and *vuilsiekte* are often used when reference is made to prostitutes and adulterers who have attracted the virus. On the other hand, the informants pointed out that these euphemisms are also used to curse adulterers and prostitutes even if their HIV and AIDS status is negative. The respondents' use of the euphemism *vrot weg* is used to signal disgust in the manner in which the virus has been acquired and in essence the de-humanising manner in which the person is deteriorating due to HIV and AIDS. The data alluded to the issue that transgressors committing these acts are automatically considered to be people living with HIV and AIDS as they are already outcasts of the society. These euphemisms have been amplified to insults when used in the context of discourses surrounding adulterers and prostitutes.

6.4.3 General Euphemisms

HIV and AIDS is not a pivotal concern for the community of Manenberg and is hardly discussed amongst the residents, as was highlighted in numerous sections within this

dissertation. Despite this phenomenon, general euphemisms with respect to HIV and AIDS are found in the linguistic repertoire of the informants. These general euphemisms are used to discuss the virus when it is not about societal outcasts, such as homosexuals, prostitutes and adulterers. Furthermore, the euphemism *i-memarie kaat* has the isiXhosa influence in the prefix “i” (which is used as a determiner) and is used to point towards HIV and AIDS in a “Black” person. This euphemism acts as a means to de-taboo the negotiable taboo topic of the cause of death in relation to the virus and to divulge the HIV and AIDS status of a person. This could be considered an othering tool as discussed in Chapter 4.

6.4.4 Sincerity in the Case of Death due to AIDS

The cause of death has been established to be a negotiable taboo in Manenberg and there are a few politeness strategies in place to ease talk on the cause of death (see Chapter 5). However, the respondents alluded to the instance of the cause of death being AIDS and where the deceased led a lifestyle of homosexuality or prostitution, the euphemisms mentioned above will be publicised as the cause. However, the euphemisms used for others who died of AIDS are vastly different.

The community of Manenberg elicits sincerity by employing euphemisms such as *cancer* and *tuberculosis* and so on as socially acceptable reasons to explain the death, should the deceased be a more or less well-liked community or family member. These euphemisms would replace the use of the correct terminology of AIDS and are chosen to show politeness towards the deceased and the immediate family, despite rumours of AIDS being the cause of death. The disadvantages of this politeness strategy are two-fold. Firstly, people from other areas frequenting the deceased’s house will be none the wiser of the possible status of the family that remains. Secondly, people who actually die because of cancer and tuberculosis (or

from either of the euphemisms mentioned in this section) are then suspected of dying of AIDS by the members of the Manenberg community due to their built-up schema.

6.5 Differences between HIV and AIDS Euphemisms Used by the Youth and Adults

The study was conducted to establish the differences between the youth and the adults of Manenberg, with respect to the employment of euphemisms, amongst others. The major difference noted was that the youth had no ‘special, lighter words’ for HIV and AIDS. This phenomenon in itself substantiates the claim that the youth do not consider the virus to be a major concern for them. On the other hand, it could mean that when the youth discuss AIDS they use the universally known medical terminology assigned to the disease due to educational and preventative campaigns that mostly target youngsters. The absence of euphemistic terminology could also be due to modernity and that the awareness campaigns are part of their Life Orientation subject in their educational curriculum that starts on foundation phase and is continued until secondary education. Therefore, due to much exposure, it appears that the youth do not consider HIV and AIDS to be a taboo topic, negotiable or not, but a topic left for school. This probably explains the lack of euphemisms that are age-appropriate to the youth. However, the youth had the ability to be agentive when the adults employed their euphemisms for HIV and AIDS talk.

The researcher identified 14 euphemisms that are compartmentalised into four different categories which are employed by adults to de-taboo or negotiate the taboo topics surrounding HIV/AIDS. According to The New York Times (6/1/2005), President Nelson Mandela attempted to eradicate the presence of taboo surrounding HIV and AIDS by revealing that AIDS killed his 54-year-old son. (Wines, 2005). Despite all the efforts, the subject remains taboo in Manenberg. Even though adult euphemisms exist, the disease is not a major concern that is discussed freely in Manenberg. The adults merely used these

euphemisms in the case of death, health deterioration or cursing. Age has been found to be a deciding factor with respect to conversing, starting or continuing to converse about HIV and AIDS. Dislodging talk on HIV and AIDS in the presence of elders is considered by locals an act of respect and conforms to societal rules and regulations. It appears that disregarding this societal communicative norm concerning HIV and AIDS and taboo matters alike undermines and disturbs the 'natural' social power stratification. HIV and AIDS topics are socially acceptable to be entertained amongst peers only with the use of euphemisms mentioned above, although social distance has been shown to be a variable that impacts communication of this taboo topic.

6.6 Gender Related Euphemisms

This section attempts to establish whether males and females vary in their choice of euphemisms when discussing HIV and AIDS and related sexual intricacies. It has since been established through data analysis that males and females are user competent to all Kaaps euphemisms available. The researcher unearthed that there are no notable differences in the employment of euphemisms as a means to de-taboo a taboo topic that is deemed as a politeness strategy and that gender does not influence the choice of code or euphemisms. Males and females employ similar euphemisms when conversing about HIV and AIDS and related negotiable taboo topics. However, a difference arose between the genders when accent stylisation and the use of Gayla euphemisms took place.

Accent stylisation is when interlocutors use a different accent (outside their own) to emphasise a point or to index a different party to the conversation (Dyers and Peck, 2013). This phenomenon was prevalent among male informants. When HIV and AIDS was the topic, they (male informants) deliberately switched to a high pitched voice and hastened their speech tempo, which is synonymous with the language practice of Manenberg's gay

community, but maintained use of general euphemisms. This practice was mentioned in Chapter 5 as an othering tool as well. Leading from this, it could be assumed that male residents of Manenberg should be familiar with the euphemisms and their meanings that are employed by the homosexuals that they mimick. Such males' disassociations with gays could mean that they distantly hear the accent but do not converse sufficiently for them to become part of the gay speech community. Interestingly, the males refrain from using the euphemisms for HIV and AIDS and sex that is associated with their gay community.

Females, on the other hand, use the Gayla euphemisms and accent dependant on the context, for example, what they are conversing about. It was found that a closer relationship exists between the gays and the females within that society. This relationship is based on various variables such as employment as a domestic worker or hairstylist, friendship, motherhood and so forth. Other than the above mentioned issue, there were notable differences between males and females. In researching this objective, the researcher asked the informants whether there is a differential employment of euphemisms when addressing males or females.

The majority of the informants mentioned that the gender of the interlocutor did not depict the language style or euphemisms used, but indicated that the socio-economic status of the person was a deciding factor. Extract 4.9 in Chapter 4 is a prime example of this pattern of thought. In this example, the participant pseudo-named Versa explains how he chooses the code which is best suited to the person and illustrates that when a person is *bietjie illiterit* then he should resort to speaking Kaaps and use profanity as a means of directness. The contradiction of this informant is discussed in Chapter 4.

6.7 Hindered or Unhindered Talk between Youth and Adults

Leading from this, it can be presumed that talk between the youths and adults will not be hindered by their differences as the youths clearly illustrated native-advanced competency

with respect to the euphemisms that adults employ and show their respect to the adults by doing this. However, the adults appear to be not competent enough to engage in a discussion should the youth resort to their euphemisms. For this reason, the adults see the need to learn the euphemisms that the younger generation uses. The researcher posits that this is also an indicator that euphemisms are tacitly assigned to their specific generation.

6.8 Conclusion

This chapter focused on the differential effect of euphemisms used between the youth and the adults and between the males and females of Manenberg. This chapter first reported on the euphemisms the youth uses and this was followed by the euphemisms used by adults. The study alluded to the phenomenon that the youth has euphemisms for sex that was categorised into five different classes, but the same group showed no inclination towards HIV and AIDS euphemisms. On the other hand, the youth was able to discuss HIV and AIDS in the presence of elders using the euphemisms that are used by the elders of the society. Furthermore, it was mentioned above, that the youth may not consider it necessary to have HIV and AIDS euphemisms because they were exposed to HIV and AIDS as part of their school curriculum and refer to it by using the medical terminology provided. This could also mean that they do not consider the virus a taboo topic, but they just refrain from discussing it as they possibly deem it of no importance to their lives.

The adults showed many euphemisms for HIV and AIDS and sex related topics as illustrated in Tables 6.2 and 6.3. The tables demonstrated the different classes into which the euphemisms were grouped. The adults' euphemisms were influenced by Gayla (Manenberg gay discourse), physical activities, crimes against women, foodstuffs, eating and profanity. The study established that most of the euphemisms used by adults are words that are used everyday and in other contexts as well. The researcher highlighted that the context depicts the

meaning of the euphemisms that is negotiated when used in normal everyday life and when it serves as a de-tabooing strategy. The presence of these euphemisms is an indicator that HIV and AIDS and sex related issues are considered a negotiable taboo. The euphemisms' presence also indicates that talk surrounding HIV and AIDS and sexual matters do occur amongst the adults of Manenberg.

This chapter also noted the differences between the adults and youth with respect to the employment of their respective euphemisms. It was highlighted that the adults have twice as many euphemisms for sex and that they are the only group that has euphemisms for HIV and AIDS. Despite this disparity, the youth and adults showed no strain on their communication when these negotiable taboo matters were being discussed within the setting of the interview. However, it was noted that the youth employed the adults' euphemisms when discussing HIV and AIDS and related sexual matters and showed native-advanced competency with regard to the euphemisms when they (youth) contributed to these discussions. This act of assimilation on the youth's part is a sign of respect towards the elders of the community.

This chapter concludes by highlighting that the adults and the youth of Manenberg use euphemisms as a politeness strategy with which to de-taboo a negotiable taboo topic according to normative discourse practices. Euphemisms have thus been established as linguistic resources that ensure that conversation can flow unhindered without undermining the social stratification of the Manenberg society.

Chapter 7: Conclusion and General Recommendations

7.0 Introduction

Chapter 7 focuses on the conclusions of the analyses drawn from the data populated for this study. The research will conclude by answering the research questions posed in Chapter 1. Subsequent to the conclusion, general recommendations will be offered by the researcher on institutionalisation of Kaaps as a language with a view to encouraging its speakers to have pride in it. Recommendations are also offered with respect to how the residents of the Cape Flats can protect their culture amidst addressing the vitally important issue of HIV and AIDS.

7.1 Conclusion

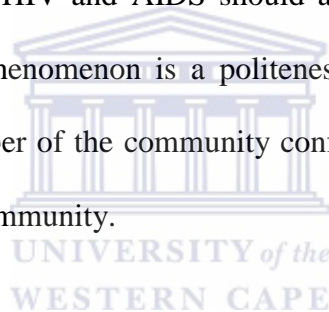
To conclude the investigation into Manenberg's discourse practices surrounding HIV and AIDS, the researcher will briefly answer each of the research questions posed to elicit the information on the subjects. Below are answers to the research questions posed in Chapter one. These will be an indication whether or not the objectives and aim of this thesis have been achieved. The questions are as follows:

1. What are the common languages practices surrounding discourses of HIV and AIDS among the youth and adults in Manenberg?

The data collected for this study have shown that HIV and AIDS is not a general concern or topic for the youth and adults of Manenberg. Leading from this, it is acknowledgeable that this topic is indeed a taboo. However, the euphemisms that are found in the adults' discourse on HIV and AIDS render it a negotiable taboo, as already discussed. This signals the possibly

that the Manenberg community may have ambivalent feelings towards the sensitive issue of HIV and AIDS. The study indicated that if and when the residents of Manenberg converse about HIV and AIDS, it would be for insulting or cursing, and they would associate the disease with homosexuality, prostitution and adultery. It was highlighted that communication of this nature would employ multimodality, for example, facial expressions, gestures, intonation, accent stylisation and so forth.

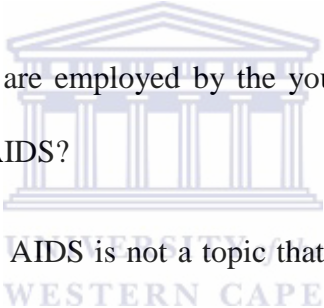
The study indicated that the youth, because of their exposure to HIV and AIDS as part of the school curriculum, think of it only as such, a school subject, and do not discuss and consider HIV and AIDS as part of socialisation. Furthermore, it was noted that the younger adults would dislodge a discussion on HIV and AIDS should a senior suddenly be present. The researcher unearthed that this phenomenon is a politeness strategy and a sign of respect, which indicates a younger member of the community conforming to societal norms and the power stratification within the community.



2. Is there a differential effect on euphemisms related to HIV and AIDS with respect to age and gender?

The research has alluded to the presence of definite differences with regards to the employment of euphemisms in the discourse practices between the youth and adults. This difference creates subsections within the discourse practices of residents of Manenberg. The adults freely use 'their' euphemisms when conversing predominantly with their peers about HIV and AIDS and sex related issues, but assign 'ownership' thereof to the youth. This study also indicated that the adults would awkwardly discuss negotiable taboo matters with the help of euphemisms with the youth. On the other hand, the youth discourse practice is very covert

and do not publicise ‘their’ generational appropriated euphemisms to adults and younger children, but adhere to the euphemisms that the adults use. The researcher highlighted that each generation has euphemisms that are tacitly assigned to the specific generation and is noticeably vastly different. It was also unearthed that there are differences between the youth and adults with regards to the influence of the euphemisms. The research posited that the youth’s euphemism for sex (as they never displayed age appropriate euphemisms for HIV and AIDS) was chiefly influenced by drug-related activities (due to ethical considerations, it could not be established whether the youth are addicted to narcotics), profanity and onomatopoeia.

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3. What politeness strategies are employed by the youths and adults to de-taboo taboo topics related to HIV and AIDS?

The study indicated that HIV and AIDS is not a topic that is freely discussed in Manenberg by both the youths and the adults. Politeness Strategies that are exercised accordingly is avoidance of the topic and this would be accepted and expected by this community as a politeness strategy that forms part of their discourse practices. However, other politeness strategies pertaining to HIV and AIDS becomes apparent when a person is suspected of dying or has died of AIDS. In this case, euphemisms would predominantly be used such as cancer, tuberculosis and so on, if that person was well liked and led a more or less acceptable lifestyle. Burial visitors would employ the politeness strategies of gossiping so as to save the deceased family’s “Face” (Brown & Levinson, 1978). It was mentioned elsewhere that *going with the flow* relates to acting ignorant, a politeness strategy that community members would employ so as not to publicly or privately contradict their fellow community members, especially when HIV and AIDS is suspected.

4. To what extent is the use of euphemisms a face-saving strategy?

As noted above, euphemisms are a huge part of the politeness strategies in the discourse practices of Manenberg, so much so that the researcher dedicated an entire chapter to it. The euphemisms found had the main function of de-tabooing taboo topics; however, occasionally due to over-exposure, the euphemisms take on the role of the terms or words that they initially used to replace. Hence, some euphemisms are then used to insult, belittle and threaten the “Face” of the opposed party. It has also been noted that the extent to which the use of euphemisms is a face-saving strategy would be dependant on the context, interlocutors and the objective of the communication. In previous chapters, the researcher highlighted that Manenberg has high-context discourse practices.



5. To what extent are euphemisms used as a tool of othering?

The research stated that othering is executed by using various methodologies and this included the employment of euphemisms. Chapter 6 focused on euphemisms and the differences with respect to employment thereof, between the youths and adults and the different genders. It was established that euphemisms are indeed used to practise othering. The HIV and AIDS euphemisms bore a distinction for prostitution and adultery (*hoersiekte*), homosexual men (*gatsiekte*) and “Black” Africans (*i-memarie kaat*) and were used to other these social counterparts. The study included a table to illustrate the various influences relating to the euphemisms found in the data. The researcher noted that one of the major means to exercise othering would be to use the relative euphemisms and this would simultaneously draw boundaries of in-group and out-group membership status, depending on one’s linguistic repertoire within the community. However, not all euphemisms used were to exercise the indirect speech such as othering, but some were neutral such as Kimberly *toe gan*, *koek iet*, cancer, tuberculosis and so

forth. To conclude, it should be reiterated that the context and the goal of the performer depict the negotiated meaning of the euphemisms. It has also been noted that most Kaaps euphemisms are words and terms that function as their lexical meanings in everyday life.

In conclusion, the research “*A Sociolinguistic Study of Euphemisms on HIV and AIDS by Manenberg’s Youth and Adults*” has provided much insight into their language practices, which will inform policy-makers and producers of HIV and AIDS campaigns towards a more relative approach to constructing these HIV and AIDS information dissemination exercises. As Hymes (1972) has expanded his linguistic theory to inculcate communicative capability and awareness of social structure, henceforth this research would aid HIV and AIDS campaigners to heed to this theory that can ensure that their messages reach a larger audience. As previously mentioned in this dissertation, much emphasis is placed on reversing the usual top-down approaches by HIV and AIDS policy-makers and campaign planners to a bottom-up approach that takes into account the context and audience for which the messages are intended.

On the whole, the researcher feels that most of the objectives of the study have been realised. However, further research on the implementation of the general recommendations will be necessary for clear and transparent HIV and AIDS communication in Manenberg, Cape Flats and the greater new South Africa.

7.2 General Recommendations

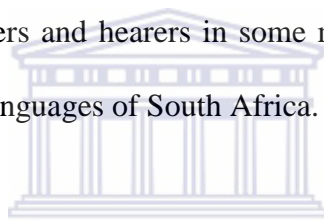
7.2.1 Recommendations Surrounding the Kaaps Language

The researcher recommends that Kaaps should be investigated as a language focussing on phonology, morphology, semantics and syntax. This will assist in Kaaps being

institutionalised and possibly used as a medium of instruction which will assist learners from the Manenberg area and the greater Cape Flats area.

The researcher is of the opinion that the institutionalisation of Kaaps will lead to the language being publicised. A means to publicise Kaaps would be for government to offer funding to researchers to firstly investigate the above. This would lay the foundation for facilitation of theatre plays, songs, movies, textbooks, educational curriculum and so forth, to be promoted.

The researcher recommends that the South African Government should provide funding to aid investigations on Kaaps, as the researcher is of the opinion that it should be considered as the twelfth official language because demographics prove that there are more Kaaps speakers and hearers than there are speakers and hearers in some minority languages that have been elevated to the status of official languages of South Africa.



A necessary investigation should be conducted to establish clear boundaries between the Kaaps language, profanity and Sabela (gangster street code). The present research has noted differences in the use of these three variables, but due to the scope of the study, the researcher was unable to examine clear distinctions that exist between these variables. This will serve as a critique of Stone's (2002) inconclusive study done on the language practices of the Cape Flats, which include Manenberg and many other townships.

The data populated for this study indicate that the residents of Manenberg and possibly the majority of Kaaps speakers deem their home language degenerate, and this causes them to aspire to speak Standard English and Afrikaans and in the process they lose their culture and agency. Therefore, the researcher advises that the Cape Town City Council should organise and host street parades with the theme of Kaaps Pride, like they do to embrace homosexuality

with the Gay Pride exhibitions that occurs annually. This exposure for the Kaaps language may cause that speech community to take pride in their language just as the gay exhibitions make homosexuals to be more positive and proud of their sexual orientation. Such annual exhibitions can thus be used as platforms to emphasise the importance of Kaaps maintenance and revitalisation.

It is recommended that linguists focus on the advancement of the Kaaps dictionary that is currently available, as the language is ever expanding and meanings constantly negotiated. The data alluded to Kaaps words and phrases being constantly resemiotised and recontextualised; therefore, an updated version is necessary if Kaaps is to be highly elaborated. It would be advisable to focus on how highly contextual Kaaps is as opposed to the Standard English and Afrikaans counterparts.



7.2.2 Recommendations Surrounding Language and Policy Making for HIV and AIDS campaigns

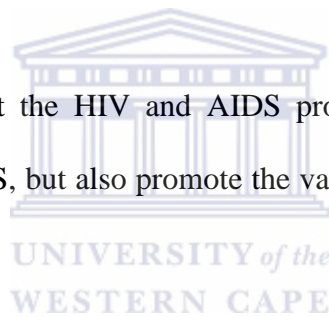
The researcher has acknowledged by doing this study that Manenberg and immediate surrounding areas such as Sherwood Park, Surrey Estate, Primrose Park, Hanover Park, Bridgetown and so forth, have no signs of visible linguistic landscaping of HIV and AIDS awareness in the form of billboards, posters or mobilised HIV and AIDS centres. This is an inadequacy that needs to be urgently addressed as residents of these areas, predominantly “Coloureds”, remain oblivious and unattached to the deadly threat of HIV and AIDS.

The researcher recommends that advisors and producers of HIV and AIDS campaigns be cognisant of the norms and language practices of the target audience. This is one sure way of ensuring the effective dissemination of information on HIV and AIDS. As this study alludes

to the presence of strong language practices and societal cultural norms, it is advisable for campaigns to inculcate them into HIV and AIDS preventative and educational campaigns instead of antagonising them.

An issue that is highly recommended is that the HIV and AIDS preventative and educational campaigns address all races and not single out a specific race to be concerned about HIV and AIDS. This, in essence, incurs repercussions for those who are not the 'normal' face of HIV and AIDS. Firstly, they act unmindfully (unrealistically unemphatic towards those people who are living with HIV and AIDS or possible victims) and exercise reckless sexual behaviour with respect to safeguarding themselves against this deadly disease.

The researcher recommends that the HIV and AIDS programmes not only fixate on the sexual dynamic of HIV and AIDS, but also promote the various other variables that also lead to attracting the disease.



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Appendix

7 Focus Group Appendix

- Interviewer: So what is the highlights in Manenberg?
- Jacqui: *DRUGS!==*
- Chrissie: *==GANGSTERISM!==*
- Theresa: *==UNEMPLOYMENT! SCHOOL DROP OUTS!!==*
- Chrissie: *==TEENAGE PREGNANCIES!==*
- Sam: *==I WAS GONA SAY TIK!! TIK is the main thing they don't speak about drugs. Break ins house break ins A LOT in this area!*
- Chrissie: *==A LOT A LOT everyday every single day housebreak ins!*
- Sam: *And the scrap yard==*
- Chrissie: *==Around the corner!*
- Jacqui: *Hulle vikoep scrap die mense steel jou goed dan gat hulle it daa vikoep!==*
- Theresa: *==Hulle steelit hie dan vikoep hulle it daa.*
- Chrissie: *He buys it!*
- Sam: *They steal it here then they sell it there [gesturing close proximity].*
- Theresa: *Baie swaar hie.*
- Sam: *Dai kant yuk die mense die kant kan hulle nie yukkies. Hie warrie hulle nie!*
- Interviewer: Praat enige een met enige een?
- Jacqui: *Basically they only speak with friends, hulle sallie soema met groot mense praatie==*
- Chrissie: *Hulle praatie met groot mense nie==*
- Jacqui: *==Kos vi jou soes a groot mens om vi jou op hulle level te bring en dan sal hulle open up ma nie soema nie.*
- Chrissie: *Of as jy drugs doen met hulle van die meisies doen drugs saam met die jongetjies drugs.*
- Jacqui: *Nie eintlik aunty chrissie sometimes, hulle ko na jou toes, nou sense jy iets issie reggie nou nou beginte jy jokes te maak en praat van anna goetes en nou skielik ko jy tot op a punt aunty chrissie wat jy vi hulle in en uit vra dan ko hulle uit met die julle sak patat nou jy kan sien somewhere along the line is hulle nie altyd reggie ma*

as jy gewoonte hulle nou wiet jy iets issie hie placie nou maak jy vi hulle ees gerus nou praaT JY met hulle, hoeko lyk jy so? Jy kan mossie so lykkie? But is difficult meestal a grootmens is besag en hulle hettie altyd tyd om te kyk na die kinnas se needs toe en assie kinnas tyd het dan gat hulle na hulle vrinne toe nou by die vrinne kry hulle nie regte advies nie van hulle doen drugs daa hulle gan party, hulle het a nice time because hulle kan met niemand praattie. Ek meen ma hiessie wat daa grootmense praat meet youngsterssie van omdat die grootmense sterk is praat die youngsters nie met grootmense. Hulle wattie dai kan kans om met grootmense te praattie. Van hulle is bang, a mens moet eeste hulle confidence wen dan moet jy met hulle praat==

Sam: ==For me iets also like a lot of adults in the community drink and they just don't care so you see that young people also have non-chalant attitudes amper soes jy is a grootvrou en jy suip en jy roek saamma buttons wat kan jy vi my vertel!==

Jacqui: ==Ja==

Chrissie: Dan kom hie wee baie by die deur, die klones wat so was gevang is en dan praat ek met hulle en hulle luister vi my ek praat met hulle, ek sal vi hulle vra wat lee jy vi jou kin, jou seuntjie raak so mooi groot wat lee jy vi hom, kyk hoe groot raak dai kin dai kin het a pa norag ek sê as dai kin by sewe ag yaa oud is en dai kin wil sokker speel dank an jy nie met dai kin speellie van dan is jou longe klaa, wat lee jy vi van jy doen die goete hie voo die kin, ek sal baie met hulle praat, baie kom hie dan sal ek met hulle praat, hulle luister wat ek vi hulle luister hulle luister==

Jacqui: == Hies amal vi hulle self ek hou my nice time ek is besag met my dinge ek is nie gewarrid oo jou dinge, jou dinge is jou besagheid het niks met my te doene nie, so man amal lewe vi hulle self basically uhm ek kannie vi my bother met jou goetessie! Die een is meer bang vi wat die anna een gat sê soes aunty chrissie sal nou miskien vi a anna grootmens wil sê ma gat aunty chrissie twie kee dink van it gat nou in a aunty chrissie wiet nou it gat nou in a aagument lei jy try om iets goet te doen en dan oppi einde van die dag is it a groot problem. Basically, Dit is hoerit is, nou gat sê jy nou net vi die ma sorry but jo kin skel an kry jy meeree skel as wat die kind miet moet skel kry but nou hoe gemak?

Interviewer: Do you understand what Taboo is?

Chrisie: Mustn't talk about!

Interviewer: Yes that is right, what things in Manenberg is Taboo?

Jacqui: Like this you can't open up your heart to anyone even if you know them you can't, they might go tell other people then you night the thing might come back to you like I make example. Something went wrong in my life in that time now now now now .. Uhm this person like comes to me, and I'm like close to him and he close to me but he is then directing me to this person to the other person that's gona help me but that person takes my thing takes the thing that I've said to him and I'm feeling like that again now like myself==

Crissie: ==Trust not easy to trust people!

Interviewer: And what about money, can you go and discuss your own money business to anyone or even go and ask your neighbour how much is her wages?

Sam: *Oo ooo*

Group: *[The entire group laughs out loud]*

Jacqui: *Basically, sêma jys bewus daa iets vikeed met jou kin en ieman anders ko vi jou sê jou kin gebruik drugs jy gattie dai will accepttie, irrespective as jy wiet daa is iets vikeed met jou kin jy garrittie will accepttie dai kan nie my kin issie, dai kan glattie my kin will issie even uhm.. uhm soes die topic van HIV AIDs oek dais iets wat niemand van soema sal van praattie eke wiet dai ene het miskien AIDS van ek het êrens gehoo ma ek gattie rerag vi my uit sittie met dai persoon nie as simple as that, uhm uhm, vanddag se tyd is rerag different van mense gie nie rerag ommie==*

Sam: *== I think when it comes to people doing crime soes jy wiet dai persoon het nou dai persoon se huis in gebriek os [shaking head from side to side] praattie daa oo nie os gattie praat wie isittie om te piemppie man van dan wiet jy dai is a groot [signaling big with her hands] ding môre taaget hulle jou huis oek dai sit vi jou in a ding. Even here by us you can see the people you just keep quiet, some people will say you know you don't talk about that because that dai persoon maak jou soema dood of whatever. So dais so that's how it goes..*

Theresa: *Man eendag toe is daa a man wat hulle in a kar slat en die vrou skree **kan julle nie vi hom helppie!** Amal kyk rond van niemand is prepared om involve te raakkie van amal is bang, amal is bewus ek kan see kry, ek kan help, ek will help MA my hat gat uit vi dai persoon ma ek kan hom nie helppie. So amal het ma net gestaan sy het geskree, **Heere wat soot mense is julle julle kan mos help** ma sy gat oekkie voorentoe nie om te helppie sy call en skrie leweste vi amal en sy kyk oek ma hoe hy geslaan wid, toe eventually kom hy weg en hy haloep poliestasie se kante toe.*

Interviewer: Nou soes sex.. Sal die mense groot of jonk daavan praat?

Jacqui: *Uhm sorry ma wat wiet sy dat sex eintlik a topic wat mense soema oo sal praat? It is som vroumense sal na jou toe kom en sê ja ek en my man het nou dit gedoen en ek en my man het nou dai gedoen die jong kinnas onna mekaa hulle is miskiennie bewus jy is in hulle company nie of jy somewhere nabyne dan sal hulle praat onna mekaa ek meen issie eintlik mee..... Onna mekaa jys mossie a groot menssie jys mos een kant hulle issie bewus jys daa nie in die omtes innie nou praat hulle onna mekaa nou hoo jy klompie goetes wat jy nie will hoo nie. Groot mense as os twie tjommies is dan gat ek jou vitel wat ek gisteraan an gevang het en dan gat ek by jou wil wiet gat jy oek nog Joburg toe? Ek mien rerag honestly==*

Interviewer: ==Will the two aunties discuss sex?

Chrissie: *NO. But we can but no.*

Theresa: *NO.*

Sam: *No my mommy don't talk about that*

- Interviewer: How did you get to know what is okay to talk about and what is rude? Especially thinking about how your parents raised you?
- Sam: *Peoples faces change, as soon as you mention it peoples faces change, they heads go down , dan wiet jy. Their heads go down and you watch their body language.*
- Chrissie: *Toe ek a kin was het os nooit sukke dinge gepraattie van my ma het os was nooit os wat nooit geregtag om enige iets te vra nie, os kennie dai nie==*
- Jacqui: *==You don't go there.*
- Theresa: *Is nou a nuwe generation die kinnas kry die seks education innie skool ma van osse tyd os kennie dai nie, van osse ma hetit nooit geallow nie.*
- Sam: *Toe os klein gewiesit dan mak my ma vi os soes die [facial expression lifting eyebrows with attitude laden look, closing right eye and slowly shaking head up and down as if I am going to get you] as os prat wat ossie moet praattie dan maak my ma os net so jy prat dai voo mense nie jys a kin ...nou prat ek [the mother] oekkie mee nie!*
- Jacqui: *Nou by os wee osse ma het soema straight gesê children should be seen and not heard uhm don't ask me questions that you shouldn't its not appropriate because you a child iets van whenever jy a vraag vra is dai die antwoord of jy sê iets wattie gesê moet wittie dan sê sy vi jou and that's not allowed because children should be seen and not heard==*
- Chrissie : *==Praat==*
- Theresa: *Nie my ma het altyd nou wee ees as sy met haa vrinne gesit het en gepratit en os sit innie company dan sê sy kom Lucy kom ek en jy gat speel buitekant dan kan hulle ma hie binne sit en.. Dan wiet os os moet nou uit gan. Van os behoottie.. dan sê sy lat os nou buitekant gan sit en gesels lat hulle nou gesels dan wiet os os moet uitgan van os behoottie in hulle geselssie nou dai was my ma hulle se sê dinges..... [sighing] OOO jitte, kinnas het mos hulle, my kin ek kan mos van my eie kin praat sy het mos haa eie wil vi haa kan jy a ding sê dan doen sy die opposite so ek kan vi haa sê moenie dai ding doennie dan wys sy vi my die opposite van sy wil ha ding doen*
- Group: *In agreement Mmmmm [shaking heads up and down agreeing].*
- Interviewer: Is there any other Taboo's that you know of?
- Sam: *Like ek het jou man hie gesien met dinges en dinges HEERE! EmbasRRasing.*
- Interviewer: Will you go and talk to a youngster on a taboo topic? And how will you go about it?
- Sam: *Very direct*
- Chrissie: *Net mooi praat net mooi praat, is hoe jy vi hulle approach oek...my kin kom hie mooi praat met hulle ma as jy ombe..net vi hulle net anyway gat approach dan gat hulle en dan gan hulle rebellious wies er er uhm, ek het gelee om mooi te prat irrespective irrespective wat YOu know as jy mooi prat dan kry jy goeie results uit jy, jy kry*

samewerking, you know hulle gattie eens vi jou anwoore gie nie uh u.... Van oo die jare het ek gelee om mooi te praat... is dai vuil kyke wat hulle oryt uitgedrai het...So en hulle vistaan nogal hulle gie vi my respek en ek kan nogal met enige ene praat.. Enige ene enige ene.. Nou verefen kom daa vrouens hie sy vloekie kin jou N jou P ek sê nie oo HEEre Nie NIE! [shaking head] jy praattie met a kin so nie!!! Ek sê Ek was kwaad! Ma agterna toe roep ek vi haa, toe praat ek met haa, ma sys oek sieka op drugs man.. Ma my kop was clear van ek het haa gesê wat ek will gesêrit ma sy wassie ombeskoffie.. You understand, ek sê vi haa di issie my kinnie ek ken oekkie vi jou nie but you know ek was groot gemaak my kin man so ek moet uiyt ken vi jou kin==

San: ==Nee vandaggie==

Chrissie: Ek moet uit kyk vi jou kin en as ek.. As mense hulle kinnas abuse dan sal ek, jy kan nooit so met a kin praattie, nou die dag Roosa wat Roosa so vloek toe sê ek haa wat lee jy die kin, ek sê vi haa nee man wat lee jy vi haa?! Nee man jys a ma dies a klein kin a kin dink a kin dink als wat die man doen en sê is reg van issie ma you know en is a klein kin dink sy ma is die beste my ma is my role model ek wil wies soes my ma you know al is jou ma vikeed oek, dai kin glo in haa ma my ma is die beste so die dai wat jy nou sê gat die kin gat oek so doen wat jy doen van ek het oek begin doen wat my ma doen tot ek vistant gekry het en en gerealise dai wat jou ma doen issie altyd reggie en jy sien ma wat jy klein is dan vistaan jy nie dai nie you understand ma ek glo nog altyd even dat my kin is jou kin ek sallie toelaat dat mense a kin abuse en ek sê nikssie en ek loep verby nie ek warrie nie wat hulle my sê nie ek warrie nie ma op tot dus ver het niemand nog ombeskof gewies met my nie because as ek hulle..Is vikeed!==

Jacqui: ==Nee ek loep verby.

Chrissie: Nee nee it maakkie saakkie, uhm soes een kee is ek in a winkel toe is aa a meisie van soe elf of twaalf jaa oud en sy vra haa ma is jy effen stupid voo allie mense ek sê vi haa HEEre meisie jy kan mossie so saam jou ma praattie ek sê HEEre en jys nog so klein ne jyssie skaammie?! [smacking on her leg to gesture shock and disbelief] dai vrou gie my een kyk en sy move na die anna till toe!

Interviewer: How will you address a serious topic with someone?

Sam: I'll take very long to come out with it. I'm a type of person that will first talk round the topic [using hand to illustrate roundness in air] I would kinda ask questions so that you can figure it out yourself, I would say to you ,do you know where this person was yesterday? I saw him there by someone elses house, now I don't know how did he go there, what he did there what do you think he went to do there, you know that kinda thing where you yourself have to think, hie is ietssie reggie and at the end of the day maybe I'll say if you now a bit slow you don't now catch it then I'll say but I think die ene is iemand annas se boyfriend ek wiet nou nie hou gat jy maakkie ma and more than likely you will never speak to me again but at least I done that, at least I told you. I like to take the long way around.

Theresa: *Ooooh ja, ek sal ma nie daa kommie van ek ko daa ver uit. Ek sallie wiet hoe om dai te doennie.*

Sam: *Asit ko by die mense wat N en dan ek sal dai vi die kinnas dan sal ek net sê hai hoo hiessa die kin is net so klein ek is oek baie sarcastic man, so ill be very sarcastic around it but I wouldn't say something directly to you , only if you say sê jy vi my soe en whatever? Dan gat ek sê jaa ma jy vloek an die kin. Of ek sallie ek sallie a fight soekkie ek gat ma net soe by lê gooi. [stressed] but most coloured people don't catch sarcasm! Hulle gat nou hoekal net dink it makkie eintlik saakkie. Ja en hulle is soe but nobody will and regarding nou, hoe sê jy nou vi jou acquaintance? Sê sê iemands se boyfriend ek sal net praat oor cheating in general net in general cheating en dai, wat sal jy maak dan sien ek ees waa hou jy uit , dan ko jy nou waa ek mak hom dood of whatever, dan sal ek ma sê dan moet jy ma jou oo oep maak jong dan moet jy sien wat gat nou an, I will always keep it casual I wouldn't just say ma ek het hom gesien daa by dinges, dais nou a bietjie te serious vi my I'll just keep it casual, jy moet ma self dinges annister dan sê hulle ek het ko pimp. Er die kin het die man dood gemaak!*

Interviewer: Do you know the difference between HIV and AIDS?

Chrissie: *HIV en AIDS?*

Sam: *Ooo god die nou skool werk!*

Theresa: *Hiv is mos die virus en as jy AIDS het dansit mos die full blown is mos watter stage jy is*

Jacqui: *Is skool goed.*

Chrissie: *Full body attack is AIDS!*

Jacqui: *Uhm...Nou twee jaa trug, my niggie was nou sê ma nou like December maand wid sy vikrag en Januarie maan toe wit sy die tweede keur vikrag.. En March toe sterf sy af ...Full blown AIDS. Van January in Joburg in most people have AIDS, I went to sê ma hie bly my pa en [hand movement showing distance] daasie skool 98% of that high school was affected with HIV children and AIDS so the people there that got AIDS they believe that if I rape a virgin if I rape someone that will cure me... She was... I think 24 .. 25. She got raped twice and she passed away from AIDS its not long after that. The second time she got raped she find out she got fullblown AIDS she didn't feel like living and she was just living on juice, she didn't wanna eat anymore...Another lady gave birth to a son a daughter. a week later she was raped, and uhm, apparently the mother and the baby passed away two weeks later...A a son yes and two weeks later she was raped and two weeks later she was buried and then a week after that or first it was the baby and then she the son [hand movements indicating either mother or son first].*

Interviewer: How is that possible?

Sam: *With the breast milk mos, the son can get infected with the breast milk==*

- Jacqui: ==But not long after that the baby passed away.
- Sam: But if you not on medication then it goes through your breast milk and then the child can and then the child also get it!
- Chrissie: And and the the but in in you know in Johannesburg in Sowet...people walking [sits uprights-getting into the narration] living with AIDS you can see they got AIDS, they finish I'm telling you, its er you know..A very few [slides one hand over the other to emphasize finish] people haven't got aids in Soweto you know in every road I evry road every week there's two Saturdays there's two or three funerals in every street in Soweto, people you can just see, you know, I went for AIDS training you know for aids counselling yes .. Years before AIDS was so a lot, when it just start we believe that we gona get money for the training and we went to the workshops, I had a business in Soweto in Soweto, years all my life I've been there, there father is in Soweto .. So uhm so people got AIDS you can see I used to say uhm dai ene is klaa dai ene gat kot dood!
- Sam: Dan sê my ma nee dankie! I-memari kaat!
- Chrissie: Issie lankkie [sliding hands acroos each other-to emphasize soonest]
- Sam: Wiet jy my ma.. Dan sê my ma issie lankkie [mimicking her mum slide hands across each other to emphasize AIDS and soon to die] dan sien jy hoe gou gat hulle.
- Chrissie: Ek ken hulle al, ma daas a paa wat my onna kan gevangit, ma ek sê jou die mense het AIDS in JOBURG [same hitting sliding hands across each other] I'm telling you jy kan al vi hulle sien hie in [putting index finger curled into corners of her mouth] en hie innie neck [turning head and pointing to neckI] knoppe innie neck of die heavy weight loss ek kan al die dinge ek KEN hulle al!! Ek is yster! Hulle mak mos net soe [using pinky, ring and middle finger together to indicate AIDS] vi AIDS hulle sê mossie aidssie hulle maak mos net soe!
- Sam: Three fingers for HIV [using same hand gesture as mother] three fingers three letters
- Chrissie: Jy wys net soe dan wiet jy!
- Sam: Issie nog lankkie.
- Jacqui: Ek kanit glo van my niggie bly oek in Soweto en sy het oek HIV!
- Chrissie: I'm telling you in Joburg [hand in fist hitting palm on top of fist –emphasize fullness or jampacked] AIDS loep op twee voete, I'm telling you is [hitting palms against each other rapidly] in Soweto you won't believe me my dear nevermind die antiretrovirols goete wat hulle kry nie is helppie, I'm telling you. In joburg hulle gat jonk jonk dood, they die young!!!! [lots of hand movements] they die young I'm telling and children is active in Johannesburg thirteen years old they active twelve years.. thirteen years! Ooo, I don't know==
- Interviewer: Where does I-memarie kaat come from?

- Sam: It comes from the Zulus I-memarie kaat! But here they call it memarie kaat!..And then they say you have the memarie kaat, then everybody will know you got HIV!*
- Chrissie: Yes in Tambo Square, you will be surprise here in Tambo Square en go check in Tambo Square 2 in every 3 people got AIDS in Tambo Square, I'm telling you. I'm telling you. Die coloureds wat Africans het daa hulle is kla.. hulle het AIDS. Wiet u hoeveel coloureds het AIDS hie, as u nou net gat People's Centre toe People's Centre toe, dan kry jy a moffie daa*
- Sam: Van die Marshalene==*
- Chrissie: ==Hy sal vi jou sê hoeveel mense het AIDS daa, die coloureds hulle is kla hulle sit soe [sitting leaning forward] kla oppie stez hulle is kla coloured mense wat ko van Tambo Square af en even hieonna os oek, het os oek AIDS.*
- Sam: Ma net hie by os isit undercover, like iets wat ek nooit sal vigietjie, os sê meisie os is nou miskien a kiek, os roek saam en everything en wat wat, dan kry os vi os a kol en os amal het die een meisie, os born dat os sal ...[shoulders up and down] hoe sê ek nou dai in mooi woorde.. my vader! Os koep a meisie!==*
- Jacqui: ==Gangbanger!*
- Sam: Ja os koep a meisie os maak vi haa a paa hiets en whatever sy is easy en os amal gat nou hie op a kol in a yaad.. dan het amal nou seks met haa! Soema so voouit, soema onna die ligpaal! Amal sien soema vi julle jy warri nie, nie van julle amal is nat!*
- Chrissie: Gedruk*
- Sam: En daa het julle amal turns baklei baklei vi a turn met mekaa om te kan..*
- Chrissie: Soes a klom honne! Dis wat gebeur hieso!*
- Sam: And its normal here!Vi my wasit why because, os was groot gemaak sex is soes sacred en everything and everything agterna yor, I feel actually yor as a person people yor they just yor its casual issie nog a net is jy en sy os is brasse vadag en nematjies smaak os a ding en dan maak os a ding en môre is os ma net wee brasse en ek is met amal is net==*
- Chrissie: Ma die meisie kinnas is so gevaalik van die meisie kinnas tik doen druks meeste en as hulle druk dan is hulle sex meerer hyperactive!*
- Jacqui: Mans mense oek, vra vi anty chrissie hoe het ek gekla oo my eggenoot my man, en jys oek mos op druks en hulle sê mos as jy op tik is dan kan jy vi ag en twintag mense vi die dag anvat, nou jy kan mos dink... Een dag ko my man na my toe en sê wiet jy wat? As jy a hit het of jy het a packie dan is jy a ryk man because nou as jy a girl het wat dai goetes gebruik, jy kan vi haa basically kry om alles te doen.. sy sal op jou mike sing sy sal vi jou agteraf gie sys al alles vir net vi dai hit. Now omdat ek met hom vi a tyd saam gebly het, nou ek is a bietjie af en amal sit met dai intention ek is oek a tikkop nou, as ek innie pad in loep dansit hai uhm wietjie wat ek het a lollie vi os, uhm I'm like sorry?! Ek gebruikkie dai nie, ko ko ko vat a hit saam met my but is*

net vi een ding intention ek wil vi jou in my kooi in hê. Jys mos nou a tikkop en ek gat jou use. You see I'm mos like thin man, tikkop is mos jy is maer jys mos nou uit ge..Jys viniel man, ek lyk mos nou viniel but unfortunately issie dai nie ek is a ma van vyf kinnas, which means to say ek kry bitter swaar, my eggenoot issie saam met my nie, ek moet alleen sukkel, nou jy gan nou in plus van dink jy gat nou nie dink nie sy hettie kos by die huissie darem wat sy so lyk, hulle gat dink sy gebruik druks. Doesn't mean to say my partner use drugs I must use drugs. Ek kan dan sien watter taatie goete doenit aan hom. He never sleeps, he plays with himself twenty four seven. Because he don't get satisfaction. Nou wie wil soe a lewe lewe issie jou lewe nie jy het niks lewe vi jouselffie..Jou hele lewe drai om druks.. die mense wat om gie vi jou sien jy nie eens raakkie en jy bly constantly depressed van niemand gie om vi jou nie ma jy sien nie rerag wie om gie vi jou nie van jou druks is daa om vi jou te pai. So jy moet altyd steel om dai druks te kry en dan kry jy jy rak rid van die mense hie om jou of jy maak hulle see van dais nou meerer important==

Chrissie: ==Sien toekieda, hie in Manenberg..Os aids en druks gat saamai[crossing index finger over middle finger] AIDS en druks gat saam! As jy drugs roek dans jy hyper where sex is concerned en soe gat jy by amal in en soe spread jy AIDS [making her hand make a sortve n pattern in the air] soe spread die AIDS. Soe spread die AIDS!. You will be surprised to know how many people daa here in Tambo Square mos got AIDS. Im telling you.

Sam: Soes hie sallit wies oo drugs, in Joburg issit wee oo wyn en paaty, toe ek is nou a girl en eks a skool meisie nou waavan ek gat oek nou pep toe, tavern toe, chikalie jy kry cheap cheap daa dingesis en dai, so ek gat nou vi my mooi antrek dan gat ek hie af en ek is net daa sonna gel, nee jy arrive net, en miskien het jy nou a entjie se geld en verder dan sien jy net hie kom dinges en dinges koop en dinges koop en daa loep dinges en dinges en dinges en gone==

Chrissie: Ma hulle koepjie vi jou viniettie hulle kennie vi jou nie van hulle wil slaap met jou.

Interviewer: Where did you first hear about the virus and how?

Chrissie: Ek het mos nou toe dit beginterit toe het ek eers gehoo is dai dogter [Dr] wat AIDS gekry het in hiein Suid afrikarit was a dogter [Dr] ek het gelees van ek lees baie. El lees baie ek hettie skool gegaannie dam lees ek so baie en die lees het eintlik vi my lat vistaan waaoo alles gat you know, ek lees alles wat ek kan kry en ek het gelees van die dogter wat hulle oek getry het om vi iemand te save en dai toe het hulle oek a krap gehad en toe en dai was die eeste case van aids hie in suid afrika. Toe se hulle wee jy kryrit van a baboon af en er er you know in die begin toe wassittie hie by os gewiessie. Ek het ma net gelees daavan nou isit a reality is hie by is ma ma in joburg isit worse ma is soes ek vi u se as hie drie mense sit dan is it twee wat AIDS het, I'm telling you.

Sam: Ek het innie skool gelees.

Theresa: Ek by die clinic==

Jacqui: *On the news on the tv, basically the news toe AIDS uit kom nou mense wat mossie rerag kop toe nie. Basically asit hie by jou is dan gatit strike by u en nou isit a reality!*

Interviewer: Any other AIDS encounters?

Theresa: *Ek het a vrin gehet hys a moffie jare trug hys vadag dood en sy seun en uhm hyt drie vie kinnas drie jaa oud gehet dai tyd ma hy het langer as sy seun gelewe sy klong van hy het full blown AIDS gehet, hy het siekarit oppie ouerdom van forty two gesterf en sy kin het gesterf van die ouerdom van vie hy was getroud gewies ma hy was a moffie oek gewies en hy het sy vrou en sy kin.. AIDS gegie. Die vrou is dood, toe sterffie kin toe sterf hy. Because die vrou was pregnan en hy het geslaap met sy vrou, die moffie was getroud met a vrou ma hy hetmet mans mense oek geslaap...*

Sam: *Then he got AIDS there and he brought it home and the child was born with that... And she probably didn't know that he HIV positive!*

Theresa: *En dais jare trug... Ek was sieka a ma van een kin toe ek hulle bevrien gewies het toe daisie tyd wat ek eintlik rerag gouerer note gevatit van AIDS.*

Chrissie: *Oh here people don't actually talk about it here*

Sam: *Like here not in here .. but maybe on tv you will see an ad==*

Chrissie: *==Oppie tv ja==*

Jacqui: *==Ja there.. ma mense hieom praatie daavan nie==*

Sam: *==Maybe in the hospitals.. We don't even have here uhm that posters here you know the people normally have those HIV posters now we don't have that here cause people here don't have AIDS [laughing] only in other places!*

Interviewer: Do you ever discuss AIDS with friends and family members.

Chrissie: *Ek sal jaa as ek miskien die kinnas se pa sien dan sal ek nou vi hom sê jy wat so rond dinges ..jy gat nog siekte kry ...en soe nou ..os bly nou wellie saamie ma ek salit vi hom sê!*

Sam: *In our house, yes a lot .. Dais my ma se favourite topic. My ma kyk so die celebrities an dan sê sy Sbu het aids hy het aids.. ek sê vi kyk hie [pointing to the back of the neck] kyk hie agter by sy neck...Dai klimmeit nee Sibusizwe op generations so ja my ma point hulle soe uit! Heere! Dan sy nie jys kla...Nie lankie dan gat die mense dood! Regtag dood==*

Chrissie: *==Ek ken ek ken Hulle uit!*

Sam: *Die hele municipality!*

Chrissie: *Ek ken al allie signs al==*

Sam: *My ma kennie hele parliament amal van hulle wie het ennie hettie==*

Chrissie: ==*Ek was met die ANC daarom ken ek hulle! Ek wiet hoe mors hulle ek wiet....As as Steve Steve Twetwe is oek dood van*==

Sam: ==*Mama! Moenie die goete sê nie dai ding record alles moenie!*

Interviewer: You don't have to worry.. your identity is a secret. Valse naam sal vi julle gegie wid en net ek sal wiet wie het wat gesê en as ek miskien uit praat kan julle my toe sluit! Soe ek sal dit nie waag nie!

Chrissie: *Daas baie van hulle wat dood gan van AIDS ek was mos innie AIDS ek was mos altyd in a conferences toe gegaan al die die big shots der... En os sien hoe visit hulle die meisies se kamers die die meisies se kamers...hulle mors hulle morshulle mors my bakkie hulle mors is soe van ek ken vi hulle!!!*

Interviewer: Do you discuss sex with youngsters?

Jacqui: *I discuss it with my children die oudste een is twaalf my meisiekin is ag dansit ses en vie en baby mos nou but basically sal ek vi hulle sê in osse tyd het os outjies en meisies gevat in julle tyd moet julle eers clinic toe gan voot julle kan outjies en meisies vat unfortunately en as julle jong manne...Asseblief hou ma julle goete under control voodat julle moet trou, ek sê in osse tyd wasit ouma en oupas en anties praatie sukke goettie but ek hettie a choicie julle doenit by die skool en ek moerit by die huis oek praat because as ekkie gat praatie gat julle vi vrinne vra en as julle vi vrinne vra gat ek problems kry..I'm sorry ek soekie problemssie because they see it on the tv even if you don't wana show them ...Hullehet phona hulle kan die sex videos kyk .. Hulle kan goetes af haal ek het geskrik om te sien hoe maklik isit!*

Chrissie: *Die porn videos!!*

Jacqui: *Die videos wat hulle daa op het!Nou basically if you don't talk about it they will go an, hulle sallit ekspirementeer. I have to be open because osse kinnas vandag is baie open mind ...You know whats happening now? Osse boytjies van nege tien twaalf sodomise mekaa...It's a fun thing to sleep with each other...That's whats disgusting me van ek siennit ek is basically by die huis ek wekkie nou wat ek by die huis is nou moet ek die kinnas dop hou en wat ek sien is griewelheid voo Gods se oo soe moenie dai doen nie! The boys are sleeping with each other! Ek sien jys a bunny, ma niemand wiet jys a bunny nie ma ek wiet nou hulle moet a pyp roek met die ouense dan moet hulle vi jou a lekka tyd te gie jy betaal skoons dat hulle vi jou a lekka tyd gie ...Nou os kinnas is saam os is saam os kinnas is saam involved os sien osse kinnas ma wat hulle aan vang! Oppie ou einde dan doen die kinnasit self as hulle allenag is. En vi my isit swaa om te accept dat boys sukke goetes doen ! Nou is kos vi my as ma om te moet praat met die kinnas ...Daissie appropriatetie dai wittie ge-allow nie. Issie te sê hulle doenit openly innie straat innie dat jullerit oek moet doennie! As ekkie open issie dan gat hulle ma tog gan eksperimenteerrie..Hy gan dink kyk hie hy kanit dan doenhoekom kan ekkie ..Now now that's my problem==*

Chrissie: ==*its escalataing and escalating*==

Theresa: *Its growing!*

Interviewer: If perhaps you or someone else is discussing AIDS, does the tone change of praat hulle in a anna taal miskien? Of wat?

Sam: *Daakie accent immediately [laughing] immediately a darkie accent uhm you will put on a African accent immediately is net soe soe onbewus ek dink nou daavan as os trug gat dan se "oe yor I-memarie kaat" en it is nets soes dai.. I think if you speaking to somebody one on one then it will be a very serious tone you pick up van it is mossie a jokekie!*

Jacqui: *But usually its like weird like then you whisper [whispering] het jy gesien dinges en dinges en kla en dansit, wiet jy hoe hy rit gekry it ha ah, dai ene het dai, en dan is it klaa! Ok kla gepraat os gattie wee daa oo praattie! Dan praat os iets annes. Alles is soes hush hush it's like anne mense moenie hoo nie niemand moet nou hoo nie. Ma os is oek bang om met die next person te praat van os wiettie wanna die problem wee trug drai nie but ek meen ma man die issie a topic wat soema so gepraat wittie==*

Chrissie: ==Ja==

Jacqui: *==In vadag se tyd moet os met os kinnas praat. Os hettie a choissie. Ek het gesê as ek my kinnas kan hospital toe vat en sê die is vat HIV doen en die is wat tik doen. Dan sal ek die blyste mens wies van dai kin sal nooit die images vigiet wat os daa gesienittie. That will be a lasting effect on that child. As ek dai kon gedoenit dan doen ek dai met amal my kinnas. Net vi die fyt is open up your mind van die is reality van this is hou life is! Because os kannie mee stil bly oo die goetes no matter hoe jong die kin is. Os moet ma try om vi hulle op a hoe jong age in hulle kop in try om te print! Wies aware.*

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Interviewer: Say for instance os is soes os nou besag is om van AIDS en seks te praat en a tien jaa oud kin ko hie in wat sal gebeur, sal die gesels an loep sal almal stil bly, sal die topic gechange wit?

Theresa: *Ek kannie er ek sal stop..Die gesels...Mmmm.... Al moet jy nou open wies ma...Ek sal stop van ek sal uncomfortable wies om te praat voo die kinnas.*

Sam: *Ek praat my praat jong is ma by.. If it's a ten year old child..If it's a child that understands then I..then I would NOT speak.*

Interviewer: Are there any Special words that are used to replace using the word sex?

Chrissie: [Laughing loud] *theres too much!*

Sam: *Ja too much nie hehehehe..Yor just to mention a few.. people don't even mention it they just make so [tilting hand to the side and back again].*

Jacqui: *Os gat joburg toe*

Theresa: *Os gat Barbara land toe amal dai daas klom woorde name wat hulle ken*

Sam: *Pineapple....*

Theresa: *Pineapple aan*

Sam: *My favourite is poerna eh and flah fla.. Hey but its mos a word plah plah hulle sê alles hulle sê knop en poenang ja ja hulle sê sukke woorde*

Jacqui: *Oentjie burger*

Interviewer: Any other terms perhaps that the gays use?

Sam: *Oo anty Theresa praat ma van sy praat bai met hulle!*

Theresa: [laughing]

Sam: *Oo lol it's upsai and under..upsai and under! Is my favourite*

Theresa: [laughing] *Ek is mos nou bai lang weg van die muffins af [laughing].. ek het al wee vigiet.*

Interviewer: And for HIV AIDS?

Sam: *We mos said earlier here you just show e3 (fingers) or you say I-memarie kaat. And that's the usual en sys lankal, saam! Net sy is lankal saam... vuilsiekte*

Theresa: *Die virus.. Die groot sick.. knopjig is part of the family*

Interviewer: Het al by a funeral gewies wat dai ene dood van AIDS is of die mense suspect is dood van AIDS, dan wat sê die family is die cause van die dood?

[Group going wild with answers]

Sam: *==Flu [laughing], sick no really or TB==*

Theresa: *==Or pneumonia or double pneumonia==*

Chrissie: *==Or when they sick in Joburg they say they die of TB*

Sam: *But here they also say TB or swine flu.. they say anything, or the other one for AIDS is mitteldeur, ja miTTeldeu!!...no no but the people don't say at the funerals they will just say you were sick!*

Jacqui: *Nou by die huis dan gat hulle sê, hoo jy daa haa ma sê sys dood van cancer of sys dood van TB ma hulle praat nonsins man van dais lankal AIDS al==*

Sam: *==But they wont say there==*

Jacqui: *==Ma nie voo anna mense nie==*

Sam: *==Especially if the moffies die then NEEE dais gharaam jy sê NIE dai nie!!!! And most of the moffies they face their feeling already and the people just say nee hys sick of hyt lupus! En hulle het mos hulle eie moffie taal oek mos nou, nou wiet hulle.. now they kno ja hulle wiet al kla==*

Theresa: *Anty aida is die anna word wat hulle sal gebruik.. Aida*

Interviewer: Is there any other words used to replace the normal sex words that is used here in Manenberg?

Jacqui: Betouch for sex

Sam: Oens gedoentjie of ek het a lollie vi os twee.. skoot klap.. ek smaak mos a pyp roek met jou dan moet jy wiet



ALPHA Appendix

- Interviewer: Wat praat die mense hieso nou eintlik van? (What do the people actually speak of here?) What are the biggest concerns and worries of people here in Manenberg?
- Alpha: *Hoe mien jy nou? [smirking] Os praat net natural.. hoesit in Manenberg?..how is it in Manenberg? In Manenberg, jy wiet mos hoesit in Manenberg. [laughing] but what you know from Manenberg, I also know from Manenberg! (What do you mean now? [smirking] We speak just natural .. how is it in Manenberg? .. In Manenberg, you know how it is in Manenberg. [laughing] but you what you know about Manenberg, I also know about Manenberg!)*
- Wife: *Alpha as jy nie vi haa regte antwoorde kan gee nie, sy record dai vi haa wek (Alpha if you can't give her proper answers, she is recording that for her work!*
- Alpha: *Ok go on go on*
- Wife: *wat wat [what what]*
- Interviewer: What are general topics here?
- Alpha: *Crimes.....lol....we selling fish we come collect people is not in, and there's no money, then you must just turn around. That's the way it goes everyday it goes like that every month every week but ja (yes), sigh... we aa used to*
- Interviewer: Will they talk to certain people only?
- Alpha: *They talk to anybody because they staying around here. Oryt u know they do skinna from each other (Alright you know they gossip from each other)...What is What is I gona get how many rands I gona get.*
- Interviewer: This is on a volunteer basis. And you welcome to stop if you feel that you are wasting your time with this interview as I did explain to you that it is for research purposes.
- Alpha: *If I sell the fish in Cape Town and the foreigners come and they want me to blow the horn then they want me to lift up the fish then they must pay me. Ma die Volunteer is werd as die gold vi wat place ... to you? But the volunteer is worth like gold, for what place...to you And where and where are you sending it?*
- Interviewer: This interview will be transcribed, like all that was said in interview will be typed, the names will be changed and it will go in my research work and then I look at what different people say.
- Alpha: *Mmm mmm mmm ..And the photos? Your back up u been by someone?*

Interviewer: As I explained the reason for the video recordings is in case my voice recorder doesn't get everything and I also use it in my research, don't worry nobody sees it except me and my supervisor.

Alpha: *Now how many questions still?*

Interviewer: It won't be longer than another ten minutes depending on how quick Uncle can answer the questions. So tell me, in Uncle's opinion is today the same like it was when Uncle grew up?

Alpha: Oryt we know we didnt growed up here we growed up in Cape Town and our fathers did raise us verbally to the best, yes that time it wasn't like this like its going on now and die violence

Wife: True but it will never come back again cause how was you reared that time? ... From the best and how is it and how is it now goin

Alpha: What can we tell what can we answer you about our lands our lands... how does it go now. Jy kannie opie video kom met jou kop soe nie kyk hoe staan jou kop {to Alphas wife}

Wife: *Like you asked him the question now how was he raised business wise and what does he think of now*

Alpha: *Nee is reg*

Wife: *Kyk hie dai is nogal a goeie question daarom vra ek vi jou hoe was jy op jou tyd van business, kyk jy het nou dai tyd business gemaak nou maak Rian nou wat jy doen so how were u thought that time how to do business what to do it how to do it.*

Alpha: *In that years it was better to make business in that years.*

Wife: *In which way?*

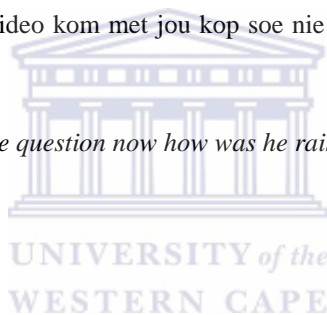
Alpha: *In any business, you start from people that was verbally... die style van die mense was was ... nie soes it nou issie.*

Wife: *The people that time was more humble actually say you can actually say jy kan deur gekom het by mense you could get through to people but today you cant*

Alpha: *Mmmm Ek sal jou approach en ko sê hoor die ding wat jy doen is verkeerd nou verstaan?*

Interviewer: Will you do it in front of people?

Alpha: *Jaa jaa nay nay ek met jou alleen alleen.*



Interviewer: Do you know about this disease HIV and AIDS?

Alpha: *Oh Got dai [laughing] ek kennie die HIV en Aids nie*

Interviewer: When and where did you hear of it first?

Alpha: *Eerste in the newspapers.. on da tv on da tv*

Interviewer: How long ago was that about?

Alpha: *Ja (Yes) I dont know maybe twenty years*

Interviewer: Praat die mense van AIDS hieso?

Alpha: *Ja hulle praat ja hulle praat hie buitekant maa ek issie interestetie..Jaa in a joke no not really.*

Interviewer: Watte taal sal hulle gebruik?

Alpha: *Afrikaans.*

Interviewer: Sal Uncle saam met of voo kinnas daavan praat?

Alpha: *Nai jy moet mos still bly van kinnas vang mos gou aan.*

Interviewer: En as dit groot mense moet wees wat in kom?

Alpha: *Stil bly Stil bly van issie sy besigheid wat ek praattie (Remain quiet because it isn't his business what I am discussing)*

Interviewer: Hmm but why?

Alpha: *Because why because why, issie reg in die huisie as it reg moet gewies it dan sal hulle reg agter hulle kinnas gekyk hettie dan was die kinnas nee pregnan gewies ittie*

Interviewer: And.. and Uncle wont advise them?

Alpha: *Maa nou kan ek mossie a kind vertellie A nie dan vertel hulle vi jou B en C they coming late doing things that they mustn't do you don't know what they do on the road you only know what they do in the house but if they around the house you know nothing... U doesn't know what time they coming in awso.. Most of the children today don't care what time they coming in. As jy ten o clock in wies dan moet jy ten 'o'clock in wies. JA daassie van eleven 'o' clockie, daa wasie a way van uit geslaaperuie ni.*

Interviewer: So Uncle think die ouers hettie mee control oo die kinnassie? (So Uncle think that the parents no longer have control over the children?)

- Alpha: *But today there's no time of coming in, they come home the next day, what can the parents say agh [sigh]. Die parents is al blou gepraat al geel gepraat al.*
- Interviewer: How different is raising children now from other years?
- Alpha: *Dan het julle nie antwoord gegee nie but today ek stan voor as jou neighbour vi jou checkie as hy vi jou check dan gee jy vi hom verbally words ...Because why they do things that they must not do the eye die oeg gat mos rond in die kop en jou mind ma vandag moet jy net still hou dom hou en doef hou*
- Interviewer: So you can't even go and tell your neighbour about their children's doing when they not here?
- Alpha: *Hie jy moetie vi jou warrie nie moet jy moet niks hoor van homie, jy moet niks sien van hom nie, jy moetie niks dais jou main priority jy verstaan?*
- Interviewer: How can this problem be fixed?
- Alpha: *Oh yes, as a kind verbally sy deen oppas en uitdraa en volg dan sal die kinnas nie so die kinnas sallie so pregnant raak op die skole nie. Praat met jou ma wat was die goetebah gister en dai Imam, hys in die plain, die goetebah wat hy gister hier kom praat het, toe slat dai sy mine En er die mense het stil gesit but hy was laat! Die mense het still gesit as jy die tv an kyk.*
- Interviewer: Okay I see, yes==
- Alpha: *==Wat happen to job Sue-Ellen in next week jys interested ma jysie te doen ne nie (you interested but you not involved). Wat gat gebeur met ons se land nie en os kinnas nie os is mee interested in die tv en dai as wat os interested is in os DEEN! Ha kyk wat het osse Rasool osse Nabie die lewe deur gegang het en os gujaaj gat nog na dai plekke toe. Hy moenie still bly in die beitie hy moet ziyaarat plekke toe gan hy moet gan en in dai plek dink an hy se wat het gebeur in jare terug. By the way how many Rands is involve here? How many dollars is involve here?*
- Interviewer: Uncle is baie snaaks. Shukran for all your help and patience throughout the interview. As ek dollars gehetit dan sal ek vi Uncle gegie het ma os is mossie Americanssie! [laughing]
- Alpha: *[laughing]*

Beta Appendix

- Beta:* *Little bit of patience and we gana get there [laughs]*
- Interviewer: Ok ... soo er just to confirm that you do live in Manenberg==
- Beta:* ==er ha
- Interviewer: And that you are 30 and older
- Beta:* *Yes [nods head]*
- Interviewer: Ok and that you read your rights as a participant in this research==
- Beta:* ==Yaa
- Interviewer: Ok ..And it was in a language that you understood==
- Beta:* ==certainly [nods head]
- Interviewer: And the consent forms are signed
- Beta:* *YES we did*
- Interviewer: And you also understand Afrikaans
- Beta:* *Yes very well==*
- Interviewer: ==And English and like we'll call it kombuis Afri==
- Beta:* ==OBVIOUSLY==
- Interviewer: ==Kaans or Engels==
- Beta:* ==Yes
- Interviewer: What we call it at varsity Kaaps==
- Beta:* ==I know [with an England English accent, fluttering eyelashes attitude and giggles].
- Interviewer: Soo...can you tell me what generally get discussed in Manenberg?
- Beta:* *Generally?*
- Interviewer: Ja (yes).
- Beta:* *Poverty, drugs, ...uhm ..gangsterism safety of our kids the affordability of sending the kids to schools... uhm ja and then of course..finances [removes spectacles] where do people get the money from? How do they manage? How*

do they live day to day it's a constant borrowing, you know lending borrowing people even stealing from each other to sell the stuff for drugs and stuff like that you know ja (yes) that is constant [shakes head widely from side to side] agh [sighs]that is constantly.. You sit in the taxis and you hear it, in your homes you hear it and when you meet up with people they discuss the same things it's just different ways of it happening but it's the same thing happening.

Interviewer: Ok..Soo..Or.. Uhm do the adults feel free to discuss any anything with anybody?

Beta: Yes they very boisterous, they they come out with the thing, whether they say it in a nice way, intelligent way or a VERY rude way, you know or when they start scolding at each other it becomes part of the insult then all these things will also be included==

Interviewer: ==Ok==

Beta: ==As an insult cause they really GUNNING at each other... It's also sad the way they they carry themselves with regard to knowing that that person got aids they will probably say ja jy het a aids gat, (yes you have an aids) it's NOT nice.

Interviewer: Ok...And... Then... Uhm, like you understand taboo topics?

Beta: Mmm.

Interviewer: Like stuff that's.

Beta: Mmm==

Interviewer: ==Not really discussed, welcomed to be discussed about==

Beta: ==Mm mm yes.

Interviewer: Maybe at which point in your life did you possibly understand that there is like...Taboo topics, how did you get to know it or understand it.

Beta: Especially with me I've been in the national security field all my life, soo usually they very cautious with me most of their topics would be taboo for me [full hand on chest, shaking head up and down] to be listening to but I pick up on the topic with the fact that the moment the poverty steps in and the struggling and the hunger in the families I pick up that they probably lie about getting money for grants or they lie about getting money for kinna geld (children's government grant), you know, things like that ...Soo.. Uhhh yes they very cautious you know and like yesterday where example a small baby

past away and certain topics were not discussed in front of me coz I would say that was taboo before certain of us to hear ==

Interviewer: *==Ok==*

Beta: *==You see that was not on==*

Interviewer: *==Ok is there like any other topic like maybe certain things that just isn't discussed at all in our communities? Here here especially in Manenberg?*

Beta: *.. Yes Yes there is especially when it comes to fear people sit in their houses they hardly go out mm like in the past couple of weeks we've we've been living in a danger zone and everybody got so much on their minds...there's a lot of shootings we know who it is but we won't discuss it, we know who shot .. We know who did all the wrongs but because of fear and intimidation we DO NOT discuss it with no-one we even afraid to tell the police sometimes, you see we got a BIG fear of even helping, we know we got this projects running of assisting the police, we got this toll free numbers and everything going, but we are still afraid because of intimidation and stuff and information gets leaked so quickly from a police station, it won't be long and we'll know exactly who it was...So that is...That is totally not discussed not at all.*

Interviewer: *Soo...say would you say maybe a topic like sex or HIV is a taboo topic?*

Beta: *Yes..Yes, in this current neighbourhood, yes...Yes it is, there has been rumours, I can't say proven facts, there has been rumours of people that has got it..which shame it's a pity it's sad but then uhm.. You will find Er Er someone saying het jy gehoo die ene het dai en het j gehoo dai ene het dai and that is as far as it goes, because they are afraid mmm they scared mmm ..Like I know of someone who went into someone's house and they were not aware of the person who was infected with it and then finally when the person got to hear it, they IMMEDIATELY ran for an aids test, because of the stigma of the aids them being fearful of the aids because they ate there and slept there because he was not aware of the aids situation IN the house...So that is where it would fall into that they are VERY fearful of discussing that ja.*

Interviewer: *And then like would adults speak about aids to to younger people?*

Beta: *No that doesn't happen here, when they scold and because we have a lot of young women in our area who does prostitution, sells themselves for drugs.. Uhm, they will say they will scold in very crossness you know when they very angry, they will say jy gan nog aids in jo gat in kry because jy hoor rond, you know things like that, but sitting down with their kids and discussing it with them. NO they don't do that, there's a dangerous fear of that No coz I think, its its because of the stigma in their minds or it's because uhm the parents themselves is not a good example, that is why there is fear of discussing it*

because You telling me but you no different! Uhm that is the most commonest part ja, is that you can't tell me coz you no different.

Interviewer: Yes ok, so there isn't even a thing were uhm they wouldn't even broach the topic with them==

Beta: ==no they==

Interviewer: == Under like maybe a civil ==

Beta: ==Noo==

Interviewer: Situation?

Beta: *They will they will rather ask someone who they feel is part of a leadership of the community to speak to their kids..uhm a lot has approached me so I will tell them listen guys ..condomise. even my brothers kids and my I have two daughters one of twenty one and one of eighteen I tell them ok sexually now they know I'm not on with that now yet I do explain to them, I told them what AIDS is, what they look like, what the disease look like what they have to look out for, how to approach it how to deal with it and so forth. And what has been happening is we've been uhm like going to the dentist ...like every second week to extract teeth and stuff and whoever polishes and what, now we've got this thing where you have your AIDS test even before and they feel PROUD of it they feel GOOD there's no stigmati stigma stigma==*

Interviewer: ==Stigmatization==

Beta: == Ja (yes)== *And and seen that they've been well informed from their schools and they did their test at schools and they got this little card with a code on you know to say I'm Aids free and stuff like that they proud of it and they introduced to their friends and to whoever who is very low informed.*

Interviewer: ==Mmm==

Beta: ==I== *would say it's a lack of information that's why they don't discuss it.*

Interviewer: And would adults discuss it amongst themselves?

Beta: *Yes we do..[nodding head from side to side] some of us do... when I get to some neighbours house I can't say friends but they will approach me for help and whatever and whatever YES we do I do discuss it with neighbours I discuss it with uhm friends of mine uhm ==*

Interviewer: ==But they adults?==

Beta: ==It's a constant== *THEY all adults and it's a constant discussion.*

Interviewer: ==So it would be easy to discuss aids with your own peers than maybe a younger person? ==

Beta: ==I find== I suppose because I'm communicative a lot that I talk to both sides, I am more with the younger generation than with the older generation cause I would also think that the older generation would KNOW these things ==

Interviewer: ==Mmm

Beta: There again lack of information, you know people don't read pamphlets , they don't read letters they don't watch documentaries with regards to this they just chuck it away, they don't care.

Interviewer: O okay and you know the difference between HIV and AIDS? ==

Beta: ==YES== Yes I know and understand the difference==

Interviewer: ==And then== Where did you hear about HIV and AIDS first like the very First incidence when heard about it like can you==

Beta: ==The first time==

Interviewer: ==Remember?

Beta: I heard about it it was a tv show it was one of the pop-stars had died of AIDS and I couldn't understand where aids came from THIS is all of a sudden that evolved, is it man- made there was questions, there was a whole lot of questions in my mind, is it man-made? Is it something on its own?==

Interviewer: ==And how old were you at the time more or less==

Beta ==... I think I could've been at nineteen nineteen twenty about there.

Interviewer: And then in on average how many times per week do you hear about HIV or ==

Beta: ==Constantly== Because this is a funny hou home we are ALWAYS involved, okay how many times involvement it comes to AIDS, if we go to the dentist, like me we go for polishes, once a month, once a week or so, there's aids test being done and we proudly show the people that you have nothing to be afraid of, you know things like that, uhm discussion with my daughter uhm, constantly we probably watch a movie on aids, the sadness of it, now we get it becomes a topic in the house now everybody chips in their ideas and stuff so it its rather constant by us.

Interviewer: Ok. So a uhm ..You do pay attention to it also?==

Beta: ==Yes I look== For signs ==

Interviewer: ==That was==The next question ==

Beta: ==Yes== I pay a lot of attention to it times, I look for signs at times I was hundred percent right with the diagnoses of a just of a person that didn't even know they had it.

Interviewer: Ok

Beta: It was one of my security gaurds I found her becoming very negligent cleanliness went, not eating, weight went, not going home after nightshifts , you know and stuff like that, her name was Shangtana she was one of my female security officers and I picked up and then one day I approached my my boss and I spoke to him and told him that I have a feeling that something seriously wrong with this young lady and we took her we found out she had it, arranged food stuffs for her and uhm.. Sleeping place for her, she was totally lost she came back to me I felt fearful cause I didn't know if I done the right thing cause I discussed it with my boss first and didn't discuss it with her but after she went on treatment and stuff so we didn't see her for quite a while for her to recover and get better.

Interviewer: Mmm

Beta: And when she got well she came back to work which we knew it was perfectly fine I did discuss with all my security people cause I had 62 people that time on duty I discussed it with them that they knew how to treat her and she knew how to treat them there's a certain poise toward each other with regards to that and uhm the respect the everything eventually she came to me she wrote to me the most beautiful letter thanking me...She said I could've been dead I'm glad you picked up I'm not ashamed mistakes happen I told her all those things already it felt good I'm quite involved with it ==

Interviewer: ==Ok== I there perhaps a switch in languages when discussing HIV/AIDS cause you know like sort've my understanding is the younger generation are uhm more er more towards English now and then er our age and older==

Beta: ==Kaapse== Afrikaans would say jyt 'n vrot 'n [with wide open hands and arms signaling -vagina] of jy vrot weg, you know things like that its er [left hand waving aside signaling-away /gone/past]. Myself and you would say it's the virus or it's the full blown we would say shame it's the disease some would say dai ding is sleg van sy vrot weg van dai (that thing is promiscuous because she is rotting away from that)[hand waving aside/ gone past away] like things like that there's different ways of [rolling hands around each other] ==

Interviewer: ==Have you== Ever been..Too uhm...Er is there other any other special term that they use to describe somebody living with AIDS other names or terms uhm? ==

Beta: ==*People lie*== About it *people lie* I have a classic example I have a uncle whose been 45 years at sea this was my my third physical contact with aids I was one day in Belhar and then uhm I believe uhm my uncle came from sea after 45 years he retired so I went to visit when I got there looked at uncle Allan my children called him daddy Allan and they called from the UK from wherever and wherever so what happened was I said to Aunty Angie whats wrong with uncle Allan? No, your uncle got cancer. Cancer?! Ok, fine let's see hows his doing, is he on chemo? Is he on radium? Is he on tamoxophin? Is he on meds? Me I'm very busybody. So I go and I look... mm a mm a ha ah doesn't look nice! This too far gone also for aids I mean agh [sigh] not AIDS cancer but why would he be here? Why wouldn't he be in a hospice or a hospital? You know and the smell was not good! ==

Interviewer: ==the smell?==

Beta: ==*When it comes to that very last advance stages it didn't smell well... The illness combined with the chemical balance of the meds that they take and stuff it does give off it does give off but ...Facial wise he had a little bit of the snaky skin sign I would say the snaky skin sign cause they become cracky and dry and the little spottiness around the mouths but I opened up his body and I found that his scrotum was hard .. His his privates was inverted and I actually touched it I took my hands and pressed on the inside of his thighs cause I felt his skin was too hard this can't be cancer my mother's got cancer and this was not on! I came home and told my mother you better go visit uncle Allan cause they say its cancer but I'm tellin you he got aids. They were in denial cause they kept on saying cancer cancer but they knew it was AIDS. Uhm..Two months later after uncle Allan past away his sister in law comes to my mommy and said Marie het jy gehoo Allan is dood van AIDS en Anna het oek aids op 65 gekry! ...*

Interviewer: Okkaayy...==

Beta: ==*In MY family!*

Interviewer: Oh my word so was that his wife==

Beta: ==*Yes*== [nodding her head] on sixty five up until today I don't know if she's still alive I last seen her fifteen years ago==

Interviewer: ==And is that==And at his funeral, what did people say? ==

Beta: ==*Cancer, cancer!!*==

Interviewer: ==They stuck to cancer== And so why would they why would they use cancer as an out==

Beta: ==EXCUSE!== I==

Interviewer: ==Let and not==

Beta: ==Have no==

Interviewer: ==Use aids==

Beta: ==Idea== *the thing is people has become wiser they have empowered themselves the internet empowers us, you must remember one thing...Aids and cancer is blood cells the aids would be the white blood cells being in trouble with the red blood cells and cancer would be the red blood cells being in trouble with the white blood cells something like that the chemical compound of it the point is they will never say cause people will refrain from them people will not visit people will not drink out of the same cups, people won't use the same toilets and towels, although we are very informed the stigma and the fear is still there you see when we look at TB we look at us when they say TB is AIDS related you know like a few other illnesses are aids related as well ... If someone's got TB I stay far away from them because I look at the fact that I could pick it up and bring it to them and from them it can go on to them I always used to make a joke if I must find out I got AIDS I'll kill myself ... Just for the mere fact that I wouldn't want to hurt the people around me I know it sounds cruel it sounds unintelligent but just the fact that you care so much for people you don't want to for them to get hurt because of you. A mistake can easily happen..Doctors nurses I mean things happen so easily==*

Interviewer: ==You must be very careful==

Beta: ==So what== *about me that's not in the field? I could infect my family my friends everybody anytime, you see?*

Interviewer: So you'd say you you ...Like people would just say they have cancer==

Beta: ==Someone== *says they have cancer some will agh[sigh] man they come up with all sorts of illnesses even though they don't even know about it and you in your right mind [pointing with index finger to temple] would think dai kannie dai siekte wies nie (that can't be that sickness) but ok go with the flow==*

Interviewer: ==So would you say there are other softer words that people use for AIDS like I dunno...

Beta: *Mmm there's not softer words for AIDS.. AIDS is AIDS mm..I have a friend that is gay that tells me Aunty aida they call AIDS aunty aida...I have a gay friend she says hai Beta het jy gesien die ene en dai ene het aunty aida? (hey*

Beta did you see this one and that one has aunty aida?)...Then we know cause nobody else would know what we speaking of. Now you get the rude word the fearful ones, the angry ones, like ja dai ene het die gatsiekte (yes that one has ass sickness), you know what I'm saying? Sad it's sad==

Interviewer: ==I also==] heard some other uhm person say to me she also studies with me she says they speak about knopjig (AIDS)

Beta: *Aa knopjig (AIDS)is now the recent thing that has been coming out for that I also didn't know I was very dom(dumb) there ==*

Interviewer: ==You heard about it==

Beta: *==I heard about it== I was here in Surrey Estate in front of Ahmedia [pointing with the hand and twisting body in the direction] ja (yes) and er.. Uhm this is what happened we were walking up to Gatesville and someone says to me het jy gesien dai ene het knopjig (did you see that one has AIDS) I said hey what the hell is knopjig wat vertel jy my nou (what are you telling me now)? Kan jy nie sien hoe lyk die gesigie en kyk hoe maer is sy en haa lyf is vol seure haa beene is vol gatte en sy het sukke donka kolle (Can't you see how the face looks and see how thin she is and her body is full of sores her legs is full of holes and she has such dark marks) and because they knew I knew a little bit about AIDS, they gave me all the symptoms [coughs] sorry gave me all the symptoms of it ==*

Interviewer: ==Okay I see.

Beta: *EXACTLY and that's how I got to hear about knopjig. [smiling].*

Interviewer: O ok. And then also just on a..nother point ...say for instance you discussing this ..like ..maybe .. sex or HIV/AIDS or something but you discussing it with your peers and a ten year old child comes in ... what would you do?

Beta: *Ok I inform I have I have she's now eight years old..This is very interesting that you [whisper] ask aunty Raana also knows about it her neighbour opposite I looked after their daughter she was at the age of three..Four when she came here and VERY boisterous, very clever, very intelligent little girl and we would teach her about breath in oxygen breath out carbon dioxide about cholera about dirty water cause of the area cause they play outside in pundant water holes and stuff like that. So we taught her about AIDS..then one day she says to me AUNTY Beta, I mustn't touch other peoples blood must I, I say why? Cause I'm gana get AIDS hey? Now what is Aids Freda? AIDS is a disease Aunty Beta you get it from touching peoples blood. I said but Freda in a sense you were right but in a sense you are also wrong because of your little friend falls at school , what you gana do? Im mustn't touch their blood and put plasters I must call the teacher. That was a four year old that was taught*

that here in my house we taught her. She comes to me and tells me Aunty Beta you must buy pads cause I'm gana get periods. I said Wendy got her periods...She say no its when blood comes out the koekie, ok no fine we understand now. So that is how we start informing them..My my eighteen year old daughter finished off at school .. Uhm suppose to be going the navy now and stuff like that and whatever .. She watches with me uhm..AIDS show and it's the sadness of it the breakout of it, the very..Where it's not the beginning of the the AI..Virus it's near to the end side and I would teach her I would show her I would say Michelle look at the nails look at the hands look at the weakness of the body that platelettes gets checked everytime you gotta stay within certain levels to keep it going. We would talk about it constantly. And she's VERY informed with regards to it and she would also say if I take a boyfriend he must produce first a AIDS test. And she does that..BOTH of them! So they are.. Too much informed,[smiles and laughs a little]=

Interviewer: ==Ok that's huge==

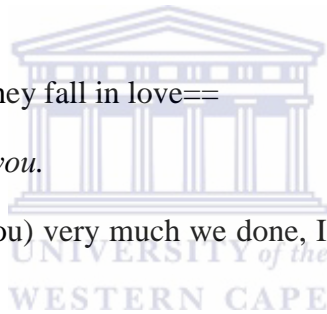
Beta: ==But== *Too much is never enough cause there's always new stuff comes out hey==*

Interviewer: ==And when== *They fall in love==*

Beta: ==Oo I'm telling you.

Interviewer: Shukran (Thank you) very much we done, I really enjoyed it and I learnt a lot a lot a lot.

Beta: *Afwaan (Thank God).*



Focus Group 1 Appendix

- Interviewer: What is generally discussed here in Manenberg?
- M1: *Wat is happening here in Manenberg is no concern no worries, don't care, too much negligence as long as we can party we don't worry.*
- F2: *Soes osse kinnas is net hulle het gisteraan daa geskiet hulle het hie geskiet hulle het daa geskiet hulle gat nou wee daa skiet die way soesit nou an gan dais al wat hulle van praat.*
- M2: *It's mostly the gangsterism actually here the people don't worry about nothing.*
- M1: *They don't worry about anything they don't worry about health or anything gangsterism, end die drugs [all unanimously agree].*
- M2: *En die gesuipery.*
- M1: *But you never hear about AIDS or HIV!*
- F1: *Ja ja*
- F2: *Ja Ha a!!*
- M1: *Naai, vi hulle kan jy niks vitel nie!*
- F2: *Hulle is soes jy sê nie vi my so dais die kinnas se attitude.*
- Interviewer: So how different do you rear your kids from the neighbours?
- M1: *Ek het a lyn wat ek draw and you don't go over that... line there's control and there is discipline in my house.*
- F2: *Kyk vi osse eie kinnas kan os nog handel kan os nog op a lyn kry..ma nie a next persoon nie.*
- M1: *Sêma soes your child come to me and they tell me who are you to tell me==*
- M1: *==Soema net so.. is mos Manenberg.*
- F1: *My kinnas wiet daas tyd vi als, daas speel daas tyd vi kwaad raak tyd..alles.*
- M1: *Listen here my sister, especially the Muslims...There she's witness [nodding his head]...I don't criticize nobody...Judge nobody..But they are all unislamic most of them! [eyes wide open]Because there is no respect right in the house.. Me and Tina drink from Friday night till Monday night we don't worry about our children tena clock (10pm) levena clock (11pm) then I scream for this one and she scream for the next one...==*
- F1: *==Is soes Ivan sê is nou wannar os kla geparty het nou soek os osse kinnas soek buitekant.*

- F2: *Die kinnas wittie dop gehou nie, en dai lei nou na die kinnas raak weg ja en die kinnas vang stoute dinge aan.*
- M1: *Moenie naame noemie. [M1 warns F2 not to mention names for fear of creating trouble].*
- F1: *Nou kyk hier langesaan as sit weekend kom van vrydags af jy dink jy slap , jy slaapie, jy slaapie dai music speel heel nag, nou my klonkie van vyftien hy speel braas vi die afgelope twee weke moet ek vi hom elke Sondag kerk toe loop van dai is sy instrument hy kannie alleen loepie vir a lyk en Sondags oggende moet ek oek vi hom af loop kerk toe because ek laatie vi hom alleenag loeppie al het hy met sy instrument, nou moet jy wiet hoe slaap hy van die mure gat koef koef [sounding the sound of vibration of loud music] die way daai music speel==*
- M1: *==[speech tempo is fast and tone is strained] They rather think of music, but it's very upsetting, the parents stand there [frowning and eyes narrowed] and the dogs have sex with other dogs then the children look at it and laugh but the parents won't chase them away, now one girl she played with the dog so she sit on top of the dog...[silence]...Is Muslims...*
- F1: *Daarom is my kinnas soema vroeg in die huis, as ek binne is dansit kla! Net nou en datit speel tyd is en dan ==*
- M1: *== My seentjie en haa seentjie hulle is vrinne ==*
- F1: *== Hulle is vrinne jaa, [slight confused look] net nou en dan wat hulle hulle speel tyd het, soms Vrydaas aane of Sarags aane ma oekie te laatie==*
- M1: *==Of miskien as hulle gan baseball speel. E*
- F1: *yaa (yes).*
- F2: *Nou se soes my klonkie die een van vyftien hy hettie vrinne hie nie hy is hier by die kerk of hy is hie by my oudste suster of na my jongste suster toe hulle twee hulle twee se kinnas is sy ouderdom hulle twee hulle drie is meeste but verer is hy is meerer by die kerk choir.*
- F2: *Soes van alles, kyk hie jy as jy as jy wiet jou neighbour's se kin is vikeed en jy gat na jou neighbour toe jy kannie jou neighbour gat vra se van haa kinddie dan gat sy opstenaat raak byvoobeeld sukke dinge.*
- M1: *Kyk soes ere r..*
- F1: *Hulle cover op vi hulle kinnas.*
- M1: *Kyk soes my neighbour die kin was uit die skool geskorts, right toe vra ek vi hom nou wat maak jy by die huis, wat bunk jy? Toe sê hy hulle het hom geskorts, toe sê ek gat gou eeste af na die council toe en dan gat ek af na die prinsipaal toe .. Ryt hys mos geskorts ...Ek het gegaan na die principal ek het hom a picture gegee van die conditions en als, en uhm, toet hy vi my gesê kyk hie Mr.Pauls, bring the student, bring hom.. ek kom by hom ek sê vi hom kyk hie jy moet saam met my skool toe gat jy kan more in die skool wies, hy sê*

jaa ma my ma en my pa was dan kla daa vaoggend vra ek vi hom met watter gebed het julle gegat right saam watter dua het jy daa gegan daa ...Because hulle kan vi my straight gesê het die concernie vi jou nie os het hom geskorts en is kla==

F1: ==Ja er

M1: Ja ek het die prinsipaal gese, ek het sieka a forty five minutes daa gespen wat ek hom die hele picture gegee het van sy life style theres no control, theres no nothing at all. Anyway to se ek home k sal trug kom van sy nommer gee in case ek kry nie vi hom nie dan kan ek hom bel van hy se hy moet 2pm by a meeting wies ryt toe kom ek by hom toe sy hy nai Boeta Isgak ek gan ma eira na die department toe na die minister van education Mr Maringue ma nou die prinsipaals se mossie die een nie van is menee Anton wat hom gedissmissit van die skool af. Ma hyt nog sy laaste warning gesign dais wat hulle vi my se sy ma het sy laaste warning gesign van hy verkoop cigarettes op die skool nou toe vra ek vi hom het julle enige proof toe se hulle vi my kyk hie Mr Peters as daa a vrot appel in tussen die box is en os het it misgetrap dan sit os altyd mense an on dai person dop te hou for a period of time so bring ma die student hie lat os bietera gesels toe se vra hy vi my is jy shireen se pa toe se ek ja but due to jy a concerned parent is [tone softened] then they gana drop all his charges and sign his final final warning en as hy enige iets gat vikeet doen then we gona then he must go.

F2: Nou kyk!

M1: Toe ek wil toe wil hy nie gannie toe sê ek hom ok, hy mos bang om te gan toe roep ma die pa to sê hulle Boeta Gakkie os was daa nou vra ek hom met watter gebed het julle gegat anyways en uhm hom ek sê is hoe jy a mens approach osse vookomste en hoe jy a mens address.

F1: En dai vrou kan baie vannag is.

M1: Toe ko sy na my toe toe se sy vi my ja Boeta Gakkie os kan more oggend gan to sê ek vi haa nou...Ja ma toe gat ek wee trug na die prinsipaal toe jy wiet mos hoerit wek, van more oo more dan is it miskien haa kin of haa kin dan gat dai man sê kyk hie die laaste kee toe het jy my tyd gemors en ek hettie tyd vi dai nie toe gat ek personally self na hom toe na hulle al twee Menee Elton en menee Allie toe sê ek vi hulle, hy willie kommie, as ped nie die water wil drink nie dan kan ek hom nie forsie ...Toe sê ek haa nai ek kannie gat van is more jumuaa toe se sy os gat vroeg man toe se ek haa nai as ek jumuaa toe gaan dan maak ekkie planne nie.

F2: Nou kyk hie hy was by crystal house se skool gewies nou wil os wiet hoekom is hy nie by crystal house se skoolie..wat het DAA gebeu?

M1: Is a bietera==

F2: ==En crystal house is a decent klass (posh) skool en kyk hie hulle gie als==

M1: ==Nou Rayi.

- F2: *Kleure, alles en alles verniet nou wat het hy daa an gevang.*
- M1: *Nou Rayi..tamaaf gou, Reyanna Fortune was by my gewies to e wil sy mos he ek moet vi Faried in sit by crystal house als is free toe sê ek vi haa no I'm not greedy so swaa soes os kry voel ek proud van my kinnas wat hulle doen en hulloe educations hulle het eira betaal voo van hulle kannie als op a skinkbord viniel wil kry nie ek hettie my kint hettie dai noraggie ma nou kan haa kinnie in kommie.*
- M2: *That's it.*
- M1: *Ja hulle wil.*
- Interviewer: Die boeta is baie stil?
- M2: *Ek sal ma luister, ek sal ma luister tietie..*
- Interviewer: Ok, ek is thirty five en wat ek groot wit toe het my ma nie saam my sex discuss nie, hoe was dit vi julle?
- M1: *Jy is die eeste vrou wat ek ken wat haa ouradom sê.*
- M2: *Nou dais oek a topic van hulle praat oo seks en dai dinge which os kan ek sê ek vat it nou van osse ouderdom af het bai lank gevat voodat os met osse oues van seks kan gepraat het en hulle het mos altyd als weggestiek na.. Ma hoe kan ek sê, was a more==*
- M1: *==It was harm to us!*
- M2: *Na ma kyk nou vidag se kinnas ere r hulle kom somer so jonk jonk uit die skool uit nie nog uit die skool uit vroeg uit die skool uit, die maassie by die huissie die paassie by die huissie.. Nou os kannie se wat gat an in die huissie.*
- M1: *You right!*
- M2: *As die duere toe issie but complain jy net van die kinnas complain jy net by een van die oues ek gattie dingesie but een van die oues hieom van dai kin en dai meisie die kin wat nou daa of hulle is a paa meisie kinnas met a paa boys in dai huis in.. Okka pyp wit oek nou gedokter issie mee skoone okkapye wat hulle roekie en die oues wiet daavan but sê jy nou vi die oue as jy gat complain by die oue dan gat die oue vi jou sê dai kin is jonk dais wat hulle vi jou sê hulle sê dit.*
- M1: *Wat is die tietie se naam?*
- Interviewer: Tauhieda
- M1: *Tauhieda, kyk hie jy sê nou jy is vyf en dertig dan in jou high school het hoevel van jou kolleegas of vrinne het ghaamiel of pregnant geraak daa op skool?*
- Interviewer: Een
- M1: *Een uit hoeveel honit?*

- M2: *Uit a duisen uit!*
- M1: *Nou hoeveel kry jy?*
- M2: *Is die majority van die skool!*
- M2: *Dink ma nou net?*
- Interviewer: *En hoe was dit gerieken?*
- F1: *Deesdae was dai a scandal gewies!*
- F2: *A scandal gewies ja.*
- M1: *Ja ja van die ouers is in die wek in is==*
- F1: *==Jy het soema a hou gekry.*
- Interviewer: *Hoe sal julle go about praat van sex? Sal julle, ja of nie?*
- M1: *Nai kyk hier ek kan noginie sê van ek noggie tot op hierdie stage ma my meisie veetien jaa oud toe sy jong meisie is toe het ek n haa ma vi haa in geroep..{softer tone} jy is nou in a anna state ma die ma het meera geprat nou jou lewe jy is in groot gevaar ma jy gat mos slamse skool en jy wiet nou wat om te batcha as shaytaan kom nou praat hulle ja jy kan ma a glaase cabinet maak en jou kind daa insit nou hulle kan sê wat hulle wil that is my child en wat sy wil doen van ek hey soema vi haa gesê jy het a choice wat a benfit gat wies vi jou en wat nie a benefit gat wies vi jou nie toe sê ek vi haa jy het drie susters en broers kyk waa sit hulle vidag hulle het agter hulle gekyk hulle was amal oo een en twintig it was net my een meisie kind wat nou a social worker is wat sy was agtien jaa oud toe het sy a mistake gemaak vstaan ma daa is altyd ma a swart skaapie verstaan ek was a swart skaapie en uhm ek het saam met haa gepraat van daa is consequences en dit gat my response wies ek wietie hoe gat it jou ma se response wies nie moenie eens dink jy het a pa as jy dai route will gattie.*
- F2: *Giggles*
- M1: *Nou gister het daa a incident gebeur ryt toe se Sumaya vi my hy het daa gekom met a paa vrintjies, ryt my dogter was daa gewies en hulle het amal daa in die kamer gesit toe het hulle vi Sumaya gese kom en kom na die couch toe nou Faried raak a bietjie raak a bietjie giftig, vstaan?Ek sallie nog weg stiekkie. Ek is a ouer wat straight my kin se dinge se ek sallie nog hulle dinge wegstiekkie. Vstaan?Toe kry ek hom, hoekom se jy Sumaya moet couch toe kom? Wat moet sy by die couch kom doen? Vstaan? Toe lag hy, toe se ek vi hom issie its om oo te laggie! Toe praat ek met hom en se die vrinne wat jy het ek soek hulle nie hie nie because sy moet nou ko le op die couch so dat hulle vi haa kan regmaak and he is twelve years old!*
- M1: *Toe een aan toet shireen gesé wat sy van die trawee afgekomit toe se boeta YS toe se sy mos vi my die aand ja hy het vi haa geskel in die pad in toe se hy vi haa ja jy kan my kom afsuig vstaan is die vrinne wat hulle mien meng*

- F2: *En hie ! En hie!!*
- F1: *Daarom sê ek vi Faizel hie meisie moet jy te bang wies!*
- F1: *Jy moet jou vrinne kies.*
- F2: *Die kinnas het vi my kin gesê ja jy wil vi jou kwaai hou van jy willie vi os, toe sê my kin vi jule julle issie my typie. Laas jaa wat hy oek Germany toegaan toe isit oek a issue (smacking hands diagonally across from each other-emphasis on trouble)*
- M1: *Hies die mense ghasaat vi een ennie anna!*
- M2: *Ja hulle is so!*
- M1: *Kyk osse muslim mense whether jy muslim is of kris is kyk in die ou daa os praat nou soes in.. os praat nou van die ou dae na? Asit pwaasa kom dan sit soes ryt [take note of time of interviews that has relevance on context] nou sê jy kyk hie Galiema stuur koekies vi die mense nou stuu jy die kinnas op en af whether hulle nou kris is of slams is nou stuur hulle ma eena stuur vi die anna eene kyk hie hoorie jy moeties vi my goet stuu nie van ek gattie maakie you know what that is an insult that is an insult an I did tell that lady don't sent her nothing kyk hie is ampa soes eena will completion hou met die anna ene jy gie dai koekie vi die Baraqah vistaan toe share it with haa and on top of it.*
- F1: *Jy viwaggie iets truggie altho kom die bordjies lieg trug , I dont care!*
- M2: *Jy sê alghamdulielaah.*
- M1: *Plus nou stuu ek vi haa nou sy is mos high en mighty dan vat sy my goed en haa goed en sy goed dan gie sy it weg.*
- M2: *Daasit dan gie syrit vi annas dan stuur sy dit vi annas.*
- M1: *She don't know she gives her rizik away!*
- F1: *Mmm.*
- M2: *Mmm that's it then.*
- F2: *Ja.*
- M2: *Ma is true wat boeta Ivan sê nou van ek allie jare liewe met muslims en al is Christmas en labarangs vi my wasit vi die afgelope vyf jaa wat os hie bly is ek vibaas om te sien hoe hou die mense labarang!*
- F2: *Is true..*
- F1: *Mmm==*
- M1: *==En pwaasa.*
- M1: *Die neighbour het my vrou gesê ek het vi my vrou gesê my vrou het gekom in die deen in my vrou het gekom in die deen in na nou hulle het kyk soes os is*

vrinne os vee is vrinne nou praat ek en hy van Tina os praat van haa, os skinna van haa==

F1: ==mans mense oek==

M1: ==Ja os is mans nou hulle wietie die straf van fietna nie vistaan nou skinna os hulle het al vi die vrou gesê al pollsmoo se deure is oepe vadag.

F1: Ja van die deur altyd to is (softly)..

M1: Ja.

M2: Ja die deur mos nou ja mmm.

M1: Nou wat daa gebeur is nou hulle praat mos lat amal nou moet hoo nou wat hulle nie wietie is a vrou se mond is oek haa oura a vrou se mond moet nie gehoo wit nie... anaway en hare maak oekie a mense.

F1: Mmm==

M1: ==As jy taqwah het en jy het... maniere n imaan hare is nikssie a hond kak oek hare tamaaf vi die woore..

F1: Ja is waa.

M1: Is baie jealousy vistaan nou ou jaa aand was Amina haa hare en toe sê ek vi Amina is ou jaa aan ek gie vi jou die reg vinaan gar ra gat jol daa saam Tina hulle.

M2: Mmm..

M1: Toe ko sy uit met haa hare toe sê sy my Ivan! Toe sê ek vi haa ek gie jou permission gat na Tina toe hulle wil sien jou hare ja en dai person wat soe gepraat it van hare sy het gedissapear ek hettie wee vi haa gesien nie ... my Amina sê vi my Ivan ek het in die deen gekom na die mense wat gebore is Islaam wiet hulle nie die mooigheid in die deen innie hulle siennie die mooi in die deen in nie hulle wat die deen vi a pop.

M1: Kyk hie Ms. Brandt sy het nou gegat door to door hoeveel mense bly op die kamp?

F1: Sixty eight.

M2: Sixty seven==

F2: ==Ma ek sal ek sal==

M2: ==Sixty seven families

M1: ==Sixty seven families stay on this camp and only 3 -4 people is here! Nou hulle stelli belanggie!

M1: Oh oh oh ja..

M2: Daas baie van die ouens oppi kamp==

- M1: ==Nou Aleem van my hy vloek soes a soes a hoe sê Amina soes a matroos ryt ma as ek haa is dan vloek hy nie because he is a very he and Shireen is my sick babies hulle is identical cause wat hy skool toe gat toe gaan dan is sy af ma as hy huis toe kom dan baklei hulle so a half uur me mekaa but they will never ask you money they will never ask you nothing they can sit here from klein tot groot en hulle kan hoe honger wies na hulle sallie sê aunty gie stukke brood asseblief .. Tina van Maantjie het mos dai kwai lekkas vikoep na toe sê sy vi Aleem uhm vat jy die lekkas dan deel jyrit met jou susters hulle moenie dais gesêrit toe wiet jy wat mak hy hy laat die lekkas uit sy han uit val toe tel ekit op toe se sy nie ma hy is stout ek wil nou sê hulle is baie slim they are very clever toe lat val hy rit toe tel ekit op hy willitie vattie toe wat ek loep to vra ek vi hom ameer hoekom het jy die lekkers laat val toe sê hy dadda gie my nie een van die lekkas sie ek sê vi hom vi hoekom toe sê hy dadda as jy vi ieman iets gie en hy was ma net drie jaa oud as jy vi ieman iets gie dan moet jy nie nog a lang storie makkie is de daasit en dan gan jy noga storie makkie vistaan?*
- M1: Mm uhm er jy sal my nie glo wat ek sê nie jy sien Aleem en Shurie is identical sê nou ek het vi Ameer vitel die storie van red riding toe het hulle mos gepraat van die wolf en amal dai nou kom hy now he go into the last detail nou wat het gewit van die wolf nou ht will die laaste ding wiet vistaan en as hy as haa sê nou daas a movie oppie tv is na dan kyk hyrit nou kan hy nie vistaan dat die movie is kla nie an hoekom it was mossie nou die tyd wat jy die dvd kan oorsit nie dan will hy wee dai movie he nou waa moet ek die movie kry.*
- F1: Robyn is diesella!*
- M1: Vistaan?*
- M1: Nou aan die ding is die die ma nou daa by die masiet was daa was gewies a preschool vi die klein kinnas==*
- F1: ==Ja Faizel ja Faizel en Faried ja hy was saam daa==*
- M1: ==Nou elke oggen dan loep hy deur die preschool hanne agter die rug dan sê die teacher hie kom die inspector nou nou vra ek hom he gat jy Dannie dan sê hy dadda ek gattie daa sittie van hoekom die kinnas is te klein vi my hulle kannie dink soes ek kan dinkkie toe vat Amina mos vi hom hie by green pastures Amina sê hy staan vas hy sê vi sy ma ek gattie hie nie ek voellie om hie te gannie toe gat hy by die preschool hie..*
- F2: By die kerk hie in die tambo?*
- M1: ==Nai hiessa by die skool==*
- F2: ==By Silverstream Primary.*
- M1: By teacher May se klas kyk hie nou hys a ou hy kyk jy kannie some a ..deur briek by hommie hy moet eeste as jy nie kan deur breek by hommie jy can do wat you like nou as teacher May complain van hom hy sit net daa hy praatie ney daa hy sit net daa doen niks nie dai vrou het gedink hy is a malatjie verstaan die teacher het vi Amina gevra toe sê die teacher will os miskien vi*

hom na a anna skool toe vat na a psychiatrist ma die psychiatrist kan niks maakie if he don't wanna talk toyou jy kan ma praat saam met hom tot jy blou is hy sal jou net so an kyk!

F1: Hy praatie maklik met ene nie..

M1: Ja ma soes ek nou sien nou wat hy opgroie verstaan toe kom hy by teacher Jansen nai teacher==

F2: ==Teacher Johnson teacher Siehry==

M1: ==Er toet hy in teacher Siehry se klas kom toe, nou wiet ekkie as teacher May miskien oor gepraatit van homittie en toe het teacher Siehry gekom ma ek kan sien daa was a gepraatery vi hoekom ek is a parent wat in kom en jy is die teacher dan gat jy mossie so drai nie (turns himself sideways) jy gat mos vi my face toe explain ek van hom en uhm toe sy nou deur briek by hom en wat hy gedoenit is as die skool uit is dan bly hy altyd agter and then he gives her a kiss and a hug and then he goes.

F2: [Giggling] Jy kan my man vra as ek na iemand moet gat en ek moet iets approach is pla vi my dan vra hy vi my wat mikkee dan se ek hom nikssie but is please vi my [pitch heightens] en as ek nou wiet nou het ek genoeg gehet, [slaps hands] nou gat ek dan sê ek oek salaam ek ko na jou toe jy kan my uit sit of my uitmaak!

M1: Kyk soes Faizel en Faried is vrinne nou het Faizel vi Faried lekka dik of Faried het vi Faizel lekka dik geblaas geslat nou kom Tina na my toe nou sê tiema vi my Ivan kyk hoe het Faried vi Faizel geslat nou vra ek vi Faried wat get gebeur (soft tone) daas mos two sides to a stoory is mossy storie en my kind se storie ma haa kind is lekka dik bedonit hulle het soema lekka bors tien bors gestaan en vi Tina gevloek right ek ma net a voobeeld nou kom ek nou luister ek vi Tina an right het jy vi anty Tina gevloek nai ekhettie vi haa gevloekkie en nou is ek op tiema se case vstaan in anna woore ek maak vi Faried sterkera om more die kin met a baseball bat te slat!

Interviewer: *Ok ok. Now if you consider a heavy issue that you need to address with a stranger or possibly a person that you know, how would you go about the topic. How would you start to approach the person? Sê miskien soes iemand het AIDS.*

F2: Is a issue is a issue

M1: Ja dais oek a difficult dinges==

F2: ==As jy sê heavy dais a heavy iets is iets wat op jou skouers sit is baie swaar..

M1: ..Its there.

F2: Kyk nou gat jy mmmm mmm==

F2: ==Kyk hie lat ek by die begin ko na, jy gat mossie as jy hospital toe van hulle het mos nou van die hiv toetse nou hulle se mos dais is private net dai persoon==

- M1: ==Confidential==
- F2: ==Nou die kin gat mossie vi jou sê nie Nou agter na wat jy gepraatit met hom miskien my seun en tiema se kin hulle twee gat mos uit nou miskien praat hulle as ek in kom dan sit hulle dood still.
- M1: *Ja nothing is secret nothing is secret..*
- F2: *Ma nou beginit nou gatit vi my pla van is pla nou vi my! Cause haa seun en my dogter gat nou uit nou nou it gat mos nou a swaa iets vi my wies nouekis mos gewoonte by Tina kom so af en toe nou sê ek vi haa (knock on table) hai Tina==*
- M1: ==not a personal friend==
- F2: ==Nou vi haa gat sy mos vibaas wies ek ko in by haa nou sê eke Tina ek ko vi jou sien oor a problem nougat sy oek mos dink ma jy ko nie hie by my huis nou wat gat jy hie ko maak ek is visieka ek moet nou na jou te kom dan sê ek oek vi haa ek wietie hoe jyrit gat voel hoe jyrit gat voel oo die saakie ma dies a saak wat ek n jy moet uit praat hoekom sys aleen by die huis nou kan os mossie ek kan mossie vi haa hientoe roeppie van miskien is my suens se vrinne of so of hie ko familie of so nou by haa wiet eke nou sy is aleen by diehuis nou gat ek nou kom ek uit met die ding Tina wiet jy van die hiv storie die age storie nou ek wiet nou jy kan sien wanna iemand geskrik is kyk soes Tina sys lig van kleu nou hulle slatmos rooi nou gat sy vi my vra va het ek gehoo hoe wiet ek dan dai dat ek sê jy wiet mos koppies het ore jy moet net an vang dan staan ek net elke kee dan sê ek oek haa hoe staan ek by die kamer deur dan hoo ek (twechetweche-softly talking) lat ek na haa kan gekom het nou ek wiet nou nie hoe gat haa ..dinges nou wiessie cause ek het haa nou a inligting gegee nou moet sy nou vi my moet vra hoe en wat en wat==
- M1: ==Iets soes dai approach? Like a outsider==
- M1: ==Kyk hie, kyk hie soes Tina==
- M2: *Ja you have to you have to.*
- M1: *You see my sust.. you see my girl the problem is we mus just just lift ourselves up and go forward and get education and go to workshops then er os stel belang man van Aids is a baie belangrike siekte... a very sensitive issue sê byvoobeeld Shurie van my ryt en die boeta gat nou uit ryt dan gat ek vi Shurie sê om te gan zienna nou is a **groot straf** ryt jy trou nie jy hettie seksie **trou eeste** dan kan jy seks het...ek sal sê seks ek sal sê seks vistaan ?_En dan sê ek oek vi haa kyk hie j ken jouself jys innie huis in laat jou vrin gan laat jou boyfriend gan en sê hy moet gat vi a **aids test** see what is happening and when he must be open and honest [nice tone] with you and if he got it then then uhm you love the man it is your decision no I can't tell you don't marry him tomorrow you marry somebody else then it's a sorry for the word then its fucked up then its cause of my daddy that I'm sitting like this ek willie jou lewe vi jou choosie jy moet jou eie lewe choose en uhm ...as julle trou gebruik ma a condom van a French kiss kan jou nie anstiekkie unless==*

- F1: ==A French kiss kan jou anstiek as jy en die een wat aids het a see het en ek soen nou vi hom en ek hettie ek issie a infected metittie en hy het a see en el het a see en is ope en os French kiss nou dank an jy affected wies==
- F1: ==Doesn't matter
- M1: Ja sys die target==
- Interviewer: Sê nou iemand kom aneen geld leen ma jy wiet haa man vidien goeie geld, hoe gat jy vi haa inlig dat ha man vi ha vi a pop vat?
- F2: ==Meisie dais wee a different ding!
- M1: ==Lat ek gou vi jou anwit, ok hy is baas ek wek vi hom, al wat hy in sy mine dink is fock you tamaaf vi die wood as long as you can put food on the table I'm not worrid..
- M2: En hy complain by die baas elke kee
- F2: It is not ryt..
- M1: That thing will never happen my darling, altho hy vidien vyftig duisen a maand en hy gie vi Tina twee duisen hy gattie vi jou uithelppie van the more they get the mor they want even if they kan steal from his fifty even if I can take from his fifty thousand rands and put it I my pockets hoeko lag jy?
- M2: Is a different dingese==
- F1: ==Ek vistaan ja==
- M2: ==Wat ek nou kan sê as ek en Tina se man nou vrinne is os wek saam soes syrit dinges na hys my vrin ek sal met hom straight praat my daaling.
- F1: Saam met my saam met die vrou.
- M2: Ek gat saam met hom praat ek hettie.. dan sal ek dan as hy nioe vi mydingessie dan sal ek met die waarhied na Tina gat , dan gat ek vi Tina sê.. ek sal vi haa soema personally ek sal haa een kan sonna ha kinnas kom praat dan sal ek vi haa sê==
- M1: ==Wat is in die wee met dai man..hoeveel kee gie dai man vi jou geld?
- M2: ==A a you see en nou komit ek het vi Tina gat sê nou komit nou kom Tina so dringend uit ja ek het gehoo dinges n dinges n dinges het gesê dan komit wee trug na my toe!
- F1: Net daa verloo jy jou wek!
- M2: You see my point?! Is baie dinges wat jy moet check van is dai dinge wat jy moet agter mekaa moet kry van dai man gat trug kom na jou toe.
- M1: Ek het geblei in die Bonteheuwel os het mos amal swaa gekry vistaan?Die ene het die ana ene suiker gegee en die anna a bietjie koffie gee en so nou kom uncle Wanie en anty Portia, sy was a pop a barbie doll hy was a bietjie ourer

as haa hulle het saam gewerk hie innie Rondebosch by a Lee factory hy het vi haa toe a job gekry daa nou die vooman hy kannie overtime wekkie ma sy vrou werk elke aand tot ten o clock toe dan bring die vooman vi haa huis toe twaalf uur ryt op die einde van die dag to sit sy en die vooman saam, dan is hy by sy kinnas en naa a paa jaa, nou kyk nou net allie jaare het hulle swaa getrek nou wek hy en sy die kinnas is mos op die skool vistaan en hie breek hulle uit mekaa uit!

Interviewer: What is your understanding about HIV/AIDS?

F1: *Ok hoe jy nou sê?*

M1: *..What about HIV?*

M1: *Kyk hie byvoobeeld as sê sy het AIDS hoe kan ek nou ek kannie vi haa hoe kan ek nou sê ek kannie vi haa criticisie ek kannie vi haa ...jy wiet?*

Interviewer: Ken julle die verskil tussen HIV en AIDS?

F2: *What is die difference?*

M1: *Ek kannie nou daa antwittie!*

Interviewer: Wanna was die eerste keur wat julle hoo van AIDS?

F2: *Die eeste kee wat ..AIDS tosit mossie aidssie is wat hulle gesrit is vuilsiek toe het dit mos gerenew mos gekom is mos nou age!*

F1: *Nee toe isit S.T.D!*

F2: *S.T.D en tosit nou mos age cause S.T.D was mos die vuilsiek mos gewies ok nou die mense moet mos nou die mense moet mos gewietit dai nie==*

M2: *==dai was different van die AIDS griep==*

M1: *==Ja ma die vuilsiek hey hulle moes.....*

M2: *.. hulle hetit gekap met a hammer!*

M1: *En jyt injection gekry dansit finish en kla!==*

F2: *==En jy moet elke wiek geganit==*

M2: *==Ek dink die AIDS is a==*

M1: *==Ek dink AIDS kom al jarre an*

M2: *Hoe kan ek sê ek sê it kom al uit die Bybel uit isittie inside infection*

F1: *Is jaa ja hulle sê it is inside jou body en==*

M2: *==En die HIV isittiedie symptom van dai nie, na na==*

M1: *==But my punt is where did it come from?*

Interviewer: The origin is uncertain, issie bekenttie ma os wit gelee dis van intercourse==

M2: ==From intercourse yes intercourse..

M1: Ok

M2: So someone it was someone that was dirty that brings it over to someone that's clean==

F2: ==Nou kyk soe na==

M2: ==Without a condom na, am I right?

F2: Nou kyk boeta Ivan hulle het boeta Ivan se bloed getrek nou dai bloed wat hulle vi my gie het hulle nie gecheckie of boeta Ivan HIV positive issie, nou gie hulle vi my dai bloed.. automaties kry ekit oek==

M1: ==No they cant do that==

M2: ==Nai is dai nie issie die bloetie die bloed wys kla is clear daasie Aids innie.. issie siring wat die infeksie in het as daai nie gechange wit nie dan kan jyrit kry!

F1: Kyk sy sê nou as os amal wat hie gesitit gebruik drugs saam os gebruikie naalt nou ek het AIDS en julle wietie ek het aidsie==

M2: ==Daa komit in ja==

F1: ==Nou gebruik os amallie dieselle naale==

M2: ==Daarom sê ek is die siring dais die dinges issie die bloed

M1: Issie altyd a naaltie, kyk hie os het a paaty hie ma os het net twee glasse os amal drink haa uit==

M2: ==Os kanit van a glass oek kry nie!

F1: ==Ja os kannie..

M2: ==Os kanit van a kiss kry nie unless jy het a wond in jou mond soes Tina gesêrit==

F1: ==Ja ja.

F2: Eennou die naald!

M2: Jy kryrit oekie uit a koppie nie..

F1: ..Offie sella lepellie

M2: Nie die sella lepellie niks soes dai nie boeta Ivan==

F1: == Ha ah

Interviewer: Waa hoo julle van die AIDS, witit hie in die omtes van geadvertise?

F2: *Nooit.*

M2: *Nie nie nerensie.*

M1: *Nie ha ah unless jy gat workshops toe nie by die wek het hulle workshops gehou.*

M2: *En wat jyrit net sien isit advertisement oppie tv na of jy leesit innie koerant.*

F1: *Kyk nou soes hoe by os ek hettie gewiet van dai vrou nie nou daas ene wat gesêrit nie sy het kla AIDS en ek wil ma niks sê nie dan praat hulle van die mense.*

M2: *Offie so nie sy het miskien a aagument saam met my ek het AIDS dan moet ek hoo van my aidsgat!*

F1: *Ja ja kyk soes os as os meetings hou==*

M2: *==Baie gevaalik om vi iemand hoekom dai ene kannet huis toegaan dan commit hy iets by die huis hoekom jy herit nou laat uit dinges innie pad==*

F1: *==Ja ja kyk soes os ek en sy wek mos met die housing nou wek os nou nou het os a meeting ma nou moet os discuss van dai person wat five percent HIV mense kry first priviledge om a huis te kry ja en uhm nou kom os innie meeting os het sukke mense ma ossit noggie vi os manne gesê nie, van die ene en dai ene het aidsie so os hourit vi osse self==*

M2: *==Ja confidential hoekom is baie dangerous.*

F2: *Vra my man ek kyk alles wat dai betref ek kyk alles wat oppie tv kom kyk ek kyk soes Wendy when Duty Calls maandaes aane six o clock nee ek is==*

F1: *==En Saterdag.*

M1: *Kan ek gou a vraag vra?*

M2: *Kyk hulle het so baie prevention gehettie nou na ma it hettie wat is it die V R A's.*

F2: *Dai kommie die kanttie.*

M2: *En ma nou gebruik die tikkoppe dan nou dai oek nou! Om te uhm==*

F2: *==Die tikkoppe rop dan die mense as hulle hulle pille gat haal.*

M2: *Nou die HIV AIDSs people nou*

F1: *Soes Ivan nou geserit==*

M1: *==Ja TB ja as jy nie gat vi jou treatmenttie ja==*

F1: *==jy gattie vi jou treatment ja n it gat alhoe vere dan kanit drai na aids*

F2: *Van ek gie die tb patients pill ek gie tb patients pille nou.*

- M1: *But you mostly see==*
- F2: *==Ha ah eeste TB eeste TB*
- F1: *En as jy nie gat vi jou treatmenttie dan vi dai dingessie dan slatit oor na aids toe!*
- F1: *Maa it vat a lekka lang tydjie na==*
- F2: *==ja it vat lang==*
- Interviewer: Really?
- F1: *A lekka lang tydjie voo dit oo slat.. jy moet gat vi jou.....*
- Interviewer: Discuss julle opelik van seks met julle kinnas?
- M1: *Hulle prat somtyds ja in die masiet in that's why I take my children with. Ek is hulle role model van môre as my pa nie daa issie dan wiet os wat angan nie as pa nie die dag daa issie dan is hulle velorer skaapies.*
- F2: *Nou kyk soes dai klonkie Ryan, life choices is daa by die skool hy is involve haa soe by life choices nou hulle het elke wiek a different dinges en hy het hoekal vi my gesê mammie ek het al wee a boek van seks die boek is daa ek gat nou vi jou die boek wys==*
- F1: *== Die is in die high school==*
- M2: *==Nou os moet nou saam met hom praat daaoo.*
- F1: *It het in van AIDS en van alle goetes..*
- M2: *Ja hulle praat daavan.*
- F2: *Hy het hoekal gesê, hulle gat die wiek==*
- M2: *==Daaom moet hulle die boek mos huis toe bring.*
- F2: *Dan moet ek nou saam met hom praat daaoo!*
- M1: *Shurie prat met my, ma Faried prat met sy ma ja, hy praat met sy ma van ek is te red agter op sy hakke*
- Interviewer: Change die way soes die mense praat as hulle van AIDS of seks praat?
- F1: *Nie hulle praattie hulle lykkie die nie ==*
- F2: *== [left hand on hip, right hand with index finger raised and waving swiftly around, drawn out stressed syllables, accent stylisation of Manenberg's gays] Nancies girl! Nancies girl! (nonsense girl! nonsense girl!)==*
- F1: *==Die [moving head from side to side; drawing mouth downwards in disapproval] moffies is open met alles ==*
- F2: *==Die moffies sê nancies, ek sal vi jou sê*

- F1: *Die moffies sê straight use a condom, hulle prat straight jy moet a condom het voo jy a ding gat doen met hulle.*
- F2: *Hulle loep op n af en dan sê hulle vi jou moenie sonna jou reenjassie loeppie!*
- F1: *Hulle sê soe ==*
- M1: *==Kry vi Hannes==*
- M2: *==Hulle gat baie by die dag hospital vi dai==*
- M1: *==En Prada!*
- F2: *Het jy gehoo hoe vloek hulle in engels your mother's poes?*
- Interviewer: *Is daa a verskil tussen Engels en Afrikaans?*
- F2: *Die kinnas kanit soe lekka uit brei jou ma se poes dan jaa hulle mekaa hie om==*
- M1: *==Shurie kan so lekka vi my sê daddy mustn't say mama don't do that daddy must say mama please don't do that van jys ombeskof jy jy en jou jou ma.*
- M2: *Hulle sê Engels is a mooi taal ma dit is a ombeskofta taal!*
- All Giggling*
- M2: *Het boeta Ivan dai gewiet? Ja, but it klink nou mooier in Engels as wat jy sê jy of jou in Afrikaans?*
- Interviewer: *Toe julle opgroeit toe wit da van Aids en seks gepraat met julle?*
- M1: *Jy sien anna dae wat os klein gewiesit het os nooit gehoo van sekssie en aidsie!*
- F2: *Die kinnas is open*
- M1: *Ek het gewerk by a boer toe kom hy van die trens af hys is a dokte hys er hys er juwit hys a dokte hie innie ronnebos hie in park rd sy seun kom nou hulle roek mosai dai gunston cigarrete met die kanon op nou ek paint mos daa nou roek die kin a cigarette (softly) he ko sy pa ma hy het moss y khakhi klere an hy se wat is dit wat jy my klonkie se ek se ek het hom gese daa kom jou pa vahoekom van sy seun roek soema voo hom to se hy vi my dais ma a cigarette wat hy roek hy trek it in en hy blasit uit daa daarom julle gham sal nooit reg kan kommie cause julle oues stiek te veel dinge weg van die kinnas af nou more vang hulle shit an dan is hulle in a gemors in==*
- Interviewer: *So how does that affect our lifestyle?*
- M1: *Life is fast, ja os moet mekaa se skaane bedek ja.*
- M2: *Dai het hie vaoggen oppie kamp gebeu.*

F1: Soe hetit hie in touwsberg gebeu, die outjie kamalikkie reggie ma hy en die tjommie het is a meisie het saam getik toe gat sy in a tik fit in en toe rape hy die baby haa baby nou in touwsberg nou laaste drie mane gelede!

M1: Hulle kan ma dink wat het die Quran beskryf het years before, is a eye opener vi os van os gat lee die goed ma os vattie stokkie is reality van die mense kyk sewende laan days of our lives that is all reality that is how people live, ryt sy maak billions nou ek tien haa fyt om trillions te maak even if I go on tv to make trillions cause I wanna be better than you that is that is reality hulle kyk net sewende laan om dat hulle vi sewende laan kyk!

Interviewer: Is there any special words to describe sex or HIV/AIDS?

F1: Sex is nog mooi van jy==

M2: ==Sex sexual intercourse is die beste woot dais nou die twie woorre ja..

M1: Kyk nou data a incident gebeur in die pwaasa van die klonkie van my hy sê vi Muneeb langesan hy tel oek ma die woore op jou nai toe roep ek hom mister ko hie toe staan die chilli powder hie by my wat het jy vi hom nou gese toe se hy dadda ek het hommie gevloekkie ek het hom gese gan naai toe se nou nou wat is naai to se hy dadda as mamma a knop vas maak dan doen syrit met a naalt en gharing dai is nai nai walaikasam dai wasin die pwaasa!

M2: Hyt it opgetel ja==

Interviewer: Any other special words?

F1: Dai het os geleë innie skool in. Opgeklim ja ja ja

F2: Jy sê nou so ma daa gat kom wat soema sê hy het dai kin genaai!

F1: Ja net so hulle gattie nog met a draaitjie!

M1: Tamaaf gou hoe laat is it (4pm), ok ek sal so bly vi nog a half uur.

F2: Niks special of so nie..skrop!

F1: Dais die jong kinnas se byword==

M2: ==Of stoot ja dais a nogge eene na==

F2: ==Of perd laat ry!

M1: Of kan ek jou para nat maak?

F2: Of kan ek jou pot roe?

M2: Amal dai woore kan a mens sê en pot leeg iet==

F1: ==Ja

F2: Of uit iet of pineapple aand.

F2: Os gat KAAAP toe of Worcester toe!

Interviewer: En special woorde vi AIDS?

M2: Gat siekte..Vuilsiekte.

F2: Dingese dingese

Interviewer: In Manenberg sal die mense sê of hulle mense van AIDS dood gan of wat sal hulle sê?

F1: Hulle sal nou sê van natural causes ja of baie sê==

M1: ==Natural causes of cancer gehad..

F1: Ja enige iets ma behalwe die waarheid!

M2: Of hulle sê hulle is dood van TB hoekom Tb en dai soes os voorer gesêrit het baie na dieselle siekte toe as jy lang op TB treatment is then your colour change mos na? Baie swatterer!

F1: Ja!

M2: Ja bai swat as jy nie jou treatment vattie en jy sien dan trek jy bai swat nou diesella trek aids as ek nou beginner==

M1: ==Nou hoekom lyk jy nou so swat M2?

Everyone laughs out loud

F2: Van innie huis sit hys altyd swat!==

M1: ==Kyk hoe rooi raak sy!

F1: Sê nou os gat kyk a sieck pison os wiet nou nie dai mense het aidssie==

M2: ==Aidssie ja==

F1: ==Nou AIDS het mos different maniere hoe it uit slat gointers en seere so sal os nou dink!

M2: Daas eene wat in slat dans haa ene wat uit slat==

F2: ==Nou die eene wat uit slat is mos seere en kolle..

M2: Nou dai wat==

M2: ==Dais wat die bybel skree leopracy so wat ek die siekte uit gefigure van==

F2: ==Malaats!

M2: Malaats ja leoprocya ja.

F2: Daasie a cure nie!==

M2: ==Daasie a cure nie

F2: Hulle sê elke tyd daas a pill wat dit ghat cure but issie gecure nie!!!

- M2: *Daissie siekte wat uittie bybel al uit komal ==*
- F1: *==Hulle het gesê oppie tv daa is a pill ma is very expensive!*
- F2: *Tina hoeveel mense is daa oppie ma hulle wittie gecure nie?*
- F1: *Issie dai pille wat hulle op issie..*
- M2: *Nous haa a anna pill wat hulle maak die ARVs==*
- M1: *==Dais wat hulle die government doen==*
- F1: *==Is a anna pill==*
- M2: *==Issie daai pillie is a anna pill die mense baklei laatit moet deur kom ma die mense hettie geld vi dai treatment!*
- M1: *En dan moettie mense rit viniet kry?*
- F1: *Dais wat hulle lankal op die tv geserit al but ek wietie hoe ver het hulle daamee gekommie. Als vat net geld en geld!*
- M2: *Daaom sê ek dais a siekte wat uit die bybel it kom. Dat why komit uit don't have sex before your age!*
- F2: *Nou kyk nou die jong kinnas dertien veetien dan loep hulle a dan duie hulle dai maggie uit ek was drie en twintag toe my ma vi my sê jy is pregnant!*
- M2: *Nou wie sê hulle is nettie pregnanttie en hulle is infected allie?*
- F2: *My kind is nou vie en twintag.*
- M1: *Dan was jy nogal vroeg ougat gewies!*
- F1: *Dan is jy te bang om te sê, jou ma moet ma self uitfigure, nee ek sal haa immediately uitgesitit sy kannie praatie sy kannie hoo nie os praat grootmens dinge so sal ek vi haa geserit*
- Interviewer: *If you having a taboo topic, and an adult walks into the room, what will you do?*
- M2: *Angan met die topic*
- F2: *Hy is dan sixty four! Hys self a adult!*
- Interviewer: *Of sê dis jou ma wat in ko, en jy praat van seks?*
- F1: *Nie ek sallie daavan praattie!*
- F2: *Nie ek sal sê mammie os het nou hievan en daavan gepraat.*
- F1: *Nie ek sallie voo my ma praatie daavannie. Nee os bly still!*
- M2: *Nee dan lykit soes os van jou ma gepraatit !*
- M1: *The show must go on.*

Interviewer: Or would you change the topic?

F2: *Nee ek change topicssie!*

M2: *Dan kan mamma miskien oek skrik dai is wat mamma nie vi os dai tyd geleerittie.*

F2: *Wiet jy my skoonma het gesê ek is a ghytjie? Van as ek iets willgesêrit dan sê ek rit en as ek vi hom in wil gedoenit dan doen ekit!*

Everyone laughs.

Interviewer: Is there any words you know about that replaces the word HIV or AIDS? Or special terms relating to a prostitute?

M1: *Now what you saying about a prostitute? Prostitute, blomme meisie, strooimeisie, vi hulle isit knopjig!*

F2: *En die moffies is aunty aida==*

F2: *==Hulle sal sê hey jou jintu jys wee aunty aida dan will jy vi jou uitgee jou fockn moffie!*

M1: *Ja ma my suster laat ek jou gou sê, Allah het vi jou a vrou gemaak nou hoe lykit julle twee vrouens is besag met mekaa dan gebruik julle die hoes die goed senaam==*

F1 & F2: *==Vibrators!*

M1: *Vibrators en whatever Allah, het die honna en die dieregemaak nou hoeko gat a jongetjie hond by a jongetjie honnie a bull gattie by a bullie?*

M2: *Ma wie is os om te predict?*

F2: *Nou kyk die Somallians en die Nigerians==*

M1: *==Jaa jy praat soe==*

F1: *==Ja jy sê soe hulle het gesê het dat daa lamoene ge inject is in die lamoene met AIDS bloed!*

M1: *Ek het gehoo van nie tamaties oppi straat koeppie!*

M2: *Ek het gehoo a man moenie tamatie kos by a anna vrou iettie!*

Interviewer: I think I have all the necessary information, Shukran for all you patience and time to participate in this research, it was very insightful.

Focus Group End

Lucky Appendix

- Interviewer: Waaoo praat Manenberg's se mense op die algemeen?
- Lucky: *Soes die rumours wat jy van hoo.. Gansterism en drugs dais nou die popular wat die mense nou hiesa complain van hies.*
- Interviewer: Die mense is hulle opelik om met enige iemand hie hulle personal dinge uit te praat?
- Lucky: *Nie eintlikke, nie amalie sê die halfte sal praat enie die anna halfte sallie praat met die mense nie but meesta wat ek ken sal praat met die mense..*
- Interviewer: So die halfte menses al hulle besagheid soema met enige ene discuss? Is dai wat jy sê?
- Lucky: *Nie met enige ene eintlikkie but hulle sal mos met hulle vrinne dit praat*
- Interviewer: Het jy al van Taboo gehoo? Dis iets wat as jyrit praat dans die mense kwaad vi jou..en toe jy opgroie hoe het jy bygekom wat is aanvaarbaar o moo te gesels?
- Lucky: *Taboo nou.. Soes ek opgegroeie het was ekkie a baie praatrage menssie met my vrinne oek ek communicatie baie met hulle oekkie net a hi en a goodbye..Ja..Soes hulle vi my gegerit laat ek a voobeeld maak, hulle altyd gesê wat innie kombuis gebeur bly innie kombuis en wat innie huis gebeur bly innie huis==*
- Interviewer: En jy bly hou by dai?
- Lucky: *Ek sallie praattie.*
- Interviewer: Sê ma, jy moet a sensitive issue saam met iemand praat hoe sal jy begin?
- Lucky: *Uhm hoe kan ek sê ek sal a lang draai vat om haa uittekom ek sallie soema begin merittie.*
- Interviewer: Nou gat jy maak?
- Lucky: *Soes a normal conversation sal ek nou beginte praat but in die conversation nou drai ekkie nou praat ek vannit.*
- Interviewer: Waa en wanna was die eerste keur wat jy van AIDS hoo?
- Lucky: *Skool*
- Interviewer: En sal j daarvan by die huis ko praat?
- Lucky: *Ja of course ..sale kit gedeel it met amal met amal die hele huisgesin met sisters en broes amal amal.*
- Interviewer: Hoe dikwels hoo jy van die virus?

- Lucky: Min of me eek hoo nie baie daavan nie ma ek het a vrin gehet wat se pa dit geherit en ek het by a vrin gegaan wat die mense innie huisit gehrit ma ek hettie geweet hulle het dit gehattie but agterna wat ekkie af kom to ontrek ek my soma onmiddellik toe gat ek soma vi a AIDS test net om vi my uittecheck en hoes my gesondheid nou toe wat ek daa kom toes alles ok gewies toes ek die blyste mens!*
- Interviewer: Voo die het jy ondervinding gehet van AIDS?
- Lucky: Ek het ma ko hoo by hoe die mense praat van dit en die gesien wat dit he. Soes twee van my vrinne vi my geapproach en vi my gevra dat wiet jy dat daai person het aids en sy ma het AIDS toe sê ek nie ek wiettie toe vra hy my gebruik jy goete in hulle huis in ma noggie ma ek gat in hulle huis in ma ek gebruik niks van hulle nie van ek is a funny person ek iettie van enige persoon ek sal gan by hulle ek sal sit ma ek sallie iet van hulle affie en toe so kommit dat ek gan [laughing shyly] en check my uit onmiddellik diesella next dag toe gat ek vi a AIDS toets!*
- Interviewer: Toe jou vrinne nou vi jou inlig oo die situation toe het hulle a verskillende taal gebruik, of wat?
- Lucky: Straight fluent Afrikaans gepraat.*
- Interviewer: Ok hulle het nou straight fluent Afrikaans gepraat ma hoe was hulle mood? Was hulle ernstig, was hulle grappig? Hoe eintlik?
- Lucky: Hy was dood ernstig [eyes widening]secretive hy willetti hat gepraattie [tempo slowing and tone softening]van os was in a company gewies toe kom hy so skelmpies na my toe en approach my en vra my wat wiet ek van die goed en wiet ek vannie mense wat aids het.*
- Interviewer: Sê nou jy en jou vrinne het a gesels van sex of AIDS soes die een wat jy my nou gesêrit van en a kind van tien ko hie in sal jy aan een praat?
- Lucky: Ek sallie topic dadelik gechangeit! Van dais a klein kind ek sallie dat hyrit moet dai oo kommie wat os praatie ma vadag se klein kinnas is so slim van hulle kan jou woore net so sê soes jyrit geserit vi a ana persoon.*
- Interviewer: Wat asit a groot mens is?
- Lucky: Die topic laat an ganit an laat praatit daa was a siekere stadium my familie hie reg om het gewiet daaavn ma net siekere het gewiet daavannie amallie voo die volwassene persoon as hy nie wiettie lat hy wiet vi die next time.*
- Interviewer: As jy van AIDS praat gebruik jy ana name behalwe AIDS?
- Lucky: Nee straight AIDS. A ana naam sê? Jaa...but ekherit nou op my tong ma..(lol) ek kanittie uit bringgie [looking down trying to remember the special terms]Virus! Sal ek nou sê.. Die Virus ..Die virus!*
- Interviewer: Shukran dai is alles, en ja jy het genoeg saam my gepraat as sê jy jy praatie muchie! [laughing].

Mrs G Appendix

Interviewer: Wat praat die mense meestal van hie innie Manenberg?

Mrs G Is ma net wat nou hie is ...Is nou drugs ...Is die drugs wat die mense nou baie van gewarried is van ..En ..En..Dat die jong kinnas hulle liggaame vi vikoep vi drugs you see as hulle nou nie geld hettie vi ..En hulle wil nou..A pakkie hê of whatever en dan ..An then they sell their body vi a pakkie ...En nou.. Dais die grootste dinges hie in Manenberg.

Interviewer: Praat mense hie van AIDS?

Mrs G: Personally het ek nou baie gehoo van mense wat AIDS het ..En dai ..EN verra kan ek nou nie sê nie cause why hie so elke dag het mense hulle eie lewe hulle praat oo die of oo dai hulle sallie jy sallie hoo hulle praat oo sukke dinge soes AIDS en soe is nou net die drugs en so die jong kinnas!

Interviewer: Sal die jong kinnas prat met groot mense miskien a personal issue of miskien advice soek?

Mrs G: Ja maybe ..Maybe someone they can trust ja ..They will come to and talk by cause why here uhm.. Er here is baie youths uhm er here in the uhm..Sometimes here er sometimes a problem occurs or something bad happen dan sal hulle kom en dan sal hulle beginte praat en maybe soes nou die jong kinnas ..Wat nou soes wat nou like I said wat nou hulle liggaam vikoep nou of dinges ..Hulle sallit onna banke hou nou hulle sallie tell somebody else of whatever ...Cause that's a thing that they will keep.. But normally things wat nou vi hulle pla of something..Sal hulle nou or their ja or their incident when a young girl came en wat sy gegerit sy ..Wat sy nou uitvinnerit sy het AIDS from ja and ...Uhm that's what also from her.. Er selling her ...Mmm. Ja uhm..Er.. Na my en a no Gene in die court gekom ..Nie girly nie, a anna vrou.

Interviewer: Taboo topics is iets wat os wiet os moenie oo praati, which topics sal jy sê is taboo?

Mrs G: Wat er.. Uhm.. Hieso in die vicinity is meesta mense vi hulle self en er ..Jy sal nooit ere hoor..Mense praat oo die ...Rather you see ..Er.. This one is fighting with her husband or whatever ...No unless ..Here some people ...Er uhm like a vrou hie na wil pratt nou na like haa man nou na...Was involved met a meisie kin.. A MEISIE KIN ...Innie court nou sy het gepraat met gee en nie syt net met my gepraat en vadag issie man weg en hy sit nou nog met die meisie kin... En die meisie haa kinnas is ouerer as die meisie. Sy was vyftien wat sy saam met hom was en ...En die man is nou al forty nine ...En ek meen ma die vrou is nou al a ouma al

Interviewer: Wat sal jy sê van geld, kan a mens soema met enige ene daao praat of in en uit?

Mrs G: Ge een sal sê how much money they earn because why jy gat net hoo we don't have enough money but nobody will tell the truth .

Interviewer: And AIDS, is it a normal conversation here or is it a taboo?

Mrs G: Nee ha ah ...nee van hulle gatit opcover cause why they will coverit up they will say they got TB or they or something like that!

Interviewer: Hoe het jy ko lee wat is ok om uit te prat en wat issie oryttie? Soes jy nou groot gewidit, het jou ma en pa of anties miskien van seks voojou gepraat?

Mrs G: Nee as hulle topics praat nou soes dai of whatever then uhm they just chase us to our rooms en dan as hulle kla is dan se hulle gat staan daa gat speel a bietjie buitekant.

Interviewer: En nou met jou kinnas hoe maak jy met hulle?

Mrs G: Ek wag ek wag tot my kinnas uit gat uit by die deu then I'll speak something of as ek nou will hê hulle moet nou iets wiettie dan...Dan wag ek tot hulle slap. Hulle slap en dai dan sal ek. Of ek sal hulle winkel toe stuur of whatever.. As ek nou as ek nou iets van my chest wil af hê.

Interviewer: Allow jy dat kinnas in jou geselskap sit?

Mrs G: No no never. No nooit!

Interviewer: Sê nou jy moet a gesels op tel wat awkward is ma jy moet it met die youngster hou, hoe sal jy nou maak om die prat te handle?

Mrs G: Vi nomma een is ekkie a talkative persoonie..Right o ma in a sense van no praat met iemand dan sal ek nou uhm ek sal nou vi instance kan ek nou a voobeeld maak ..Like no vi instance iemand wat op drugs is wat ek nou nie gewietittie, wat gee en wiet is op drugssie en I as ek sien daa is its goed in dai persoon en so an dan sale k hom roep dan sal ek vi hom sê dai wat jy doen is vikeed. Dan sal ek hom sê het jy gesien die lewe buitekant? Het jy gesien hoet die jongengs hoe mak hulle geld hoe kry hulle geld? Hoe maak hulle as hulle wil drugs hê hulle gat breek die mense se huise in. Hulle gan dan ko die polise vi hulle optel dan gat hulle innie tronk sit is dai die lewe wat jy wil hê? Of wat vikies jy om skool toe te gaan? Jy sê hom alles wat bright en beautiful is. Hoe die lewe is as hy will en asit drugs en soe dan sal ek mooi praat hulle van...

Interviewer: Soe sal jy net uit ko met die storie?

Mrs G: Ek sal nou..Ek sal nou kyk hoe is sy mood as hy ere r in dai as hy nou in a mood is vi praat of kyk nou hoe sy dinges nou dan sal ek of maybe as hy knock on my door wats or come borrow something then sal ek nou a conversation hou met hom, hi how are you..Nou sê ek ja lekka dag gehet, like that. And so I will go into it.

Interviewer: En sê nou is a groot mens en miskien dis a issue met haa kinnas?

Mrs G: Soes nou ja a groot mens. En sy blame nou haaself. Ja ok nou sy wietie. Ek wiet ja ...Ere ek sal laat sy uit die werk uit kom en haa chores nou en whatever gemaakit. Then I will call her, dan sal ek haa se uhm .. I need to speak you about something. Something like that and I will tell her uhm ek sal gentle gat met haa voo ek nog, vi haa vi haa se os amal het kinnas en os stuu nie osse kinnas vi vikeere dingessie. No no.. Cause why ek kannie vi haa blame vi haa kin nie cause gee en ma maak hulle kinnas groot vi skelmssie and I wil talk to her gentler and I will tell her I got a problem with your child and this and this is what he did Because why amal het mossie dieselle gevoelnsie...Ere r ...Jy now you appraoach somebody and you gana say die en dai het dai gesteel en hows that person gana approach you. Ek ken mossie haa maniera en dai nie. And so you have to go an.....try om down te gan (gesturing goin down a sin levels) dinges ere r but you need to show respect of ere r.

Interviewer: Ken jy miskien die difference van HIV en AIDS?

Mrs G: HIV en AIDS..Er ek wiet daas a difference a AIDS is a oo jinne en dan is daa oo but I know there's a difference. Because why ...As die AIDS deu jou en dan is daa nou AIDS wat net something uhm ek dingesse. Ek was al in contact met dai mense al wat hie gewiesit al ma vi my isit ommie waarheid te sê Toegeeda, kasam na ek gat nooit uit by my deu nie vi allie tyd van dinge wat ek uitgevinna van wat is AIDS ek is baie stupid... Van slaap met die ene of dai ene or they using the same needle or or whatever sal my kinnas altyd sê soes my boy sal ek vi hom sê jy kan ma die mooiste roos kry buitekant but you never know what kinda sickness she has. Make him know she don't have AIDS. Cause people with AIDS looks healthy. Jy wietie cause why ek kannie geglorittie dai menssie.

Interviewer: Wanna hoo jy baie van AIDS?

Mrs G: Ek gattie baie uittie so ek hoo nie nog muchie..Er ma oppie tv.

Interviewer: Enige special woorde wat jy wiet die mense use om te praat van sex en AIDS ma as hulle nie dai woorde gebruikkie?

Mrs G: Man..Agh ek prat mossie met die mense hie buite nie so eek sallie nog wietie.

Interviewer: Ok then.. Shukran for your time and help with this research, I really appreciate it.

Tiger Appendix

Interviewer: Wat wit hie innie Manenberg van gepraat?

Tiger: Oor geld dais al en drugs en sukke dinge..Like mense doen mos hulle eie dinge hie rond. Ek stel nie eintlik belang in hulle dinge, I do my thing. I look after my family all mine.

Interviewer: Dink jy dat die kinnas vry is om te praat soes hulle wil?

Tiger: Nee geheimsinnig vadag se kinnas issie vry nie. As j vi hulle vra wats wrong? Hulle gattie sê nie hulle gattie openbaar wies met jou nie.. Vistaan jy?

Interviewer: Vistaan jy wat taboo is?

Tiger: Taboo?

Interviewer: Is iets wat mense nie oo praattie.

Tiger: Er jaa..Ok I didn't know..Ok ok. Jy kannie sukke dinge..jy moet siekere dinge kan jy nie moet mense praattie. Ja hoo.Ek kry baie problems innie pad met mense wat kyk ek gat voorentoe en hulle bly. Anyone can go too as jy jou mind so sê! If you say you gana do that thing tomorrow then you gana do, you understand? Jy gattie trug staannie. Nou will gan skinna van dai mannie, hy doen die hy vidien dai ma hulle wietie eintlik wa kom die geld vinaand nie, dan sê hull eek dra sakkies ek doen die ek doen dai amal die hulle maak hulle eie..hulle maak .. hulle eie assumptions!

Interviewer: Sal jy a taboo topic gat praat met iemand? Sal jy vi jou involve in anders se besagheid al wiet jy is iets goed?

Tiger: Nee ek het al dai gedoen al! I don't want to mention names of my neighbours ek het hulle kin by my gevat tiwyl hy mos op drugs gewiesit. Toe vat ek hom, by my ma toe wil hy mossie reg ko nie. Toe sê ek right jy moet ma gooi! You understand cause I did? Ma ek sallies leg praat van hom affie van sy is lewe ek mien ek kom van dai lewe af. Ek sal try om vi hom weg te haal en sê kyk hi eek het self dai ding gedoen.. Vistaan jy op die einde van die dag dan vidien jy niks uit die lewe uittie. Vistaan jy dais al wat ek kan sê?

Interviewer: Sal jy jou eie besagheid loep en uit prat met enige een?

Tiger: Ja ok, soes as ek a personal problem het dan sal ek nou nie saam enige een gan praatie namens jou pa sale k nou kom, sal nou kom confide in hom ma, as jy nou na jou neighbours om vi hulle iets te vra of te sê en miskien om help te vra dan gat hulle more dan gat hulle hie oo en gat skinna agta jou rug. Certain stuff you can't ask people..tell people, you understand?[laughing]. No

no. Eksie baie jy kan jou pa vra..I don't give a fock about nobody in this road, sorry to I don't mean everybody but certain people. I only consider myself, my wife, my kids, ok ma my mother on-law cause they also getting difficult. That's why sê eke k warrie nie ma my skoon ma hulle het hulle eie lewe ma as ek kan help then I help them always my skoon broers oek my skoon suster oek. Ek help vi hulle oek ma, ma die anna mense innie pad ek sallie warrie met hulle hie innie pad innie.

Interviewer: Sal jy a mens direct a ding sê wat nou miskien a sensitive issue is?

Tiger: *Ja ek doen dai elke dag, sê hulle bring goed na my om te vikoep nou vra ek hulle eeste. Ek sal altyd vi hulle uit praat spesiaal as ek drink dan care ek mossie as jy iets dink van my nie dan sê ek jou straight in jou gesig in. Dais as ek dronk is, is ek beginte drink dais al van my kante af, is soe dis reg soe!*

Interviewer: Sê jy wiet iets wat iemand annas moet wiet van hulle boyfriend of girlfriend is besag met nonsense sal jy hulle gat sê? Soe bedoel ek?

Tiger: *Nai ai..ok..nai el sal noggie involve raakie It's mos your own decision there. But if you do something like drugs.. steal like wrong doing stuff but I can't get involved with your love relationship with someone cause maybe kry hy a anna gedagte soes hy jy smaak sieka my kin nou soe, jy understand? I don't wana be involved with stuff like that, ok ja ja.*

Interviewer: And what if it is your close family, will you then get involved?

Tiger: *You see, ja, ja you see, my family side..I grew alone up na and I was like in prison many of the years, that is the first time in ten years that I'm not moving up and down. So for ten years I am without drugs and uhm I'm only drinking I've never drank since I left that stuff, but now anyway I don't care about family all the years from all the years. From a young age eleven twelve I'm on my own already, you understand? Ok my brother them, we er I don't worry about their problems, I try to help them where I can but like I say cousins family I'mnot interested in that. I'm not gana lie about it ha a!*

Interviewer: If it was Rhonwyn, and her boyfriend is cheating on her, sal jy vi ha gat sê en hoe sal jyrit doen?

Tiger: *I do care about her, I can't tell her what to do, I can't tell her stop loving Amien. That bra is on drugs, he focks around and that.. you understand? I can't tell her I saw him last night with a other girl, cause if I see something like that I am not gana tell, she must find out on her own. I'll be making trouble in their life at the end of the day. Now her husband or her boyfriend's gana tell her or she's gana tell him, Tiger told me, then what's gana happen my side, I can avoid that argument. Now she must find out for herself, he must find out for himself, you see?*

Interviewer: Ok what I am trying to get to is that how will you attempt to open up a topic that is heavy and difficult but that you have to, what procedure sal jy follow?

Tiger: *No no I understand what you trying to say, na. But you know what na, if I got a problem, I try to sort it out myself. I got my ways like I'm a maybe my wife and myself is cross for each other, I leave for a couple of hours and I'll keep quiet and I won't talk you won't even see me outside, I just ignore no one in the house and then I try to work out how am I gana sort my problem out. How am I gana approach her, what am I gana say. Ek sit my storie agter mekaa voo ek uit kom, you understand?*

Interviewer: So you sort your own thing out?

Tiger: *Kyk na van sewientien jaa oud, late k ma vi jou straight sê, I'm forty one now at the moment, na but since seventeen I've been in and out of prison and jail and was a funky, I didn't have communication with my parents and my family. My father died I was also maybe nine or ten years old. Uhm, my mother er, I was like naughty I couldn't communicate with her. I couldn't say mummy I need your help or I got something to say. So I had to sort out my own things, you understand? And that's all I can say about that stuff, like you said like my mother in-law can I go to them, I can't got to them, I can't go to nobody, you understand? My own flesh and blood, like my mother, my father, ja maybe I don't know but if they were alive how would it be?*

Interviewer: What is your understanding of HIV/AIDS and where did you hear of it first?

Tiger: *On the tv first time I heard about it many years back but I don't know the meaning about it, where AIDS come from. I am not interested in it cause I don't move around you know. I am a one woman man or baby but I don't know I can't tell you. I am not interested in AIDS story. Ok I'm not walking around with a conscience like hey I want to sleep with you tonight, you understand? I'm not preparing me for walking with condoms in my pocket or under my seat, you see?*

Interviewer: AIDS doesn't just come from sleeping around but through working with blood, have you ever been tested or did you come into contact with someone that is infected with this virus?

Tiger: *Ja look here, I had like a bad cough and then they tested me and all that stuff and pricked my finger. Ja they asked me oh I saw afterwards the people coming in there, the nursing staff tell me you must be careful [hushed tone] see that one has got AIDS, see how she looks, some people died of AIDS didn't actually know them but know of them ja I know who they are if you talk about them. I know whose it, you understand?*

Interviewer: Do you get information on AIDS and do you and your friends discuss AIDS.

Tiger: No not really don't hear them speaking about AIDS but only in the clinic situation. Os praatie sukke dinge nie, van we don't think on the negative side, uhm uhm...

Interviewer: Will you discuss sex with your children?

Tiger: Yes its uncomfortable to speak of sex and HIV/AIDS like if I'm watching something and my children ask me, daddy what they doing, then voel ek heel uit a play uit van my ma en my pa mossie vi os sukke dinge gesê nie.

Interviewer: Do you know of any special names used to replace using words like sex and AIDS?

Tiger: Ja there is ok...ja same ones..Maybe from vuilsiekte ja.

Interviewer: Do you know of anyone?

Tiger: Ja you see like I won't mention names but, ok ok..but anyway like Lily, she smoke heavy drugs she do anything for drugs and some nights I work late at night and then I worked for a other security company and I helped them out a buddy of mine, I'm driving then when I come home at night, then Lily is busy with Nigerians and then its other people. I am not saying I am not blaming anybody like African guys. Jy hoo sukke dinge jy sien sukke dinge now I'm not talking about it. I'm not gana say jay het jy gehoo van Lily wat innie rondte jol, sukke dinge that's not my business, ma die way wat soes sy angan is te heavy oek man!

Interviewer: So would you think that she has AIDS?

Tiger: Sometimes I will ja. I will look at them and think hey waa het jy gistaans geslaap! Now in the mornings, she come early home, then she look like fucked up and that's the only reason why I am saying. Then that time she's planning hiws she's gana get kroon now. She gana think what...Like the other guys, they focked her up about two weeks ago. Now I don't know what they done with her cause the one guy wanted to fock her, you understand, I don't know about this. Die anna meisie innie anna pad wee, is getroud met die een ou innie pad in, ma sy fok rond met a anna ou, innie anna pad wee. Daas sy wee pregnant en dis la die dinge wat ek hoo nou gan hulle hoe gan hulle lewe? Ja you see uhm AIDS kom enige way!

Versa Appendix

Interviewer: Ok so now if you can please tell me what is generally being discussed in Manenberg, what do people mostly talk about here ==?

Versa: ==Gangsterism==

Interviewer: ==Gangsterism==

Versa: ==Jaa== *That is the main focus right now here, because we a lot of gun shooting ere r drug factories popping up everywhere you see the thing that people are focusing on. Hiv aids sex is part of the past now, they concentrating on you noticed now the polies was here earlier on?*

Interviewer: ==No I didn't see==

Versa: *And they found a boy with a pack of bullets on him!*

Interviewer: OK, So..in Manenberg does the youth feel free to discuss any matter with anybody?

Versa: *No, I think they shy away from discussing anything about ..uhm especially where where sex is concerned, its just something that you do and that.*

Interviewer: ==Ja==and then you understand taboo topics? Taboo is uhm something that people don't like speaking about or uhm that you shouldn't ask people about, you know? Like some people would refer to don't ask anybody how much they earn ==

Versa: ==Jaa definitely, definitely==

Interviewer: ==Like they'll say==

Versa: ==*Its none of your business, isie jou besigheidie you know moeties vi jou uit sit met my geld nie gan sit jou uit met jou ma se dinge!*

Interviewer: So what other topics would you say is also ta taboo topics in our community? Things our people er don't talk about, shouldn't ask about? ==

Versa: ==*You shouldn't ask about their children you shouldn't ask about their children you shouldn't ask questions to their children you shouldn't point fingers to the children, even though you an Adult and you know that that persons child is doing something wrong, its like TABOO, you must be afraid to approach the mother coz then they will say nie my kind nie! Jy maak a mistake, hy het nou net vi my gese hy doenitie! So there er you got something that people don't like talking about. Is what the children is really doing but they need to shy away from it.*

Interviewer: Anything else that the people don't talk about that they?==

Versa: ==*Hiv aids they don't talk about!*

Interviewer: They don't talk about it?

Versa: *No, they don't talk about it, its something that uhm everybody's afraid of, NO once you discuss it it might just become a part of you Er its like they might become INFECTED by it, just discussing it, when you look at it in that sense.*

Interviewer: And like going through your life what ways were you informed what not to talk about? As a child growing up developing into an adult, how did you get to understand ...like it's a part of us and I's very difficult question I'm asking you==

Versa: ==It's difficult..

Interviewer: It's almost like you were born and you knew what not to talk about but as time went you were basically socialized into a way into like jy moet wiet moenie sukke dinge vi die mense vra nie?

Versa: *Moenie praat oor dai nie dit isie reggie ...Dis verkeerd dai..Especially wane dit kom by ossi muslim mense! Er jy maggie praat oo seksie jy maggie vrae vra oo a penis nie of a! ...Jy maggie sukke woorde gebruik nie! A swear word comes up..Jy maggie dai sê nie is verkeerd instead of telling that child that is actually that word means this and this would happen when you do this to that ...So if I should be blunt I would say he jou poes, tell the child the meaning of the word and what does it refer to and then the child would understand and say mmm..Oh I'm speaking about....Ok. It is actually wrong to say jy praatie sukke taale nie is lelik!*

Interviewer: Mmm.. ok so you pointing to giving them the understanding?

Versa: *The understanding of what the words means and what the people is talking about instead of shying away from it but nay osse dae was dit taboo om te praat ooreenige seks, my ma het vi my gekry op die berg soes a aapie en die stertjie was afgekap.[laughing]*

Interviewer: ==laughing== Oh ok and then just for taboo topic like you wanna speak to a youth about it and then how would you go about like speaking to a younger person like if you wanna talk about hiv and sex would ==

Versa: ==I wouldn't== I

Interviewer: ==You==address that topic with them?

Versa: ==Wouldn't== *to a youngster I would rather confront the person and listen to what they are discussing cause then it gives me insight in what the child really needs to know. Normally, I stand on the corners and I hear they say jaa my broo ek het dai kin gehet en dai kin het my gesmaak I can listen in and I can say Ai! Er het jy er al dan vi haa opgekap? Or will jy or wat wil julle twee nou mak? You see? Naai sy't my gesmaak en dan sê ek jy wiet mos as jy dai gemaak mos jy moet oek wiet na? Het jy daam kondoms op jou? So I will come out. But to approach somebody here and==*

Interviewer: ==You won't?==

Versa: ==Talk about sex.. No! I think that would be very wrong unless you got the consent of an adult. Unless the parents say jy kan ma met my kind soe praat.

Interviewer: Has anybody approached you to like for instance Sharon said like uhm alota people ask her to discuss things with their children cause they feel that they can't? Like sort've mediate between the parents and the children==

Versa: ==Yes there was..There was a few people that asked me ... Like today I had a discussion where the father and the mother can't keep up with it anymore cause they have in-fighting the father stays with the one daughter ...and the daughter can't take the fact that the father is trying to run her life with her kids and the other brothers and sisters don't make time for the father, so I had to jump in there ccause is my pa

en vi jou sal ek in jou moor slat van jy wiet! That happened now just while I was away from youth that's why you saw me running around ==

Interviewer: *==Yes okay WOW! Anyway*

Versa: *==So== I had to tell the father listen uhm I understand where you are coming from you are a grown man, and you should understand when you were a mother and a father to your kids who are now awso mothers and fathers and OWNS a house this is her free space her children see needs to bring them up the way see feels is better because somehow our children think that our mothers and fathers just brought us up the wrong way, you see, so now ek wil my kind groot maak my way nie pa se way nie van pa het nie ana dag dai gegie nie wat ek nou my kind kan doen nie en nou raak pa kwaad!*

Interviewer: *And people must really understand that everybody, I mean like I have the same conversation with my parents that it's my chance to be a mother==*

Versa: *==There you go==*

Interviewer: *==You==You were a mother and you saw what the result was so now I need to edit the way you reared me. So I need to see now ill get to see how my children turn out .. Anyway back to our discussion here uhm you know the difference between HIV and AIDS?*

Versa: *Yes I do I know HIV is when you get infec-te-red and the virus er is the er starting up of the... in a few years time it uhm diverts into er a more serious thing full blown aids where you not die of aids but you die of some illness.. You might have a cancer, you might have a brain cancer and so you might have a lung cancer or you might have TB but er comes down to the AIDS!*

Interviewer: *==AIDS virus==*

Versa: *== Virus turns into that==*

Interviewer: *==And we ==uhm when more or less did you hear about aids for the first time?*

Versa: *Hooo moetie praatie![giggles] ek was die Queen van al die jaare van al my jaare gewies you know was THEE QUEEN on the road and it came out HIV is popping up his head..die MOFfies herrit in gebring thats where I learnt it the first time. Nou kyk hulle jou an*

Interviewer: *==But==you that's not true.*

Versa: *[I] know that ISNT true ja but I mean that is where it came out then! And then it started popping up somewhere else where heterosexual people start getting HIV and children's getting it, they Getting it now peoples started questioning where does it REALLY come from? That is where I question where does it come from, I had many friends die of HIV, [tone softens] you know I should've been ONE of them but because I chose not to, you have a choice I've learnt that like I'm 55 years old am I've learnt in life you have the choice you see?*

Interviewer: *==Always== Soo er on average how many times would you hear of aids, just in your general going about your daily life how often would you hear?*

Versa: *==Eerr==*

Interviewer: *==Of AIDS?*

Versa: *Hear of AIDS or HIV or anytime soon, maybe it would pop up somewhere once a month..*

Interviewer: Ok then what would you do with this information? Would you impart it on your family, you friends would you talk to?

Versa: *Definitely discuss it with a friend I'll say did you hear or did you see the person that said she think her friends got aids, did you think it a good idea to discuss it on the road...And we will have a topic about it, me and Sharon so a lot of topics on these things as*

Interviewer: Then in your home, does HIV AIDS get discussed openly?

Versa: *NO!!It's TABOO!!*

Interviewer: [its taboo] And then uhm a discussion between adults and youths would they discuss sex HIV AIDS easily or is it awkward or would you think a certain type of personality would discuss it cause sometimes you say the youth won't but then you get this child that==

Versa: *==He openly speaks==*

Interviewer: *==Ja==*

Versa: *==About sex== then there is a diverse of people you get in Manenberg you get the people that talks about it then you get the people that openly lives it even if they got children and they openly pronounce the word hey ek het a lekker N (nai){ gestures the word by pushing thumb through index and middle finger}gevat vannaand and so wat? you know so you get the different types of people, so uhm in my point of view I would say YES you do get the discussions on the road, you hear a lot.. I got ears everywhere!*

Interviewer: Ok I see==

Versa: *==You know you know now that's the way I feel people should live as to take NOTE! What is going on in the surroundings...Listen it might just be your child that's involved there and you tend to ignore what you heard now! People tend to be illiterate...Luister ma an jaa is geraam fine but nai ha ah dais nie my kindie ok gan an maa as dit jou vrin se kind is asseblief doen iets daaoo ! you know and people come and think isie my kindie!*

Interviewer: And sometimes you knowI've been in many situations where I also had to decide do I keep my mouth? Don't , what do I say? The bottom line is the household is always the last to find out==

Versa: *==To find out== at the end of the day you don't say anything and something happens to the child are you prepared to live with your conscience.*

Interviewer: *==Exactly!== you always have to choose ANYWAY say for instance in discussing would you feel awkward discussing AIDS and HIV ==*

Versa: *==With people and children==, NO I'll discuss it with anyone I will even tell what my experience was of it..*

Interviewer: Say for instance when you discussing aids would you switch to a different language or would you how would you speak English and Afrikaans ?

Versa: *Depending on the people I'm having the discussion with... I normally look at my situation and think okay jys a bietjie ielitrit jy moet **direk** gesê wid a mens **ennie** en a mens **pee** nie soe **nie** en dai maak lat jy **soe** gan kry! There's certain people you work with and other people you work with you look at them met jou moet ek praat kombuis Engels en Afrikaans dan gan jy meer vi my verstaan! Met jou moet ek vloek dan gan yj beter verstan! Verstaan jy?*

Interviewer: You adapt to the situation?

Versa: *And I'm very well at adapting to things hey ==giggling==*

Interviewer: ==Giggling== not all people have that ability! Ja tell me are there certain words or certain terminology used when they are just talking about HIV instead of using the actual terms like we know it to be HIV AIDS?

Versa: *Yes they would call it auntie aida, you know that...antie aida?*

Interviewer: Yes.

Versa: *There's another word but I can't get to it now I know antie aida kom kuier dan trek sy in met haa klere ma sy trekie wee uitie! Antie lissie kom ma antie lissie gat wee weg==*

Interviewer: ==Ok== wat is antie lissie now?

Versa: *Antie lissie die lus ==*

Interviewer: ==Oh.

Versa: *Jy sien may broo jy wil nou dai kin opklim maa antie lissie stiek uit en dan goi sy wee ma antie aida trek in met haa gonnies en alles en sy trekie wee uitie==*

Interviewer: Did you hear about uhm about the term knopjig?

Versa: *NNNN no I heard along the road ==*

Interviewer: *As in referring to AIDS?*

Versa: *N not really I didn't think about this as the meaning of that to me I listen to people talking about that but they say she got antie aida and shes gone for a test.*

Interviewer: Would you say that that antie aida is in a certain speech community maybe in the gay community?==

Versa: *==In the gay community and I believe that heterosexual people is awso adopting it now!*

Interviewer: YES Yes that is very true I am also a bit familiar with the terms.

Versa: *==And uhm== that's how I hear there's something else like doodsiekte then again like the virus, liggaamsiekte jaa is there's such a lot of terms you listen to it people tend to make a joke of it then afterwards you tend to get it then you got it the peoples actually talking about AIDS here. Ok maybe they trying to goi skim on ieman hiesa en ek wil altyd ma wiet ai ma van wie prat julle nou van..*

Interviewer: Yes by now if you ...how can I say...have there ever been a funeral when someone

that has been infected with the aids virus and that died of it that you speculate and at the funeral or the family don't actually say he got aids or she?==

Versa: ==Ja many

Interviewer: Then what would they say the person died of?

Versa: *Died of brain cancer that was number 1, thee other person died of lung cancer and thee other person had a heart attack!*

Interviewer: Ok they won't say aids!

Versa: *No! but looking at the file you know or whatever they've been produced with you will see HIV plus then you know but the family tend to look away from there and say nay hy het a haat attack gehet. I know I've been in there many a times, and people tend to shy away from it ha a isie rerag soe nie and that's how up to today I still hear ek hetie gewiet may broo het dood gegaan van AIDS nie but I knew better cause we were close we were very close and I knew but the family er nie ha a don't discuss that don't discuss==*

Interviewer: ==Why== would you think that the people would do that?

Versa: *I think they afraid of what the people would think of them how they would be judged according to how the brother lived you know miskien het die broo met een van hulle oek ... these are all the things that comes up hy was so gewies hy was oo seks gewies! En en Miskien het hy een van hulle kinnas oek these are type if things rather stay away from HIV AIDS and say dit was a nomalle dood en kla!*

Interviewer: And possibly they would maybe be ostracized by the community?

Versa: *By the community as well yes==*

Interviewer: ==You== know it's like the community thinks no you can't drink out of the same cup as the person that got Aids?

Versa: *[I mean] I've been ostracized many times myself...Hai daa gat dai moffie! You know uhm..HOU jou seuns WEG van hom af van hy gan di kinnas opklim en more het die kinnas AIDS! Without thinking what they saying and hurting my feelings but I grew up lived a life thinking that if I...keep on caring what other people say I'm not gana make it*

Interviewer: *Definitely!*

Versa: *In this world, so I'm just like soe SÊ jy maa wat jy wil! All of a sudden something happens to them...they run to me!...Now what now?but your aunty them are still doing it!*

Interviewer: *Is it?*

Versa: *They've, they are still doing it, my baby.*

Interviewer: But you know what I can tell you..Uhm.. Everybody for their own man!

Versa: *That's what I thi also say So wen I SEE you*

Interviewer: I also say Ima person that don't like to wear scarf and I went for ghadj everybody say [whispers] sy dra nie haa doek nie sy op hou nie haa ghadj nie But you know what my

ghadj is more than just wearing a scarf! Do they think that everybody that wears a scarf is going to the Jannah? []

Versa: NO!!! You see this woman next door, she thinks I'm the biggest cursed person on this earth! Up till today she still thinks it..Jy kanie dai man in jou huis lat komie van hys gecurse! !! Then I look at her then I think wat van jou kinnas...Jou een kin was dood geskiet van 'n gengsta van hy was 'n gengsta en die anna kin verkoop drugs nou maa is sy bietera as ek!!!!!!!!!!!! HULLO!! So I walk past you I don't wanna greet you and you don't wanna greet me, FINE!!!!!!!!!!

Interviewer: Life goes on no problem.. Don't put yourself out with people like that!

Versa: Dan was ek vrek al!

Interviewer: Jaa ek warrie nie.. So say for instance.. If like if if people talk about aids around you here then would they be serious about it, would they joke about it?

Versa: I think they find it very funny ... In that way they don't really have to deal with it... you know they make a joke out of it, knowing its really serious, but it's like yaa na hahaha ja na my bru.. As jy dai kin opklim dan bieta jy jouself lat uitcheck it becomes a joke people aint serious about it.. In the whole world they making a joke about it even the up upstanding comedians are joking about it but==

Interviewer: ==but that's mm, how they mmm mmm==

Versa: Then they don't really have to deal with it==

Interviewer: It's a defense mechanism!

Versa: Cause ek het mos vanaand sex gehet met iemand sonder a condom, it pla my rerag nou gat ek 'n joke mak da van!==

Interviewer: ==Cause if you cause if if you as a person you worried about something you won't joke about it so when you joking about it, you basically telling the next person you don't have a concern for that you don't have a worry for that you not exposed to that==

Versa: ==But I==Don't know who I slept with last night! You are exposed! [laughing]

Interviewer: Jaa exactly! So say for instance you having a taboo topic and a 10 year old child walks in what would you do? Would you go silent, will you change the topic, or would you just keep on talking?

Versa: No when a child walks into with a topic like that Ive been in many a times, we would make a joke like hahaha het jy nou gesien dai stukke op die tv?

Interviewer: So you change the topic?==

Versa: ==Yes== we change it and the child, WAA? Then I'm just like you missed it man! And the child would think aagh. But seriously I'd prefer the child to sit in on the topic ... So that he can learn something about it, you know? Ek glo 'n kin se brain werk en hy groie elke minuut elke sekonde it grows the more information you can put in there he becomes a better person to learn someone else... My ma hulle sê ek confuse die kinnas! Sê ek moet ophou die dinge doen met osse klein kinnas! I aint confusing them..They are thinking for themselves! Nie man, I will tell them what is this? It's a page, I'll tell them its not a page! But Amie it is a page you can write on it! Oh you can write on it, clever girl! They think [pointing right hand index finger to the temple

on the head]. You know even when I put them on the computer! I tell them a computer is something that you read! It gives you information... When you click on something it tells you you are gonna do this! So what you gonna do now? Im gonna read, then she clicks on it I see new, now go on new, new folder new this, it tells you can create a new folder then she clicks. I got a new folder but I don't want it! Now click on it again...left click right click what click did you use Amie I'm going for the right click Amie, right its giving you the information you need to delete it, here's delete it, delete it, they learn something!

Interviewer: And they keep it in their heads!

Versa: Yes!

Interviewer: And same situation you discussing a taboo topic and an adult walks in the room, what would you say?

Versa: *Aaah it would go on and on cause we'll just make him a part of it.*

Interviewer: Mmm we discussed different words for hiv what are thereas for sex and I know there are so many for sex but we don't actually say sex in our community what are all the terminologies that you know of?

Versa: *Oh I can know only a few they say, ai dit oentjie burger tyd vannan, you know the oentjie burger tyd one?*

Interviewer: Yes yes

Versa: *And then there's the pineapple evening os gat vanaan pineapple my broo and what else jirre I can't think I can't think today..*

Interviewer: *You said earlier on van op klim?*

Versa: *Jaa vanaan klim ek haa op! So vanaan lus ek vi 'n lekka stukkie brood! [laughing]*

Interviewer: *O OK.. anything else?*

Versa: *Jaa vanaan is dit Sharon? Ja dis op skep aand vanaan! Jaa is opske aand vannan. Vanaan kan ek wee die pot leeg iet! Jaa vanaan IS opskep aand heel gan a groot liepel mekee om dai goos se pot leeg te lek!*

Interviewer: Anything else anything you know like that like say for instance that it would be documented that you discussing sex other than actually saying the word in our community?

Versa: *In our community, you see I would prefer the word oentjie burger cause everybody is aware that os gat vanaan oentjie burger ha oo, pineapple is better in all around the world, everybody knows in South Africa is pineapple aand woensdag aand is pineapple aand my broo, they all know it already. So oentjie burger or even if they could use words is opskep aand vanaan ...*

Interviewer: Mmm.

Versa: *You know, then they know its sex aand vanaan!*

Interviewer: And is there anything else at the top of your head that maybe I didn't ask you that you would like to contribute or add to this conversation that we having?

Versa: I would like to think that should actually er introduce this kind of topics to children that's becoming in their teens their thirteen years old and so on and actually interview them on this to see what they say what they know about it? Cause actually, but them where all these thing are coming from, even the twelve year olds are knowing about sex already and hear what their terminology is because things that we might not hear of they using in there when the mothers and fathers can be made aware of dat die kin praat van sex!

Interviewer: Mmm. Yes I know. Well anyway shukran for your time.

