

PATTERNS OF USE OF AND ATTITUDES TOWARDS THE AFRIKAANS LANGUAGE BY SOUTH AFRICAN EXPATRIATES: A SOCIOLINGUISTIC PERSPECTIVE

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Declaration

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Abstract

This thesis explores the attitudes of South African expatriates in the Middle East towards the Afrikaans language. It also examines the reported language behaviour of South Africans when meeting and interacting with fellow South Africans irrespective of what their first language (L1) is. The participants who form part of the study all work in the educational, medical and business sectors in the Middle East. This study is particularly interested in what the *language repertoires* of South African expatriates are and whether these *repertoires* form part of how they define themselves as a group and contribute to their identity construction. Whilst Afrikaans has had a contested history within the South African context, and is often viewed as the language of the oppressor, it has undoubtedly also been a first language to some of the “oppressed” and has served a function as lingua franca (McCormick 2006). This thesis therefore focuses specifically on attitudes towards Afrikaans and the use of Afrikaans in linguistic identity construction. This research is informed by literature which views identity not only as complex, contradictory, multivoiced and multifaceted, but also as dynamic and subject to constant negotiation across space and time. The number of South African expatriates around the globe has increased to such an extent that the term “diaspora” (Kotze 2003: 63) has been used on occasion. While there have been some studies done on language repertoires of South African abroad, little is known about the attitudes and ideologies attached to these languages in diasporic contexts. This study uses a multimodal approach in data collection and analysis in an attempt to investigate the multi-semiotic nature of the linguistic identities of the participants. There are 33 participants in this study who are all South African citizens working or living in the Middle East. All participants are bi- and/or multilingual in mainly English and Afrikaans, with some speaking a third or fourth language such as another African indigenous language (for example, Zulu or Xhosa) or an Asian language (such as Urdu).

In summary, this study finds that whilst English is clearly regarded as the global language of wider communication, people continue to identify strongly with their languages from “home” or their mother tongues, where these amplify their personal and group identities or are markers of their ethnolinguistic distinctiveness. Data collected in this research points to South African expatriate groupings that prefer communicating in Afrikaans and other indigenous languages outside the borders of South Africa as the languages give them a sense of comfort and belonging.

Opsomming

Hierdie tesis ondersoek die houding van Suid-Afrikaners wat in die Midde-Ooste werk of woon, teenoor die Afrikaanse taal. Dit ondersoek verder die raporteerde gedrag van Suid-Afrikaners wanneer hulle mede Suid-Afrikaners teekom of ontmoet, ongeag wat hul moedertaal is. Die deelnemers aan die studie werk almal in die onderrig, mediese- of besigheidsektore in die Midde-Ooste. Die tesis is spesifiek gemik op die *taal repertoire* van die groep Suid-Afrikaners in die buiteland, met die fokus op die moontlike bydrae tot hoe die groep hulself definieer en selfs ook bydra tot die konstruering van hul identiteite.

Alhoewel die geskiedenis van Afrikaans dikwels gekoppel is aan die van ‘die onderdukker’, dien dit sonder twyfel ook as eerste taal vir baie van die ‘onderdrukte’ sowel as die van ‘n lingua franca (McCormick 2006). Die tesis het dus ‘n spesifieke fokus op houding teenoor Afrikaans en die gebruik van Afrikaans in die skepping van taalidentiteite. Die studie gebruik as uitgangspunt literatuur wat ‘identiteit’ as kompleks, teenstellend, veelstemmig en dinamies beskou. Verder word ‘identiteit’ ook beskou as onderworpe aan konstante heronderhandeling in elke spesifieke situasie en konteks. Die getalle Suid-Afrikaners wat dwarsoor die wereld werk of woon het so vermeerder, dat die term ‘diaspora’ nou as beskrywing gebruik word (Kotze 2003: 63). Alhoewel daar al studies gedoen oor die ‘taal repertoire’ van Suid-Afrikaners in die buiteland, is daar min bekend oor die houding en ideologie wat met die tale in ‘diasporiese’ kontekste gepaard gaan. Die studie probeer vasstel wat die volle taalrepertoire van elke deelnemer is en of die deelnemers hulself deur middel van taal identifiseer. Die studie maak gebruik van ‘n multimodale metode van data insameling en analise in ‘n poging om die multisemiotiese aspekte van die ‘taalidentiteite’ van die deelnemers te ondersoek. Die 33 deelnemers in die studie is almal Suid-Afrikaanse burgers wat in Midde- Ooste werk of woon. Die deelnemers is almal twee of meertalig, meestal in Engels en Afrikaans en sommige praat ‘n derde of vierde taal soos ‘n inheemse Afrika (byvoorbeeld, Zulu of Xhosa) of Asiese taal (soos Urdu).

Opsommend vind die navorsing, dat al word Engels as die wereldstaal van wye kommunikasie beskou, mense nog steeds sterk identifiseer met hul ‘huis’ of moedertale wanneer dit hul individuele en groep identiteite beklemtoon, of n merker is van hul etnolinguistiese andersheid. Data in hierdie navorsingstudie dui ook daarop dat hierdie Suid Afrikaanse groepe verkies om in Afrikaans of ander Suid Afrikaanse inheemse tale te

kommunikeer terwyl hulle buite the grense van Suid Afrika woon en werk, want nie net troos dit hulle nie, maar besorg ook 'n gevoel van erens behoort.

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Table of Contents

TABLE OF CONTENTS.....	7
CHAPTER 1.....	10
1. BACKGROUND AND INTRODUCTION	10
1.1 Background and rationale of the study	10
1.2 Statement of the problem.....	11
1.3 Research questions.....	12
1.4 Research aims	12
1.5 Theoretical point of departure	12
1.6 Methodology.....	13
1.6.1 Participants	14
1.6.2 Research instruments	14
1.6.3 Data analysis	14
1.7 Chapter outline.....	14
CHAPTER 2.....	16
2. THE SOCIOLINGUISTIC HISTORY OF AFRIKAANS IN A MULTILINGUAL SETTING	16
2.1 Introduction.....	16
2.2 Origins of Afrikaans	17
2.3 Afrikaans and political conflict	20
2.4 Afrikaans and the construction of identity.....	22
2.5 Afrikaans and recent socio-political change.....	24
2.6 Maintenance or shift away from Afrikaans	26
CHAPTER 3.....	28
3. LANGUAGE, IDENTITY AND MIGRATION	28
3.1 Introduction.....	28
3.2 Post-structuralist views of language and identity	29
3.3 Approaches within post-structuralist views of language and identity.....	31
3.3.1 Identity as the social positioning of self and other	31
3.3.2 Narration and its contribution to self and identity	32
3.3.3 The Linguistic Repertoire revisited.....	33
3.4 Language identity and migration	34
3.4.1 Linguistic demands on migration.....	36
CHAPTER 4.....	39
4 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY	39
4.1 Introduction.....	39
4.2 Questionnaires	39
4.3 The language portrait method.....	40
4.4 Interview method.....	40
4.5 Ethical considerations.....	42
4.5 Data analysis.....	42
CHAPTER 5.....	46
5 SOCIOLINGUISTIC PROFILES OF SOUTH AFRICAN EXPATRIATES IN THE MIDDLE EAST: RESULTS OF QUESTIONNAIRE DATA	46
5.1 Introduction.....	46
5.2 The participants and research context	46
5.3 Language background data.....	46
5.4 Language attitudes	48
5.5 Language choices.....	53
5.6 Language and identity.....	53
5.7 Attitudes towards Afrikaans	56
5.8 Summary of results.....	57
CHAPTER 6.....	58
6. LANGUAGE ATTITUDES AND IDENTITY CONSTRUCTION: EMERGING THEMES	58
6.1 Introduction.....	58

6.2	<i>Identification of themes</i>	58
6.3	<i>Heteroglossic linguistic repertoires</i>	59
6.4	<i>English: the key to social, professional and financial global success</i>	65
6.5	<i>Afrikaans: Language of longing, ambivalence and diversity</i>	68
6.6	<i>Colour regarded as instrument of clarity</i>	75
CHAPTER 7		77
7. NARRATIVES OF NOSTALGIA, UNITY, AMBIVALENCE AND CONTRADICTION		77
7.1	<i>Introduction</i>	77
7.2	<i>Small story analysis</i>	78
7.3	<i>Big stories</i>	85
CHAPTER 8		96
8. DISCUSSION AND INTERPRETATION: AFRIKAANS, MIGRATION AND IDENTITY CONSTRUCTION		96
8.1	<i>Introduction to summary and discussion of main findings</i>	96
8.2	<i>Attitudes to and use of language in the construction of identity</i>	96
8.2.1	What is the (reported) preferred language of communication of a selected group of South African expatriates living and working in the Middle East?	97
8.2.2	What are the attitudes of the selected group towards Afrikaans (and other languages)?	98
8.2.3	How do South African expatriates in the Middle East construct their identities and what role does the Afrikaans language play, if any?	99
8.3	<i>General observations</i>	101
8.4	<i>Concluding remarks</i>	101
8.4.1	Usefulness of Afrikaans beyond the borders of South Africa	102
8.4.2	Recommendations for further research	102
NOTES		103
REFERENCES		105
ADDENDA:		119
	<i>Patterns of use of and attitudes towards the Afrikaans language by South African expatriates: A Sociolinguistic Perspective Questionnaire</i>	119
	<i>Sample Life Portraits: 1-3 (provided by Dr Oostendorp from Stellenbosch University)</i>	122
	<i>Consent Form</i>	122

Figures

Figure 1: Distribution of respondents' spoken first language	46
Figure 2: Languages spoken at home while abroad by participants	47
Figure 3: Proficiency in other languages besides Afrikaans and English	47
Figure 4: Languages spoken when meeting fellow South Africans	48
Figure 5: Perception of locals' / expats' view of languages spoken in the Middle East	49
Figure 6: Multilingualism influences marketability in the Middle East	50
Figure 7: Prefers English medium schools	51
Figure 8: Languages used in conversations with Afrikaans L1 friends	52
Figure 9: Language used in correspondence with Afrikaans relatives from South Africa	53
Figure 10: The usage of Afrikaans in a wider social context	53
Figure 11: The multilingual abilities of South Africans are deemed important by locals / expats in the Middle East	54
Figure 12: Language spoken to show solidarity with South Africans living in the Middle East	55
Figure 13: Attitude towards the Afrikaans language	55
Figure 14: Language portrait 1 - CI	62
Figure 15: Language portrait 2 - JN	63
Figure 16: Language portrait 3 - ZN	64
Figure 17: Language portrait 4 - JI	65
Figure 18: Language portrait 5 - NLR	66
Figure 19: Language portrait 6 - CL	67

Figure 20: Language portrait 7 - MC	70
Figure 21: Language portrait 8 - AL	70

Small and Big Stories

Small story 1: Creating a “home” away from home.....	78
Small story 2: MC’s United through Afrikaans and rugby	80
Small story 3: MC continues: languages from “home” unite.....	81
Small story 4: CI’s the colour, joy and movement of Cape English	83
Narrative 5: SS’s love for the ‘suiwer’ Afrikaans spoken by my rural family and theirs for our English	86
Big story 1: JN’s Promise, struggle and hope	88
Big story 2: P’s ... it became my mission to learn Afrikaans	92
Big story 3: ID’s Afrikaans provides emotional connection outside South Africa	94

CHAPTER 1

Background and Introduction

1.1 Background and rationale of the study

The number of South Africans living or working abroad is ever increasing as many choose to either emigrate or accept employment in so-called “first world countries”. Kotze (2004: 63) notes that the term “diaspora” has been used at times when referring to these large numbers of South African expatriates. This exodus is further accelerated by extensive marketing campaigns in the media, at expos and on the internet, where advertisements glamorise overseas employment opportunities. For example, this caption accompanying an advertisement for an expo reads as follows: “The world might consider South Africa’s natural resources to be extremely valuable, but we believe that South Africa’s most valuable assets are you ... its skilled professionals. Your skills and experience are in demand around the world ...” (Helping South Africans explore their opportunities overseas: www.workingin-events.com/events-in-south-africa/).

According to the Australian Bureau of Statistics (2007a, 2007b), South African migration to Australia has increased steadily. Hatoss, Starks and Janse van Rensburg (2011) found that South African migrants in Australia were mainly from the professional sector, immigrating under Australia’s Skilled and/or Business Migrant Scheme. Significantly, all immigrants are required to sign a statement that they will enforce the belief that English, as the lingua franca of Australia, is “an important unifying element of Australian society” (Australian Department of Immigration and Citizenship 2007). Furthermore, Statistics New Zealand (2007) recorded that South African immigrants in New Zealand increased from 2,685 to over 11,000 people in 2006. Studies by Bedford (2004) and Guerin, Cooper and Guerin (2005) note that most South African immigrants to New Zealand were of the skilled labour sector that enjoyed relatively good successful employment opportunities. In addition, Kotze (2006: 63) notes that whilst the exact number of South Africans is not known, “no-one knows how many there are already living in the United Kingdom, but evidence from a 2000 publication suggests there could be as many as 300,000” (Kotze 2004: 63).

In view of these statistics that indicate that migration from South Africa is increasing, this thesis will explore the attitudes of expatriate South Africans in the Middle East towards the Afrikaans language. It will also examine the reported language behaviour of South Africans

when meeting and interacting with fellow South Africans irrespective of what their first language (L1) is. The participants who formed part of the study all work in the educational, medical and business sectors in the Middle East. A particular focus will be placed on whether the *language repertoires* of South African expatriates are part of how they define themselves as a group and whether it has contributed to their identity construction. Additionally, this thesis is particularly interested in the position of Afrikaans within these repertoires. Afrikaans has had a contested history within the South African context, and although it has been viewed as the language of the oppressor, it has undoubtedly also been a L1 to many of the “oppressed”, and has served a function as lingua franca (McCormick 2006). This thesis focuses specifically on attitudes towards Afrikaans and the use of Afrikaans in linguistic identity construction.

From a more personal interest, I have been teaching English in a TESOL environment for the past four years, during which time I became increasingly interested in the sociolinguistic aspects exhibited by South Africans working in the Middle East, as I not only work with many South African expatriates, but also interact socially with a large number of them. I noticed an attitudinal shift from Afrikaans as “the language of the oppressor” to an Afrikaans indicative of a South African identity, and where both the standard and non-standard versions of the language are seemingly embraced by most South Africans. Since these observations were based on anecdotal evidence, I decided to conduct empirical research on this phenomenon, as the outcomes may shed some new light on theoretical aspects of language and identity.

This thesis will be based on previous research where identity was found to be dynamic and subject to constant review across space and time (Norton 2011). This study will investigate what the linguistic repertoire of each participant is (as articulated by the participants) and whether or not participants identify themselves by means of language.

1.2 Statement of the problem

New patterns of migration have often led to new patterns of interaction and new forms of language practices. South Africans have migrated to various parts of the world either as a permanent or temporary arrangement, with many returning to South Africa for short periods of time per year. The linguistic practices of various migrating groups or expatriates have only been investigated in a limited form (see Barkhuizen 2008, Olivier and Kotze 2014). These previous studies have focused almost exclusively on participants who have made the host

country their permanent home. This study is an attempt to investigate the language attitudes and language use in identity construction of a group of South Africans working in the Middle-East. The focus will be primarily (but not exclusively) on language attitudes towards Afrikaans. Not only will new knowledge be gained on language and migratory processes but also on the construction of identity.

1.3 Research questions

In order to investigate the identified gap in our knowledge, the following three research questions will guide the study:

- i) What is the preferred language of communication for a selected multilingual group of South African expatriates in the Middle East?
- ii) What kinds of attitudes are displayed by the selected group towards Afrikaans (and other languages)?
- iii) How do South African expatriates in the Middle East construct their identities and what role does the Afrikaans language play, if any, in such identity construction?

1.4 Research aims

The research aims of the thesis can be articulated in the following way:

- i) To ascertain the (reported) preferred language of communication of a selected group of South African expatriates living and working in the Middle East.
- ii) To investigate the attitudes of the selected group towards Afrikaans (and other languages).
- iii) To investigate the way in which South African expatriates in the Middle East construct their identities and what role the Afrikaans language plays in such identity construction.

1.5 Theoretical point of departure

When people grow up in a multilingual setup in which they have access to two or even more languages, they show different attitudes and degrees of motivation toward different languages. Attitude is defined by Baker (1992: 10) as “a hypothetical construct used to explain the direction and persistence of human behavior.” Appel and Muysken (1987: 16) state that attitude is “an intervening variable between a stimulus affecting a person and that person’s response”, while Crystal (1997) sees attitude as the reflection of how people feel about their own language or the language of others. What all these aforementioned definitions

agree on is that language attitude is a construct that explains the behaviour of people toward a language. The present study focused on the attitudes that a group of South African expatriates in the Middle East have toward different languages and Afrikaans in particular.

This thesis will draw on research that uses socio-historical data and investigates language attitudes (Dyers 2008, Titus 2008, Thutloa and Huddleston 2011, Anthonissen 2013). The focus will be supplemented by using post-structuralist perspectives that view practices, resources, and identities as both produced and inherited (Norton and Toohey 2011). Bekker (2005: 234) cites the importance of analysing socio-historical data by stating that it is “necessary to reach back into the past and investigate the social and political forces operating within the history of a nation”. Additionally, this study is based on a recent theoretical movement in which identity is foregrounded. In this current approach, identity is not seen as fixed but as complex, multi-voiced, multifaceted, and renegotiated across space and time (Norton 1997: 419).

Language, identity and mobility have been explored through the employment of language biographies, as these have been found to be effective in isolating metalinguistic imaging and strengthening linguistic diversity by recounting actual life experiences. This phenomenon is further reflected in Kramsch’s (2006: 99) notion that language is not just an instrument of communication, but also one that shapes us as individuals. Although some literature exists on language, identity and migration, very little published research exists on South Africans living abroad. This study will draw on various studies (Barkhuizen 2011, Barkhuizen and De Klerk 2006, Kotze 2004, Philipp and Ho 2010) including research done on migratory processes.

1.6 Methodology

This study is located in the qualitative paradigm of research. In line with the qualitative process, the data is primarily collected through focus groups and individual interviews. The interviews will be prompted by language portraits (Busch 2010) where participants will be required to colour in a body silhouette. Each colour represents a linguistic variety that they know or aspire to know. The drawings will be used to elicit narratives on language attitudes and views on language and identity.

1.6.1 Participants

The study's participants are all South Africans working and/or living in the Middle East. They were recruited through existing networks. I am part of this group and used my colleagues and friends to recruit 33 participants that fitted the profile (given in Chapter 5).

1.6.2 Research instruments

The principal data collection devices used in this study include a language portrait (Busch 2010) to prompt interviews and interactive discussions, and a background questionnaire. The questionnaires were designed to obtain metadata, which encompasses biographical information and data on language attitudes. After the completion of a language portrait, an informal personal group interview lasting 30-60 minutes was conducted yielding small stories and more in-depth narratives.

1.6.3 Data analysis

For the actual analysis of the data produced in applying the three different instruments, a combination of a theme-based multimodal discourse analysis (Pavlenko 2007) and narrative analysis (Bamberg and Georgakopoulou 2008) is used. Within the specific narrative approach chosen, participants use small stories/narratives as tools to construct their identity. They navigate either through all experiences, or key memories that impacted them and helped shape who they are or wish to be. The idea of people consciously shaping their lives is emphasised by Hall (1996) who notes that identities mutate as individuals shift their relational positions, producing a multiplicity of fragmented identities whereby they continually construct and reconstruct themselves.

1.7 Chapter outline

Following Chapter 1, Chapter 2 focuses on the sociolinguistic history of Afrikaans in a multilingual setting and how these have been investigated in different historical periods and in different theoretical frameworks. This study takes a postmodern approach with a particular focus on the complexity of a diverse multilingual society. It further reviews identity and the role that Afrikaans played in the construction of identity among various population groups in South Africa, as well as the important topical debate around standardisation and re-standardisation of the Afrikaans language. The chapter concludes with an examination of whether there is a shift away from, or maintenance of the Afrikaans language.

Chapter 3 focuses on issues relating to language, identity and migration, which include the complex phenomena of super-diversity and deterritorialisation and reterritorialisation. The chapter also includes a brief review on linguistic repertoires.

The next chapter (4) details an outline of the chosen instruments used in the collection of the data, the participants in this study, the preferred methodology, including the format used in the analysis of the data collected.

Chapter 5 contains the data analysis of the questionnaires for this study and deals with the analysis of the data to reveal the language attitudes of participants, which are then calculated and scored.

Chapter 6 presents the themes that emerged from the language portrait and interview data.

Chapter 7 provides a more in-depth analysis of narratives (both small and big stories) that emerge around Afrikaans as a language that evokes feelings and emotions of nostalgia, unity, ambivalence and contradiction.

Chapter 8 summarises and discusses the main findings of the study by looking at the attitudes to and use of language in the construction of identity in a selected group of South African expatriates living and working in the Middle East with a particular focus on the role, if any, that the Afrikaans language plays.

Finally, Chapter 9 gives an overview of the conclusions drawn from the data, and recommendations for future research areas are suggested.

CHAPTER 2

The sociolinguistic history of Afrikaans in a multilingual setting

2.1 Introduction

Prior to 1994, English and Afrikaans were the only national official languages in South Africa. This placed students whose mother tongue was English or Afrikaans at an educational advantage in comparison to the majority of South Africans who speak an African indigenous language as a home language (National Department of Education 1992). With the advent of a new political order in 1994, the promotion of previously marginalised languages became a national priority; hence the advancing and preservation of these languages became vested in the new Constitution of the Republic of South Africa (Act, No. 108 of 1996). The new language policy focused on redressing the injustices of Apartheid where English and Afrikaans were given a higher status at the expense of other languages.

The Bill of Human Rights (section 31) established the notion of languages as a fundamental human right and states that:

- i) Every person shall have the right to use the language of his/her choice.
- ii) No person shall be discriminated against on the grounds of language.
- iii) Every person has a right to insist that the state communicate with him/her at national level in the official language of his/her choice (Senate sub-committee on languages 1995).

However, due to infrastructural inequalities that remained intact long after the abolishment of the Apartheid laws, English (and, to a lesser extent, Afrikaans) continued as the language of power and social mobility. According to the 2011 census, the most common language spoken as a L1 by South Africans is Zulu (23%), followed by Xhosa (16%), and Afrikaans (14%). English is the fourth most common L1 in the country (9.6%), but is understood in most urban areas and is the dominant language in government and the media. Statistics show that while Afrikaans is the third most spoken language in South Africa, it has the broadest geographical and racial distribution of all the official South African languages. It remains the dominant language of the Northern and Western Cape Provinces with approximately 70% “Coloured”¹

¹ Adhikari (2005: 2) points out that in South Africa, “contrary to international usage, the term ‘Coloured’ does not refer to black people in general”. Rather, the term is used as a label for a varied social group with diverse cultural and geographic origins.

(3.4 million people), 60% White and 600,000 Black South Africans speaking it as their L1. Furthermore, large numbers of South African speakers of African indigenous languages as well as English-speaking South Africans also speak it as their second language. Overall, whilst post-Apartheid South Africa has seen a steady decline in the use of Afrikaans by the government in public areas such as education, social events and the media, the 2011 census figures suggest a growing number of Afrikaans speakers in all nine provinces, a total of 6.85 million in 2011 compared to 5.98 million a decade earlier.

In order to understand the current position of Afrikaans within the South African context, it is necessary to shed some light on the sociolinguistic history of Afrikaans in relation to other languages. This historical account will aim to contextualise the current study.

2.2 Origins of Afrikaans

For some time the exact origins of Afrikaans were the subject of vigorous academic debate and a number of theories of the development of the language were put forward. When the European settlers arrived on the Cape's shores in 1652, Dutch was introduced to the local people who themselves spoke a variety of different languages. The main purpose of the *Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie* (VOC) was to establish a settlement in the Cape to serve as a refreshment station for ships sailing between Europe and the East. Dutch was the dominant language as it was the language of the VOC officials. However, there were other languages spoken at the Cape such as that of the indigenous Khoekhoe (formerly known as "Bushmen"), West Germanic dialects, French, and many other languages spoken by slaves from India, Southeast Asia, West and East Africa, including the two lingua francas Creole Portuguese and Malay. Many traders, seafarers, slaves and certain VOC officials formerly from Company headquarters in Batavia were familiar with Creole Portuguese. On the other hand, Malay was widely used as a lingua franca by Southeast Asians and so continued to be used by slaves, exiles, and political prisoners from that region. This linguistic mixture gradually evolved into a local, Dutch-based pidgin spoken in the Cape area which became known as Cape Dutch or *Kaapse Hollands*. This "hybrid" linguistic variety was mainly used in Dutch households between the settlers, domestic servants (Khoikhoi and Khoesan) and their slaves (McCormick 2006: 92)

As the Dutch East Indian Company was not involved in providing any formal schooling, the spread of standard Dutch was minimal and paved the way for an unimpeded vibrant spread of Cape Dutch/*Kaapse Hollands*, which would be later standardised as Afrikaans (Roberge

2006: 16). Standard Dutch at the Cape, including that spoken by native speakers, changed considerably, a phenomenon which has been the subject of extensive research as well as divergent theories (Deumert 1999, Van Rensburg 1999, Roberge 2002). With the winds of political change came a wider acceptance of viewpoints that recognise the coexistence of different threads in the development of Afrikaans (Ponelis 1993, Van Rensburg 1999). McCormick (2006: 93) indicates that it is now accepted that uninterrupted use of mother-tongue Dutch coexisted with pidgin and second-language (L2) varieties of Dutch, functioning as *lingua francas*.

The position of Dutch (and then later Afrikaans) in South African society changed when the British took control of the Cape in 1804 and proclaimed English not only the *lingua franca* but also the language of schools and churches. This led to serious friction between Dutch settlers and the British which resulted in Anglicisation campaigns. A significant consequence of British rule was the emergence of a White Dutch ethnic identity and linguistic consciousness. As noted by Roberge (2006: 24-25), “awareness of a common language, homeland, history, and origin fostered not only group solidarity against British hegemony but [also] an inchoate sense of ethnic identity, whereby the term *Afrikaner* came to acquire a political meaning”. Thus the link between Afrikaans, race and ethnicity was set in motion. Orman (2008: 112) highlights this inextricable link between Afrikaans, whiteness and *Afrikaner* ethnicity, as well as the simultaneous exclusion of non-White speakers, where “Boeretaal” (‘Boer language’) is defined as synonymous with Afrikaans in the *Verklarende Handwoordeboek van die Afrikaanse Taal*.

According to McCormick (2006), dialect distinction continued during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries between standard and South African Dutch, as well as that spoken within southern Africa, with no curtailment of the local variation. Between 1710 and 1840 the migration by many Dutch-speaking families, known as “trekboers” (nomadic farmers), from Cape Town resulted in the formation of two other strands of Dutch/Afrikaans. These families became stock farmers and hunters, with some settling in what is now known as the Eastern Cape Province, while others moved north-west. The two main dialects that evolved as a result of the migration are reflective of the geographical movement of their speakers: *Oosgrensafrikaans* (known in English as “Eastern” Afrikaans), and North-western or *Oranjerivierafrikaans* (‘Orange River Afrikaans’; McCormick 2006: 95). It is the *Oosgrensafrikaans* dialect which came about mainly through interaction between Dutch speakers and indigenous people, particularly Khoekhoe, which formed the foundation of

standard Afrikaans. Khoekhoe speakers of Afrikaans continued north, across the Orange River and into what is now Namibia.

The late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries saw the development of yet another variety of Cape Dutch/Afrikaans in the Muslim community in Cape Town, spreading extensively during that period as a result of religious freedom. This dialect is at times referred to as “Muslim Afrikaans” (Van Rensburg, Davids, Ferreira, Links and Prinsloo 1997: 10-22). Numerous conversions to Islam took place especially among Black slaves from Mozambique, Madagascar, and other parts of East Africa. Whilst these African converts had no knowledge of Malay, they had enough knowledge of the Cape Dutch Variety (CDV) to use it as a lingua franca in the teaching of adult converts. According to Van Rensburg et al. (1997), at least one third of the population of Cape Town was Muslim by 1842, which resulted in this Cape Dutch/Afrikaans dialect having a high status as it was used for religious purposes.

More recent linguistic research (Davids 2011) has found that some of the earliest written and printed Afrikaans documents (in the 1800s) were in “Arabic-Afrikaans”, which is different from conservative Dutch. That is, Arabic letters were used to “spell out” and produce the phonetic sounds of the language that was evolving in the then Cape Colony. A well-known example is the *Bayān al-Dīn* (loosely, ‘Exposition of the Faith’) by the Kurdish scholar Abubakr Effendi, written in 1869 in Arabic/Afrikaans, who apparently taught Islam to the Muslims at the Cape (Van Rensburg et al. 1997, Davids 2011). According to Davids (2011) these manuscripts reflect what Afrikaans at the Cape at that time would have sounded like. His research provides significant insight into why the older generation in Cape Town says, e.g., “*gaseg*” (“*gesig*”/ face) and “*karrag*” (“*krag*”/ power), and explains that Arabic has fewer vowels than Afrikaans so available Arabic phonetics was used to produce sounds as close as possible to the Afrikaans vowel sounds. The Cape Muslims’ production of a written form of Afrikaans is a form of standardisation but, unlike usual standardisation processes, it did not involve any attempts to gain recognition of this variety as standard among the speakers of the other strands of the language (McCormick 2006: 97).

Empirical research and historical commentators now seem in agreement that although Dutch was responsible for the birth of the language in 1652, the eventual version called “Afrikaans” which is spoken today is the product of many different linguistic influences. Apart from many terms and phrases (both English and Portuguese) brought by sailors shipwrecked off the Cape coast, the arrival of slaves and political prisoners from Malaysia, Indonesia and Madagascar, to

name but a few, added more variety. This led to a colourful progression in this language as it mixed with already existing accents, dialects and phrases of the indigenous people such as the Hottentots (Khoi) etc. Interestingly, the Xhosa and Zulu languages also made contributions to the language as it is spoken today. The results were three main dialects, namely Cape Afrikaans (heavily influenced by Malay slaves), Orange River Afrikaans (influenced by Khoi languages, including dialects from Namakwaland and Griqua West) and Eastern Border Afrikaans spoken by immigrant settlers from the Cape (McCormick 2006: 94-95).

2.3 Afrikaans and political conflict

The obvious linguistic component of the Afrikaner nationalistic movement is noticeable in the decision to legislate Afrikaans as one of the languages of instruction in the so-called “Bantu Education” for Black people, a political choice that ignited the Soweto uprisings in 1976. This Dutch/Afrikaner linguistic agenda can be traced back to 1875 when the *Genootskap Van Regte Afrikaners* (GRA) was established in Paarl in the Western Cape with the aim of raising the status and entrenching the use of CDV/Afrikaans. They also “wished to promote Afrikaans as a language of culture alongside English and Standard Dutch” (Ponelis 1993: 52). In 1910, eight years after the end of the Anglo Boer war, a political agreement was reached whereby Dutch was made a co-official language with English throughout South Africa. The outcome was Afrikaans as medium of instruction in state schools by 1914 and official national status alongside English in 1925 (McCormick 2006: 99).

The period of 1948-1994, known as the “Apartheid era”, saw both Afrikaans and English as compulsory subjects in all South African schools. The Bantu Education Act of 1953 stipulated that Afrikaans had to be studied as a language in Black schools and, with effect from 1955, be used as the medium of instruction for certain subjects. Furthermore, Broederbond² circulars to its members in the late 1960s and early 1970s indicated that Afrikaans was to be strongly promoted among Blacks to further economic aims as well as counter the dominance of English, which had been the main language of education in the country since 1822. Wilkins and Strydom (1978) refer to a 1968 circular, entitled “Afrikaans as a Second Language for the Bantu”, and cites the following: “The contention is that the Bantu must learn one of the official languages as second language. The other official language can be a third language which he does not necessarily have to know as well as the second language. This second language must be Afrikaans...” (Wilkins and Strydom 1978: 228-229)

² The Afrikaner Broederbond (AB) (meaning Afrikaner Brotherhood) or Broederbond was a secret, organisation in South Africa which wished to achieve the advancement of Afrikaner interests.

It became clear that proficiency in the Afrikaans language did not lead to equal rights for all. It is estimated that half of the native speakers of Afrikaans came from the “Coloured” community, yet they did not enjoy equal rights with their White counterparts. Blacks and Asians were similarly denied access to equal opportunities in education, the workplace and most domains (McCormick 2006: 101). For many South Africans, standard Afrikaans was synonymous with control and exclusion, and its enforcement as a medium of instruction in schools was resented by them (Zietsman 1992: 200).

The Apartheid divide-and-rule policy ensured that different linguistic groups were placed in different locations, hence ensuring that their contact with people from other groups were limited. The separate system of education for Blacks was linguistically limited as the African languages never reached beyond the sixth year of school. Understandably, Blacks objected to this policy from the start as they wanted to learn English as a language of wider communication. A new policy was adopted in 1955 incorporating both English and Afrikaans on an equal basis in schools (Marjorie 2010). This initiative, successful in only 26% of schools, collapsed as there were only a few Black teachers proficient in Afrikaans due to Black teacher education being in English only. This fuelled the people’s hatred of Apartheid and of Afrikaans as the “language of the oppressor”, and erupted in Soweto in 1976. Protests were initiated by the dismissal of a school board who resisted the imposition of Afrikaans. These protests sporadically spilled over to the other schools, supported by teachers, parents, and students. Marjorie (2010) notes that on 16 June 1976, approximately 15,000 students marched in the streets carrying banners with slogans such as “Blacks are not dustbins - Afrikaans stinks”. A police confrontation followed, leaving 172 dead, many of whom were children.

It is widely believed that it was the resentment of Black students at having to study in Afrikaans that sparked the Soweto uprising of 1976. The death of many marchers at the hands of the police provided unintended momentum which culminated into a national uprising in major urban areas, drawing the support of the oppressed masses of all sectors which focused on political issues (Wilkins and Strydom 1978, Zietsman 1992, Van Rensburg 1999). Van Rensburg (1999: 82) states that “for Afrikaans, post-apartheid South Africa began here”.

In post-Apartheid South Africa, Afrikaans has retained its status as official language (albeit it now being on par with 10 other languages). Moreover, in 2007, Afrikaans was the second most common language of instruction (after English) in primary and secondary schools, with

12% of learners studying through the medium of Afrikaans. At a symbolic level, however, Afrikaans continues to be viewed by much of the public as the “language of the oppressor” (Roberge 2006: 33).

2.3 Afrikaans and the construction of identity

Van der Waal (2012) notes that since 1948, the language classified as “Afrikaans” and people identified as “Afrikaners” had been heavily contested as a result of variations in the Afrikaans language, collective identity claims of other-than-White speakers of Afrikaans, and the nationalist, racist apartheid ideology. At the height of Afrikaner nationalism in 1975, a monument was erected in Paarl to honour the Afrikaans language as the core symbol of White Afrikaans speakers. Ironically, a short distance away, the devastated District Six was juxtaposed in the Western Cape landscape as the “veiled monument against racial segregation, even an anti-monument against the association between the standard form of Afrikaans and ethno and racial nationalism. District Six also symbolised the Creole form of Afrikaans and its code-mixing with English” (Van der Waal 2012: 2).

According to Appel and Muysken (1990: 23), “the identity imposed by one’s group membership is a crucial factor for language choice”. The South African population is fraught with cultural diversity where various diverse groups speak different languages. The country represents a situation where the diversity of identities was engineered to be viewed as separate and distinct “both by 300 years of colonialism and by the apartheid regime of more than 40 years” (Dyers 2008: 51). This was done systematically in a system of separate development for all race groups under the Apartheid divide-and-rule policy (1948-1994). As Afrikaans was the language of the Apartheid state, and an instrument of oppression used by the White rulers, it became known as “the language of the oppressor”. Whilst the Afrikaner claimed ownership of the Afrikaans language, it lost sight of the fact that it was also the mother tongue of the majority of people classified as “Cape Coloured” during the Apartheid era in South Africa. The Western Cape is home to most “Coloureds”, where 49.7% of the population speak Afrikaans as mother tongue, 23% whose mother tongue is Xhosa and 19% with English as L1 (South African Population Census 2011). Varying levels of bilingualism in Afrikaans and English (from “mainly English” in some suburbs to “mainly Afrikaans” in others) are displayed in this grouping, including multilingualism in Afrikaans, English and Xhosa, according to their levels of literacy, education and location. Many “Cape Coloureds” share ancestry with South Africa’s earliest inhabitants, the San and the Khoe, as well as European settlers including those from Asia and broader Africa who were brought to the Cape shores as

political prisoners and slaves by the Dutch, French and English colonists. It is precisely because of the linguistic interaction from these diverse groups that Cape Dutch (later Afrikaans) evolved (Malan 1996: 127). It is said that language plays an intrinsic role in defining who we are, as it highlights our identity to other members of our particular speech community. This is emphasised by Joseph (2006: 39) who says that “we read the identity of people with whom we come into contact based on very subtle features of behaviour, among which those of language are particularly central”.

In briefly considering the identities attached to languages in South Africa, it is interesting to note that what constitutes an Afrikaner, isiXhosa, Indian, etc. ethnicity, has had little basis in reality. This is emphasised by Herbert (1992: 2) who says that colonial South Africa has seen “the development of a myth of linguistically and culturally homogenous communities within Southern Africa. Commitment to this view has been so strong that it has entailed the *creation* of ethnic groups and the concomitant creation of ‘standard’ languages that are then claimed to reflect the identity of the ethnic group”. Herbert (1992) further notes that in ongoing discourse around the future of South African languages, “the diversity subsumed under the various languages and the fluid boundaries that often exist between the various so-called ethnic groups” are not given its due relevance. Reiterating the same ideas as Herbert (1992), Paulston (1994: 31, cited in Bekker 2005: 235) notes that “[...] ethnicity will not maintain a language in a multilingual setting if the dominant group allows assimilation, and incentive and opportunity of access to the second language [...] are present”. Accordingly, we should expect that shifts will take place among the various race groups, at least among those who have access to English.

Dyers (2008: 5) reports that, irrespective of a reported shift to English in the middle class families (see e.g. Titus 2008), most “Coloured” people in the Western Cape continue to speak Afrikaans as their mother tongue, and the language remains a key component of their ethnolinguistic identity. It is further pointed out by Stone (1995: 277-281) that the socio-political history of South Africa provided the foundation for the development of “Coloureds” as a group with a distinctive identity that differentiates them from White Afrikaners who share their language. Unlike their White counterparts however, they did not display the same “emotional investment in keeping the language pure” (McCormick 1989: 206).

Linguistic mixing of English and Afrikaans in Cape Town as well as in other parts of South Africa is visible in the local varieties of both languages (McCormick 1995: 203). McCormick (1995) points out that location, education and different role models all steer these varieties of

vernacular Afrikaans spoken by “Coloured” people throughout South Africa. Many “Coloureds” have shown a close affinity with the works of poet and playwright Adam Smal, who writes in 1960s “Cape Flats” Afrikaans. Other examples where this vernacular variety is currently used in oral performing arts is the popular music of rap and hip-hop artists (e.g. Brasse vannie Kaap, Prophets of Da City), as well as successful theatrical productions like *Joe Barber* and, more recently, *Afrikaaps*. Stone (1995: 280) believes that “the dialect is beloved by its speakers as the sacramental marker of communal membership and a vehicle of intimacy and love”. However, despite the fact that the “Coloured” community shows awareness of the lesser status in relation to standard Afrikaans, it still appears to occupy a certain status and vibrancy among the poor, working-class townships of the Cape Flats (Dyers 2008: 54).

The advent of democracy in South Africa in 1994 had far-reaching implications for all the citizens of South Africa, including the White population group. A majority became a minority and vice versa, engineering serious socio-political changes. When there is a significant change in the social, political and cultural conditions of an individual, a revision of his or her identity is imminent. Such movement may occur out of choice or when the social matrix changes and necessitates the individual’s move from one position to another (Breakwell 1986). It is the latter kind of change that applies to the position of Afrikaans-speaking Whites in South Africa post-1994 where they are now disposed of exclusive privileges and reduced conditions wrought with affirmative action and land restitution. Such a situation demands that individuals and groups review themselves anew. Accordingly, Breakwell (cited in Korf and Malan 2010: 150) comments that the outcome of such a review may result in new in-group norms or “criteria for inclusion in or exclusion from the group”. The theoretical study of language and identity will be more extensively discussed in the following chapter.

2.4 Afrikaans and recent socio-political change

After 1980, the status afforded to standard Afrikaans was challenged by many Afrikaans speakers who called for a drastic review of the socio-political order. The Soweto uprising of 1976 saw a continuous flow of political upheaval in many Black and “Coloured” schools and continued through the 1980s. Demands were mainly centred on the need for alternative media of instruction and materials which would counter the prevalent state ideology and assist to develop students’ critical faculties. A group of individuals known as the “Alternative Education Movement” in the Western Cape came to the fore, advocating that Afrikaans was an essential part of the struggle for liberation and that its appropriation by White nationalist

Afrikaners as an Apartheid symbol should be defied. Alternative Afrikaans educational materials were developed which included the historical information of the linguistic contributions made by the indigenous people, slaves, etc. to the development of Afrikaans (McCormick 2006: 103). Most urban state schools allowed the use of these materials even though they did not form part of the official curriculum. Calls went unheeded to make Afrikaans more palatable among the oppressed masses by restandardising it using Kaaps, the dialect spoken mostly by “Coloured” people in the Western Cape.

As noted by McCormick (2006), public performance in Kaaps increased on political platforms although keynote addresses were usually in English. It was also the medium used for many local protest drama performances and became a very effective vehicle for social comment and criticism (an example is the 1987 musical, *District Six* by Taliep Petersen and David Kramer). The 1980s was also the period in which growing numbers of young White Afrikaners began distancing themselves from the Apartheid ideology of perceived linguistic ownership and privilege by incorporating borrowings of Black township slang and English in public performances such as in rock music. Among musicians at this time, where lyrics defied the state establishment both in form and subject matter through the use of humour and satire, were Johannes Kerkorrel, Koos Kombuis, and Bernoldus Niemand (McCormick 200: 104). These alternative Afrikaans movements had the common goal of highlighting the power of the Afrikaans language as an effective medium to counter and undermine the Nationalist government. The period after 1994 has seen a lessening of the divide between traditional Afrikaners and the previously oppressed, and they began forging relationships in political parties with a noticeable acceptance of non-standard Afrikaans speakers.

Furthermore, with the advent of globalisation, the focus increasingly shifted towards the appreciation of diversity in all its forms, including linguistic diversity. Odendaal (2013: 184) asks whether “a language variety which only serves the economic, social and political elite of a speech community still has a role to play in a democratic society? Or should we accept that this will inevitably lead to the destandardisation of languages?” This was of course against the backdrop of calls from the many Afrikaans speech groups that standard Afrikaans should include all other non-standard varieties of the language. This view was put forward earlier by Senekal (1984) who advocated that credence be given not only to all speakers of Afrikaans, but also to all non-standard varieties, as this would facilitate a more inclusive relationship between Afrikaans and all its speakers. The fact that Standard Afrikaans was merely one of many varieties of the language was further pointed out by others (Alexander 1990, Ponelis

1992). This movement towards realigning the Afrikaans language was undoubtedly focused on trying to correct the racist linguistic injustice with regard to the large majority of speakers of Afrikaans. Odendaal (2013) refers to Prinsloo's (1987) notion of the 'depoliticisation of Standard Afrikaans' and equates it to Willemse's (2009) belief that all languages are linked to politics. This goes to the heart of the Afrikaans language that had been inextricably linked to a nationalist ideology, with its depoliticisation now being dependent on the attitude of all members of the Afrikaans community.

The symbolic nature of a standard language with regard to national unity, solidarity, social identity and prestige cannot be ignored, and so the debate has moved on to whether Afrikaans should be "destandardised or restandardised" Kotze explains (2009) that in order for a language to be restandardised, it first has to be destandardised, focusing on different language norms and uses. Such a process becomes necessary to balance social difficulties experienced by a certain social group (or groups) and not necessarily as a response to linguistic shortcomings or needs (Wade 1996: 62). This brings into context Willemse's (2009) notion that no language can be devoid of politics as restandardisation clearly involves a socio-political process. Deumert (2000: 384) defines the restandardisation process as "deliberate, conscious, and future-oriented activities aimed at influencing the linguistic repertoire and behaviour of speech communities", which has as its end goal a linguistic change in both the language and its speakers. Further reference (Odendaal 2013: 194) is made to Webb's (1997) view that language be seen as a resource in the process of democratisation, as this could stem the tide of stigmatisation of non-standard vernaculars and the negative effects on its speakers, such as linguistic uncertainty, negative self-image and scholastic failure. The ultimate aim of restandardisation is thus to enable an instrument of reconciliation in a previously shunned and oppressed speech community by serving the interests of all the speakers.

2.5 Maintenance or shift away from Afrikaans

According to Myers-Scotton (2006: 90), various societal, in-group and individual factors have a bearing on language maintenance. Dyers (2008: 55) states that "language maintenance happens when a language continues to be used across all generations regardless of the presence of other languages that are used by a community". A concept often used as the opposite of language maintenance is language shift which refers to "the replacement of one language by another as the primary means of communication and socialisation within a community" (Mesthrie, Swann, Deumert and Leap 2000: 253). Kamwangamalu (2007) believes that a language shift from indigenous African languages to English usually occurs

when individuals are driven by the need for upward social mobility with a view to better employment opportunities. Some studies have also reported this to be the case for language shift from Afrikaans to English (Anthonissen 2009). However, the investigation of language shift in Afrikaans speaking communities seems to be complex, specifically depending on the region and socio-economic profile of the participants (see e.g. Anthonissen and George 2003, Dyers 2008, Farmer 2008, Anthonie 2009, Anthonissen 2009). Thutloa and Huddleston (2011) found in the investigation of language shift in two semi-urban Western Cape “Coloured” communities that whilst most participants acknowledged the important economic status of English, Afrikaans remains a strong index of identity in these two communities. These findings are in line with earlier research done by Dyers (2007, 2008) on the importance of vernacular Afrikaans in working class “Coloured communities”. Dyers (2007: 97) highlights the resilience of home languages amidst strong languages of wider communication where people continue to identify forcefully with their L1s precisely because it enhances their personal and group identities or is a marker of their ethnolinguistic distinctiveness. The next chapter discusses the theoretical study of language and identity in more detail.

CHAPTER 3

Language, identity and migration

3.1 Introduction

Language and identity have increasingly been investigated in relation to migration, especially since the world has seemed to become more globalised. According to Thim-Mabrey (2003) (cited in Schmidt 2006: 15), linguistic identity is defined as the features of a particular language which sets it apart from other languages, yet also refers to the identity of an individual in relation to his/her language or any language. Thus identity through language denotes “the identity of persons insofar as it is constituted or co-constituted through language and language use”. Tabouret-Keller (1998, cited in Mills 2005) contends that identity is both a social construct, characterised by objective features (such as language), and a personal, subjective construct, characterised by individual mental processes and choices. Individual choices in terms of language can therefore be far more varied than those of the group to whom the individual belongs, depending on his/her particular circumstances and environment. The role that language plays in shaping identity cannot be underestimated as it instantly connects individuals of the speech community. This is emphasised by Joseph (2006: 39), who said that “we read the identity of people with whom we come into contact based on very subtle features of behaviour, among which those of language are particularly central”.

Currently, debates about identity are centred on important issues such as globalisation, migration, exclusion and inclusion, to name a few, in what Hall (1996:4) describes as the so-called “post-colonial world”. Hall (1996: 4-6) believes that the essence of identity is nestled in our using our history, language and culture to focus not on “who we are” or “where we come from”, but to work towards what we might become, how we have been projected and how this influences how we might represent ourselves (Hall 1996: 6). We thus shape our identities from opportunities that we are given in terms of our social positioning, such as experiences, encounters, and options for action (Lemke 2008: 21).

The chapter will follow researchers such as Hall (1996) and Lemke (2008), and will specifically discuss language and identity (in the context of migration) from a post-structuralist perspective.

3.2 Post-structuralist views of language and identity

According to Norton and Toohey (2011: 416), post-structuralist researchers view practices, resources, and identities as both produced and inherited. Bourdieu's (1991) investigation into language, for example, was particularly centred on how linguistic varieties shape identity in social classes and communities, and how these varieties become identity markers in social interaction. Bourdieu's (1991) point of departure is based on the well-known concepts of 'habitus' and 'capital' which are linked to social interaction within the class structure. According to Bourdieu (2000: 138), the habitus is a set of durable dispositions which cause people to act and respond to things based on their life experiences. He believed that these dispositions are founded as a result of experiences acquired in specific social conditions since childhood. Identity is seen by Bourdieu (1991) as being constructed by social interaction and social structures, which constrict identities of individuals due to the unequal power relations between them. He (1991) thus links linguistic competence as a form of cultural capital to social class and habitus, and believes that people would only learn another language if proficiency therein will result in increased symbolic and material resources, and in so doing, increase their cultural capital.

Another social theorist who greatly influenced how language and identity are conceptualised is Russian literary theorist Mikhail Bakhtin (1981, 1984, 1986) "who saw language not as a set of idealized forms independent of their speakers or their speaking, but rather as situated utterances in which speakers, in dialogue with others, struggle to create meanings" (Norton and Toohey 2011: 418). Unlike Bourdieu, Bakhtin sees language as open-ended discourse, consisting of diverse and conflicting voices, "for no matter how languages are conceived, they all represent particular points of view of the world" (Bakhtin 1981: 293). The influence of Bakhtin's theories of dialogism, heteroglossia and multivoicedness on many of the new approaches to language cannot be ignored. Furthermore, the relevance of Bakhtin's (1981: 271-272) utterances regarding the conflict between standard unified languages and a diversity of languages and styles in a South African context cannot be overstated. Bakhtin speaks of language that evolves into linguistic dialects as well as being socio-ideological instruments of various social groups. According to Bakhtin (1981), dialogism facilitates connections between the many voices of people in their everyday lives and the political, historical and ideological contexts in which they find themselves. In this way their identity becomes multivoiced, as they are operating through a variety of voices and engaging in varied discourses, resulting in the emergence of knowledge (Busch 2010: 2).

In the feminist post-structuralist tradition, Christine Weedon (1987, 1997), subscribed to the same views as Bakhtin and Bourdieu with regard to the issues of assigned individual and group identity positions in assessing how language practices are valued. According to Weedon (1997: 28), language is the instrument via which the individual constructs “her subjectivity”, and sees this as “the conscious and unconscious thoughts and emotions of the individual, her sense of herself, and her ways of understanding her relation to the world” (1997: 28). She cleverly draws attention to the “subjective” nature of relationships, where individuals are either holders of power or subject to it. Weedon believes that it is in these social relationships that individual identities are constructed. Norton and Toohey (2011: 418) note that Weedon, like Foucault (1980), suggests that “subjectivity is discursively constructed, and is always socially and historically embedded”.

Post-structuralist theories have to a large extent been instrumental in the way in which language and identity is viewed in relation to power and politics in society (Blackledge and Pavlenko 2001: 249). These thoughts are echoed by Van Lier’s (2002: 158) utterance that identity is inextricably linked to language as it is both “shaped by the context and at the same time shapes the context”, hence interpreting identity as multi-dimensional, dynamic and subject to change. These postmodern approaches to language and identity have to a large extent been built on theories put forth by Bourdieu and Bakhtin, placing emphasis on the multiplicity and hybridity of identities. Whilst these are not new ideas, they increasingly echo prevalent issues regarding globalisation, migration and mobility.

Furthermore, current discussions of identity are firmly located on the stage of globalisation where issues surrounding migration, exclusion and inclusion, among others, have become topical and pertinent, referred to by Hall (1996: 4) as the so-called “post-colonial world”. Hall (1996: 6) believes that the reality of identities is born out of history, language and culture working in tandem of becoming rather than being: not “who we are” or “where we come from” but what we might become. He thus alludes to the idea that it is at the point of engaging in discourse where identities are formed and emerge as the products of highlighting difference and exclusion.

Postmodernism further contributed the notion of ‘human agency’ to the sociological framework. According to this view, individuals construct their identities from the options afforded them by their social positioning, such as their experiences, encounters, and room for manoeuvring (Lemke 2008: 21). In this way, identity is able to intercede between positionality, which is changeable depending on prevailing “power, resources, expectations,

beliefs, values, opportunities etc, and the habitus of embodied dispositions found in enduring cultural and social systems of belief, values and meaning-making” (Lemke 2008: 21).

3.3 Approaches within post-structuralist views of language and identity

Although post-structuralist accounts of language and identity share a focus on identity as constructed, constantly changing, and multifaceted, within this tradition different ways of studying identity exists. While some have focussed on the identity as created through social interaction (Bucholtz and Hall 2005), others have focused on the use of narratives (e.g. Bamberg 2011) as a form of identity construction or have emphasised a linguistic repertoire approach (Busch 2010). In this section, a brief account of these different approaches will be given.

3.3.1 Identity as the social positioning of self and other

A number of researchers, such as Bucholtz and Hall (2005), have suggested that the analytical value of viewing identity as a relational and sociocultural phenomenon emergent and circulatory in every day discourse scenarios should not be underestimated. According to Bucholtz and Hall (2005), instead of viewing identity as a stable entity found in the individual psyche or in fixed social categories, researchers should draw on the different insights from various fields of study as this will facilitate an understanding of identity that will obviate assumptions about identity often left implicit in scholarship. Acknowledging the vast scope of such scholarly research, they have tendered the open-ended definition of identity as “the social positioning of self and other” (Bucholtz and Hall 2005: 586).

Bucholtz and Hall (2005: 588-605) suggest that the analysis of identity which emerges as a result of linguistic interaction is based on the following premises, among others:

The emergence principle

Identity should be viewed as the product of linguistic and other semiotic practices as it is founded through social action, especially language. It is thus a social and cultural rather than a psychological phenomenon. Here, it is important to take cognisance of identity emergence in situations where the speaker’s language does not conform to its usual social category and breaks away from existing notions of linguistic ownership. Although it is accepted that an individual’s sense of self is an important element of identity, researchers such as Johnstone (1996) have found that the only way that such social self-conceptions come into being is through some form of discourse.

The positionality principle

According to this principle, identity does not merely constitute a collection of broad social categories, but often has its basis in macro identity categories such as gender and social class. This suggests that identity is developed via discourse in the temporary role that the participant may occupy at a given point in time.

The partialness principle

This principle suggests that identity is inherently relational and thus always partial and formed through contextually-situated and ideologically-based impressions of self and other. Here, intentional versus habitual identity, semi-conscious identity partially as a product of interactional negotiation flowing from others' perceptions and representations, and an outcome of larger ideological processes and structures are explored.

Other research which has investigated language and identity in this way is the work of Ben Rampton. According to Rampton (1995: 485), research in the area of sociolinguistics has generally not taken into account two pertinent processes. The first involves ways in which a person either adopts another's ethnicity or becomes a part of them and creates a new one. The second refers to the commonly held view that socialisation in sociolinguistics is seen as "enculturation into an in-group" rather than a consequence of acquiring a liking for those living with social and/or ethnic differences. This practice is called "language crossing" ("code crossing", "crossing") and involves code alternation by people who are not accepted members of the group associated with the second language that they are using. This kind of switching involves a distinct sense of movement across social or ethnic boundaries and raises issues of legitimacy which, in one way or another, participants need to negotiate in the course of their encounter. Rampton (1995: 486-492) mentions two processes that have generally been overlooked in sociolinguistics. The prevailing approaches to ethnicity have tended to neglect the processes through which individuals can either adopt someone else's ethnicity, or get together with them and create a new one. Socialisation in sociolinguistics is most commonly seen as enculturation into an in-group, not as a process of learning to like and live with social and ethnic difference.

3.3.2 Narration and its contribution to self and identity

Bamberg (2011: 8-9) investigates narratives as tools for identity construction and identity analysis. He focuses on three challenges within which identity is negotiated, namely a successful diachronic navigation between constancy and change, the establishment of a

synchronic connection between self and other, and a person-to-world versus world-to-person direction of fit. Bamberg (2011) points out here that the sequence of events in people's lives is not necessarily fixed and may change over time, causing drastic changes in an individual's life. The telling of these stories connects one's early years to the later ones, placing subsequent events and their impact on how it shapes one's perception of "self" and "identity" under a transparency. Here, the focus is on those events that "qualify as formative or transformative for the emergence of identity". This navigation process does not only place a strong reliance on culturally available symbolic tools, but is also connected to whether the individual's "lived-in space" reflects a continuity of the sameness or changes direction into things new and different.

Busch (2011b: 544) sees linguistic diversity as normal in an atmosphere of recent global mobility and transmigration. Here, the use of language biographies is an avenue to promote metalinguistic reflection and empower linguistic diversity when an individual is able to talk about his/her language experiences and their contexts of use (Mossakowski and Busch 2008: 3). Participants become aware of the instruments of expression at their disposal and, at the same time, linguistic diversity and multilingualism are strengthened. These biographies also assist in deciphering individual and societal relations with regard to language choice, language change and language identity (Bristowe 2013: 3). This is in agreement with Kramsch's (2006: 99) statement that a language is more than a code – it is a system through which we make sense of things and construct ourselves (Kramsch 2006: 99). Bamberg (2011: 3) explains that whilst biographical approaches (big story research) have widely contributed to the research of identity by examining the relationship between narrative and life, they have traditionally confined themselves to literary analysis. Bamberg (2011) proposes small story research as an avenue to bridge the gap in traditional approaches. Small stories focus on inconsistencies in the construction of self and others (see Chapter 4 which explores small stories as an analytical approach).

3.3.3 The Linguistic Repertoire revisited

Busch (2012: 2) emphasises the relevance of post-structuralist approaches to the notion of a 'linguistic repertoire', and introduces the notion of 'language portraits' as a basis for researching the way in which speakers conceive and represent their heteroglossic repertoires. Initially, the idea of a "linguistic repertoire" referred to "the totality of linguistic resources (i.e. including both invariant forms and variables) available to members of particular communities" (Gumperz 1986: 20-21, cited in Bristowe 2013: 3). Among other research of

note in the area of language repertoires is Norton's (1995, 2000) investigation into immigrant language learners in Canada, and Busch's (2011) investigation of heteroglossia and heterogeneity in a school in Vienna, with 87% of the learners having a migrational background. These studies show how people use language and linguistic varieties in general to position themselves and are in turn moulded by their very use.

Gumperz (1968: 72) introduced the notion of 'repertoire', defining it as the "totality of dialectal and superposed variants employed within a community". As such, repertoires could be used as an analytical concept to establish the relationships between the constituents of a community and its socio-economic complexity. A recent way to talk about repertoires is that of "translanguaging", which Garcia (2009: 377) refers to as "an approach to bilingualism that is centred, not on the constructed notion of standard languages, but on the practices of bilinguals that are readily observable". The notion of 'translanguaging' is taken further by Busch (2011: 1) who contends that learning situations in which the "polyphony of voices" is treated both as a resource and an asset has become essential. Accordingly, contemporary studies into second language learning views language repertoires as part of a larger pool of linguistic instruments and strategies which can be adjusted in line with the systems or social relationships wherein participants interact.

3.4 Language identity and migration

There is a general acknowledgment that there are more people migrating than ever before (Bedford 2004; Hatoss et al. 2011; Ho, Guerin, Cooper and Guerin 2005). Vertovec (2007) coined the concept of 'superdiversity' to refer to more people moving to more places in new ways. This concept highlights the need for fresh approaches in the way that multiculturalism is viewed by considering the fluidity and complexity of developing diversity in an advanced age of mobility and transnational communication. Arnaut (2012: 2) notes that this line of thought also forms the basis of Latour's (2010: 474) "theory of compositionism" which suggests that this new world order will have to be built "from utterly heterogeneous parts that will never make a whole, but at best a fragile, revisable, and diverse composite material". As explained by Arnaut (2012), Wolf (1964: 96-97) argued that anthropologists need to abandon simplicity, predictability, and stagnation, and instead come to grips with the "variability and complexity of human life". The level of grappling with human agency and creativity in a "finite yet limitless" world has been increasing since the 1990s. These notions of migration hold implications for language as well.

Much has been documented about the history of English and Afrikaans in the South African context yet little is known about the attitudes and ideologies that South Africans attach to these languages in diasporic contexts. Hatoss et al. (2011) investigate the dynamics of English and Afrikaans in a South African migrant context in Australia. The focus in the study by Hatoss et al. (2011) is primarily on the use of home language, attitudes towards English and Afrikaans accents, and identity labels. Findings in this research paper highlight ways in which these two languages compete for space in a semi-urban English-speaking diasporic context. This study brings pertinent issues regarding the link between identity and multilingualism to the fore, with particular reference to Afrikaans as L1 and English as spoken in South Africa and Australia by South African migrants.

In a similar study, Kotze (2004) found a notable language shift in the South African diaspora in the United Kingdom. For this group, speaking Afrikaans is mostly reserved for interaction with relatives and friends living in the host country or those back in South Africa. Later findings by Barkhuizen and Knoch (2005) confirm this trend in “linguistic longing” in the New Zealand Afrikaans community. In addition, Barkhuizen’s (2006) study highlights the phenomenon that children of recent immigrants were experiencing problems in retaining Afrikaans. The study primarily used narratives by participants which cited language erosion, code-mixing and the shift to English in communication between children in child-child interactions.

Vigouroux (2008) points out how diverse a community of migrants might be by investigating Francophone migrants in Cape Town. She believes that the Francophone identity continues to develop and evolve mainly due to these migrants’ exposure to the socio-political context of post-Apartheid South Africa, where the migrants situate themselves in relation to the native Black South Africans and to the non-Black populations. The new democratic South African Government of 1994 made African immigration possible, necessitated due to the wars in Rwanda, Burundi and the Congos, to name but a few. According to Vigouroux (2008: 418-424), this group is varied with many having only secondary school education and about a third with a university qualification, among which are some wealthy Cameroonian businessmen. This is unlike global South African migrants who are generally skilled professionals (Ho 2010, Phillip and Ho 2012). Findings Vigouroux’s (2008) study suggest that these migrants’ claim to a Francophone identity in such an adverse environment may be considered a defence mechanism against certain hostile conditions rather than part of a linguistic and cultural identity. These migrants also preferred to live and socialise with people from their country of origin, acting as support groups (for example, collecting necessary funds to repatriate bodies of loved

ones) and organizing cultural events such as soccer matches with other migrant groups. The Francophones in Vigouroux's (2008) study share similarities in the linguistic choices made by migrants globally (such as South Africans; see Hatoss et al. 2011; Kotze 2004; Barkhuizen 2005, 2006) in that the mother tongue of the former (in this case French) is not necessarily the preferred choice, and that English, albeit a poor command of it in many cases, is used. Another commonality with the previously mentioned studies is the fact that this group uses a high degree of code switching in French and English which may be indicative of many migrants obtaining residence permits, marrying South Africans or creating work stability. Hoffman (1991: 110) defines code switching as "the alternate use of two languages within the same utterance or during the same conversation".

Barkhuizen (2008) investigates what it is that Afrikaans-speaking immigrants to New Zealand miss about speaking Afrikaans post-immigration. The focus in this study is on the participants' emotional responses to little exposure to and opportunities for using Afrikaans, and the possible consequences of these circumstances, coining the phrase "linguistic longing". The study also explores the strategies implemented by the participants to deal with this longing. The study was about 28 Afrikaans-speaking White South African immigrants in New Zealand between the ages 16 and 75. These participants all lived in the country for a length of time spanning four months to 14 years. All interviews were semi-structured with elicitation focusing on issues regarding participants' linguistic background in South Africa, their language use and language-related experiences in New Zealand, including whether they conceived of an identity change, if any. The majority of the participants said that they missed particular things about the Afrikaans language since immigrating to New Zealand, including communicating in Afrikaans. They also yearned for certain aspects of South African and Afrikaans cultural life which they believed played an important psychological part in their emotional stability and securing their sense of identity during their socialisation into a new culture.

3.4.1 Linguistic demands on migration

Dong (2012) examines class (re)stratification of the contemporary Chinese society through the use of various semiotic resources by a group of "elite migrants" who are highly mobile within the country as well as globally. The semiotic resources at this group's disposal are their "linguistic repertoire of mobility and the in-group discourses that flag their social distinction" (Dong 2012: 37). In line with Bourdieu's (1984) definition of a middle class identity which is reflective of distinctive activities and a heightened class consciousness, this group engages in activities or "voices" that showcase their acquisition of Saab cars as an indicator of their

social status. By 2009, the group brand is broadened to include a preference for playing golf, travelling abroad frequently, smoking cigars, collecting wine, and acquiring foreign academic qualifications. The language repertoire of this group is centred on Putonghua as a common platform of effective communication nationally, and the English language as their international linguistic standard of mobility.

The realities around the so-called “equal opportunities policies” was the focus of a study by Roberts (2012), which shed light on the linguistic demands of the formal interview that penalises many prospective migrants. Whilst these selection processes were designed to meet the needs of divergent societies and employment sectors, it invariably became tools of exclusion for those who did not demonstrate the necessary competence in certain areas such as institutional talk, specialised reasoning and inferencing that reflects an understanding of the corporate world. Roberts (2012: 52) notes that these gate-keeping interviews are no more than regulatory measures for migrants seeking asylum. Dong’s (2012) study confirmed the position by Roberts that certain selection and interviewing criteria are geared towards the creation of class inequality at professional levels where ethnicity may either be irrelevant or not attended to. In these instances, the role of linguistic penalties is to create different hierarchical strata with the ultimate goal of producing inequality in the employment sector. This is drawn from Bourdieu’s (1991) belief that such linguistic penalties ride on the back of the “capitalisation of language and the valuing and (re)production of certain types of symbolic, and specifically linguistic, capital” (Roberts 2012: 53).

Deleuze and Guattari’s (2004, cited by Milani and Shaikjee (2013: 86)) concepts of ‘deterritorialization’ and ‘reterritorialization’ shed further light on identity, language and space. Milani and Shaikjee (2013) refer to Patton’s (2010: 143) definition of “deterritorialization” as the process through which “something departs from a given territory, where territory can be a system of any kind: conceptual, linguistic, social, or affective”. On the other hand, reterritorialization “refers to the ways in which deterritorialized elements recombine and enter in the new relations in the constitution of a new assemblage or the modification of the old”. The essence of deterritorialization and reterritorialization is aptly captured in acclaimed South African writer/poet/activist Breyten Breytenbach’s utterance, that even though he lived in exile for decades and became a French citizen, he still viewed South Africa as “home” in spite of having “departed” from it (Fourie 2010, cited by Shaikjee and Milani 2013: 86). Perhaps it is precisely the physical/geographical severance from South Africa that enables him to review Afrikaans and infuse it with new meaning. As explained by

Patton (2010: 143), it is through deterritorialization and reterritorialization that people were, in a sense, able to shake the shackles of an Apartheid-Afrikaans and begin a new journey where a depoliticised Afrikaans was proudly engaged in around present South African migrant space.

In this chapter, I have located my study broadly within the realm of global diversity and migration research (section 3.4). The literature on identity explained in this chapter highlights the movement towards narrative as a pivotal means of negotiating self-coherence and belonging. Narrative is viewed as a broader discourse unit in which we assess and position ourselves in interaction. Finally, important scholarly views on language in use and identity were examined to better facilitate understanding of how migrants construct belonging.

CHAPTER 4

Research methodology

4.1 Introduction

This study adopts a qualitative research methodology. Qualitative research involves the collection, analysis and interpretation of data by observing what people do and say. It is relatively subjective and uses various methods of collecting information such as individual, in-depth interviews and focus groups (Copi 1994). The nature of this type of research is exploratory and open-ended where small numbers of people are interviewed in-depth and/or a relatively small number of focus groups are conducted. Qualitative studies are based on an inductive approach which employs observation of participant responses with a view to finding logical explanations of the data, rather than proving a theory correct (Copi 1994: 43). On the other hand, quantitative research is objective and measures what it assumes to be a static reality towards developing universal laws (Copi 1994). As recommended by Richards (2005), this study employs various complementary strategies for collecting data, so that it may allow for a deeper insight into the participants' realities. Accordingly, it adopts a multimodal approach using questionnaires, the language portrait method and interviews.

4.2 Questionnaires

Questionnaires are mainly developed based on the research objectives and research questions. According to Richards and Schmidt (2002: 438), as questionnaires are one of the primary sources used in obtaining data in research, its design should be carefully pieced together to ensure that it is "valid, reliable and unambiguous". Whilst there is a sense in which open-ended questionnaires allows latitude in probing for information (Gillham 2000), it is also felt that, despite the value in qualitative data, "their open-ended nature made it more difficult to compare reports of discussions and interviews" (Alderson and Scott 1996: 53). On the other hand, Nunan (1999: 143) points out that it is precisely the nature of open-ended questions that draws out responses that "reflect what the respondent wants to say".

For the present study, a background questionnaire is used to collect data on the social and linguistic background of the informants. The questionnaires contain various kinds of information related to the participants' age, formal education, language backgrounds, language preference and attitude when interacting with or observing other South Africans abroad.

4.3 The language portrait method

Busch (2010) uses a biographical approach to language profiles which allows one to explore how individual speakers experience the broader social context of their languages practices, including their ambitions and desires (Busch 2010: 284). Whilst this approach relies on individual narratives, its primary focus is on the individual's life story and not the social dimensions of the language practices and ideologies that it exposes (Busch 2010: 284). The framework for these language biographies includes language portrayals drawn from a visual account of one's linguistic repertoire by the colouring-in of a blank human silhouette. The concept of 'language portrait' was originally coined by Gogolin and Neumann (1991, cited in Busch 2010). In Busch's (2010) study, participants created language portraits of themselves by colouring-in a human body silhouette using different colours which acted as an indication of the different elements of their linguistic repertoire. These drawings/linguistic images were further used to elicit little narratives on the biographical backgrounds and social networks of participants.

In line with the practices developed by Busch (2010), participants were asked to complete a language portrait by colouring in a body silhouette, using different colours to represent different features of their linguistic dispositions. In addition, individual participants completed a personal questionnaire shedding further light on their language profiles. The drawings were used to elicit narratives on language practices. All the data collected using this method was supplemented by the group discussions, interviews and resultant narratives of the participants.

4.4 Interview method

Merrill and West (2009) believes that the biographical approach allows one to find some method in a splintered, individualised and uncertain world. This phenomenon is reflected in the data collected from the interviews conducted for this study which reflects the "speckled diversity" of the participants (Richards 2005: 78). Interviews were semi-structured and focused on issues regarding participants' language backgrounds in South Africa, and language use and language-related experiences in the Middle East, including their perceptions of whether their language choice formed part of their identity. Interviews were recorded using a tape recorder, and these recordings were then transcribed. Individual interviews as well as group sessions were conducted where participants were required to complete language portraits. Participants were invited to send any additional thoughts or feelings about the interviews or language portrait afterwards via email. A number of participants chose to send language biographies in written form since the language portraits triggered memories

associated with language. These different methods were employed as a result of the availability and preference of participants.

Bamberg (2006: 69) draws attention to the important aspect of trust between the interviewee and interviewer which enable participants to commence narration without feeling that face-saving strategies are necessary. He further recommends that the interviewer begins the interview with a general question which will place the interviewees at ease and facilitate spontaneous input. Bamberg stresses the importance of non-interruption of the narration by the interviewer, to allow for narrative flow.

4.5 Ethical considerations

Data collection on language attitudes may be potentially sensitive, especially with regard to the Afrikaans language and its contested history. The researcher was therefore mindful that participants may feel embarrassed by other people knowing their views, or that the method of collecting data may be stressful for them. Care was therefore taken to safeguard the privacy of all participants to avoid causing them any harm during the process of collecting, analysing and publishing data. Participants were informed in advance of the steps that would be taken to safeguard their privacy so that they were able to make an informed decision about whether or not they wanted to participate in the research. Participants were provided with an ethical clearance document which detailed the purpose of the study, the method of data collection, potential risks, potential benefits to society and whether their participation would derive any financial benefit. The document also secures the confidentiality of participants and their information. Participants were made aware that they could become part of or withdraw from the research at any point voluntarily, and that all their legal rights would be observed. Once participants were fully conversant with their legal rights, they voluntarily signed the ethical clearance document, thereby consenting to participate in the research. Recordings of participants' interviews were only made if they had agreed to be recorded and understood that the recording would be transcribed and form part of the thesis. To ensure the protection of the participants' identities, all textual information about them has been adapted so that it does not inadvertently allow them to be recognised. Care was taken not to use participants' names, and coded letters were used instead. Finally, following the interviews, the audiotapes were transcribed and participants were given an opportunity to comment on the accuracy of their content, or retract or make further contributions.

All interviews in the current study were therefore steered around general sociolinguistic questions such as which languages from their repertoires the participants used the most in their daily interactions with others. The researcher was mindful that asking participants to talk about their attitudes and reflect on their linguistic practices with special emphasis on Afrikaans would mean a certain amount of introspection on their part. This can mean that very personal feelings can surface, which may not always be positive. Steps were taken to explain the purpose of the research and to clarify any questions regarding the interview process, such as the use of a tape recorder, to which all participants agreed. The fact that the researcher is a fellow South African was a useful factor in establishing empathy and building a good rapport with the participants. Interviews were semi-structured and, in line with Bamberg's (2006) recommendation, open-ended questions were used to allow participants to speak freely and explore and internalise their feelings in group discussions. Whilst the interviews were all conducted in English, the participants made use of a considerable amount of code switching between English and Afrikaans. They also had different ways of approaching and collaborating on the colouring in of the language portraits. Following the interviews, the audiotapes were transcribed and participants were given an opportunity to comment on accuracy, or make amendments or retractions. It was felt that to ensure accuracy of the participants' contributions, participant checks were vital. Morse, Barrett, Mayan, Olson and Spiers (2002: 16), in criticising the practice of member checks, state that "with the exception of case study research and some narrative inquiry, study results have been synthesized, decontextualized, and abstracted from individual participants, leaving no reason for participants to be able to recognize themselves or their particular experiences". The current thesis, however, takes the form of narrative inquiry and therefore the use of member checks allows participants to have some agency over the ways in which their voices are represented.

4.6 Data analysis

The data collected for this thesis is analysed in three ways. Firstly, descriptive statistics are used to give an overall view of language attitudes of the selected participants. Descriptive statistics provide information about frequencies, averages and means, but do not attempt to investigate the influence of variables on each other or infer any kind of correlations. Hence, this kind of statistical analysis is more useful in pointing out trends and patterns rather than explaining how phenomena interact.

Secondly, salient themes are identified. Thematic analysis was conducted by making notes of words and phrases that repeatedly surfaced during the questionnaires, interviews, language

portraits and narratives (the big and small stories). These were organised in terms of similarity to form specific themes and include the types of themes that emerge from the analysis and may reflect the participants'/narrators' attitudes toward their language repertoires or toward their linguistic environment.

Lastly, narrative analysis is applied. Pavlenko (2007: 163-164) looks at autobiographic narratives which have become a popular means of data collection and reviews how such data is being analysed. The main contributions made by autobiographic narratives to research are that they offer insights into an individual's private world, thereby providing an insider's view. Furthermore, they provide the mechanism needed to link different learning processes and concepts, opening up new research avenues. Nekvapil (2003) believes that autobiographic narratives constitute a valuable information source for historic and diachronic sociolinguistic research in contexts where other sources are scarce. Of particular importance to the present study are linguistic biographies and autobiographies that focus on the languages of the speaker and discuss how and why these languages were acquired, used, or abandoned (Pavlenko 2007: 166)

In order to make sense of their life experiences, narrators try to construct them coherently by engaging in a process of unravelling their mysteries. According to Barkhuizen (2003: 6), "narrative knowledging" is an act or process that generates knowledge and understanding about our experiences. He explains that this reported knowledge does not remain constant as it encompasses an "active, fluid nature and is therefore not stable, permanent, or unchallengeable". Barkhuizen (2003) cites Connelly and Clandinin (2006: 477) who refer to narrative inquiry as "the study of experience as story" and suggest that researchers should investigate and incorporate in their studies the times (when these experiences occurred), place (where these experiences took place), as well as the accompanying emotions and interaction. This fluid nature of knowledge is reiterated by Riessman (2008: 105, cited by Barkhuizen 2003: 11-12), who says that "stories don't fall from the sky [...]; they are composed and received in contexts – interactional, historical, institutional, and discursive – to name a few". These theories are in line with views by Pavlenko (2007: 176-177) who advocates that narrative analysis in sociolinguistic research must take into account the "larger historical, political, social, and economic circumstances that shape the narratives and are reflected in them, language ideologies and discourses that have currency in narrators' communities and with regard to which they position themselves, and, last but not least, the setting where particular versions of narrative experience are produced and the audience they are produced for".

The data in the present study was analysed using Bamberg's (2011) small story analysis. Small stories are defined by Bamberg (2007) and Georgakopoulou (2008: 5) as depictions of real or hypothetical future or past events, which may include a reluctance to share or aimless recounting of happenings. These small stories were compiled from participants' interviews, group discussions and notes, which yielded deep-seated personal accounts of individuals' linguistic journeys. The contradictions and inconsistencies prevalent in these narrations are in line with contexts of diversity in the global expatriate scene where South Africans are becoming increasingly active. Sociolinguistic researchers have increasingly been investigating how identity construction as a by-product of discourse has manifested itself (Bucholtz and Hall 2005, Georgakopoulou 2006, Olinger 2011), with a focus on narrative analysis. Oostendorp and Jones (2015: 29) point to Bamberg's (2006: 75) assertion that previous studies were too centred on the investigation of uniform data, with little regard for any inconsistencies or variations in these formations. Bamberg (2006) instead suggested that small story analysis be employed as it is geared towards analysis of these facets of inconsistency found in stories that are constructed in an interactive environment.

In the present study, the researcher has drawn on Bamberg's (1997) small story analysis which targets spontaneous daily social interaction rather than detailed biographies of participants, thereby probing the social realities existing at the time and the emergent behavioural patterns. Following Oostendorp and Jones (2015: 30), an approach will be followed where both small stories and so-called "big stories" (in this case, language biography) will be considered "as individuals are not only positioned in their particular context in a given moment in time, but [...] their histories form part of how they present themselves". Whilst the main focus of this current study is the language behaviour and attitudes of expatriate South Africans in the Middle East towards Afrikaans, it cannot ignore the "bigger story" that led these participants to the current linguistic space that they occupy.

The small stories usually emerged during spontaneous interactions as part of group interviews and were relatively short. On the other hand, the language biographies that were produced were mostly written after the participants had time to reflect on the language portraits that they filled in, or were produced during individual interviews. The language biographies included more recollection of the remote past, and were usually produced in chronological order (starting with the L1 learned). By contrast, the small stories were usually centred on a specific incident that was somehow connected to participants' linguistic repertoires and/or their identity construction. The data was analysed by following Barkhuizen's (2009: 284,

cited in Oostendorp and Jones 2015) suggestion to focus on the context and broader discourses surrounding the small story so that more can be revealed regarding the ways in which the participants position themselves within particular discourses, including where they find themselves in relation to broader discourses.

CHAPTER 5

Sociolinguistic profiles of South African expatriates in the Middle East: Results of questionnaire data

5.1 Introduction

In this chapter, the results from the language background and attitude questionnaire are presented. Descriptive statistics are used to organise these results. Although the sample size is too small to generalise, statistics assist in gleaning the linguistic and social background of participants and point to trends that are discussed in more detail in subsequent chapters.

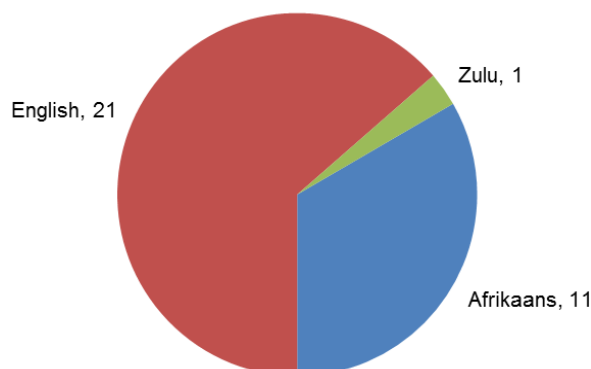
5.2 The participants and research context

There are 33 participants in this study, all of whom are South African citizens working or living in the Middle East. It is important to note the (unavoidable) presence of a survey population bias, due to a large majority of the respondents being single, female, middle-aged expatriates working in the Saudi Arabian tertiary educational sector, as this is where the researcher is based. All participants are multilingual in mainly English and Afrikaans, with some speaking a third or fourth language such as another African indigenous language (for example, Zulu or Xhosa) or an Asian language (such as Urdu). The age range of participants stretches from 25 to 59, with the average age being 45. Five participants are male, while 28 are female. Although most participants are employed in the educational sector, other sectors represented include IT, finance, various medical fields and engineering.

5.3 Language background data

Participants indicated English as the most common L1 (64%), with Afrikaans as the second most used L1 (33%) and 3% indicating Zulu, as depicted graphically below.

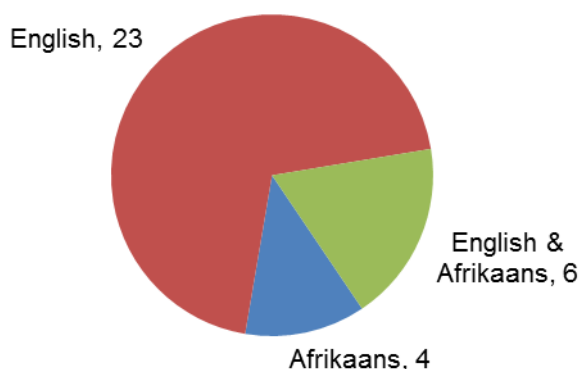
Figure 1: Distribution of respondents' spoken L1s



In terms of participants' perceptions of proficiency and fluency, 70% reported that they spoke most fluently in English, 12% reported that they are most fluent in Afrikaans, and 18% reported that they were equally fluent in both English and Afrikaans.

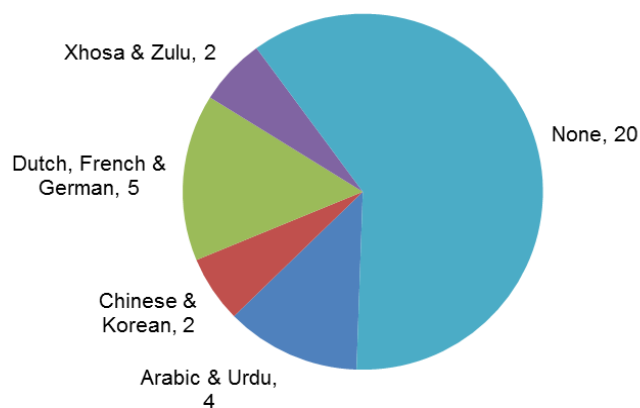
In terms of the language the participants used while abroad, English was once again selected by most of the participants. A preference for English was reported by 78%, with only 20% reporting a preference for Afrikaans. This information is visually represented in Figure 2 below.

Figure 2: Languages spoken at home versus at work while abroad



The percentage of participants who spoke no other languages other than English or Afrikaans was 50%, while 14% spoke Arabic and 8% spoke Dutch, Xhosa or Zulu. The number of languages spoken by the participants is presented in Figure 3 below.

Figure 3: Proficiency in other languages besides Afrikaans and English



When meeting other South Africans, participants stated that they would speak in both English and Afrikaans (39%), in Afrikaans only (31%) or English only (22%), and a small percentage would speak either Zulu or Xhosa (4%). The following are some reasons cited by participants as to why they speak English, Afrikaans or Zulu in their smaller circle while abroad:

Participant 5: I speak Afrikaans because it creates a good feeling in my heart. We just do it naturally.

Participant 8: I speak Afrikaans because I grew up with it and can relate to other South Africans.

Participant 9: Afrikaans because it feels like home.

Participant 11: Zulu. It's my language.

Participant 12: Afrikaans *met 'n vrot Engelse* ['with a bad English'] accent.

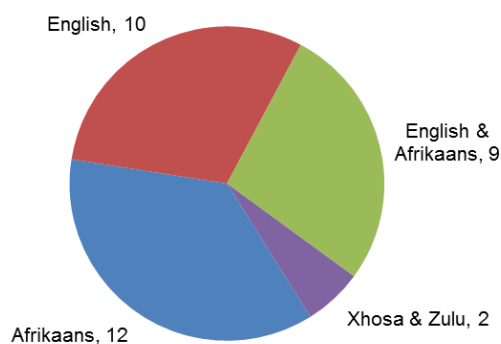
Participant 13: Afrikaans, as it allows us to speak freely and connect.

Participant 22: Afrikaans, as it's a form of recognition.

Participant 25: I speak Afrikaans for comfort even though English is my first language.

Participants further indicated that when they meet fellow South Africans, these individuals automatically start speaking either Afrikaans only (36%), English only (30%), both English and Afrikaans (27%) or Zulu (4%) to them. This information is presented in Figure 4 below.

Figure 4: Languages spoken when meeting fellow South Africans



Some reasons given were that Afrikaans evokes feelings of “home” among others, while others reported that speaking English was simpler.

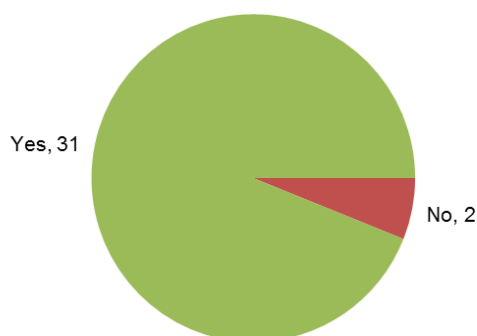
Participant 8: Afrikaans and we automatically hug each other.

Participant 14: English as it's easier.

Participant 21: Afrikaans because it is from home.

5.4 Language attitudes

At least 93% of participants feel that the language/s expatriates speak in the Middle East influence/s the way that they are viewed by other countries' expatriates and the local people, while 7% do not think so. Figure 5 is a visual representation of this data.

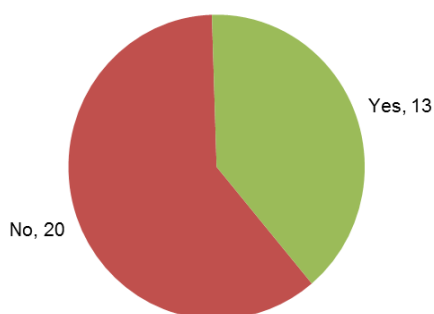
Figure 5: Perception of locals' / expats' view of languages spoken in the Middle East

As is evident from the responses listed below, there was a mixture of positive and negative views with regard to language attitudes.

- Participant 2: Yes. Positive as it shows we are multilingual and arouses interest. May also be seen as negative, because it's non-native to English.
- Participant 4: Yes. Our vocabulary appears much richer and having two languages has many advantages.
- Participant 5: We are voluble when we speak our Afrikaans and happy, so it always attracts looks/interest.
- Participant 9: Sometimes they are curious about the apartheid system.
- Participant 10: Sure. Afrikaans will always be viewed as the 'oppressor'.
- Participant 13: Yes, they are curious about the language as they do not recognize it.
- Participant 14: Yes it shows that your linguistic experience is varied.
- Participant 18: I am viewed as privileged to speak more than one language. My students think that it is amazing!
- Participant 22: Yes Arabs thought that I was from Egypt. Afrikaans proved them wrong.
- Participant 24: The locals prefer speaking to Americans and British rather than a South African because most Afrikaans speaking people have an accent.

The majority of participants (60%) felt that proficiency in more than one language (English) would not increase the marketability of expatriates in the Middle East. This result is visually represented in Figure 6.

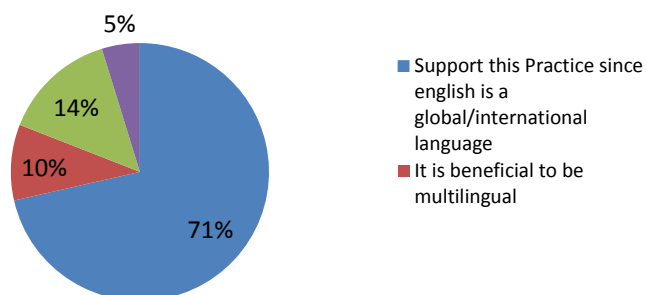
Figure 6: Multilingualism influences marketability in the Middle East



There were some participants who were not sure but cited multilingualism in English and Afrikaans as something that would be admired, as described below.

- Participant 2: It should, as it shows the ability to be multilingual and understand a different language.
- Participant 3: Not sure. Afrikaans is not used in the Middle East. The ability to master another language is an asset though.
- Participant 12: Yes, it brings you to the attention of prospective employers and raises your marketability.
- Participant 15: No, because it is not a language needed in the Middle East and most institutions are run like businesses.
- Participant 21: Yes because the Middle East is multi-national. In one hospital there are approximately 18 cultures for example, South African, British, Australian and Indian.
- Participant 25: Yes because their perception is that you might also speak European languages such as Dutch.
- Participant 26: It does. The local population's numbers studying in South Africa and Germany have increased, so our language is viewed with more interest.

Many Afrikaans speakers (71%) supported the practice in South Africa to send their children to English-medium schools, as they view English as an international language with definite financial advantages. This result is represented in Figure 7.

Figure 7: Prefers English medium schools.

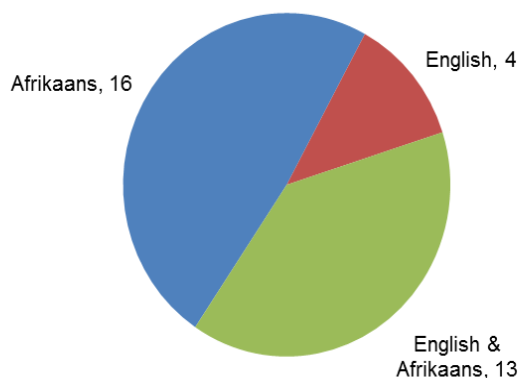
The benefits of being multilingual was emphasised by 10% of the participants, while some (14%) felt that, whilst this practice is beneficial, it endangers the child's mother tongue. It was also regarded as unfair on the child as Afrikaans is his/her mother tongue and may be lost. Interestingly, taking into account their experiences of living abroad, some participants felt that Afrikaans had a dual benefit both in South Africa as a mother tongue and outside its borders as an agent of recognition and cohesion.

- Participant 1: English is a global language. My native language is Xhosa. My parents sent us to a multiracial school to learn English as a first language.
- Participant 2: I support this practice as we operate in a global context where English is the most understood and used language.
- Participant 3: I think it's a good idea. English is considered an international language. It also increases their chances of getting a good job.
- Participant 12: It does benefit them as it helps them understand the culture of English more. However, there is a huge chance that their precious identity with Afrikaans is endangered and could also cause confusion.
- Participant 13: I sent my daughter to English schools to ensure that she's fully bilingual (English and Afrikaans) and also required her to study a third language (French).
- Participant 15: I think it's good to be bilingual and definitely activates different parts of the brain.
- Participant 21: It is unfair on the child as it will inhibit Afrikaans if it is his/her mother tongue.
- Participant 25: I think that Afrikaans has a dual benefit both inside and outside the country. It is detrimental and counter-productive for the child.
- Participant 26: This has disadvantages and advantages. It aids in work scenarios, but limits our life's experiences.

5.5 Language choices

Languages used by participants in conversations with friends who speak Afrikaans in their homes in the Middle East, were mainly split between English and Afrikaans (40%) and Afrikaans (48%), with English at 12%. This is represented visually in Figure 8 below.

Figure 8: Languages used in conversations with Afrikaans L1 friends



Language choices are made based on whether the other person can speak Afrikaans and respect for English only speakers, as demonstrated in the responses below.

Participant 11: I speak English, because I don't speak or understand Afrikaans.

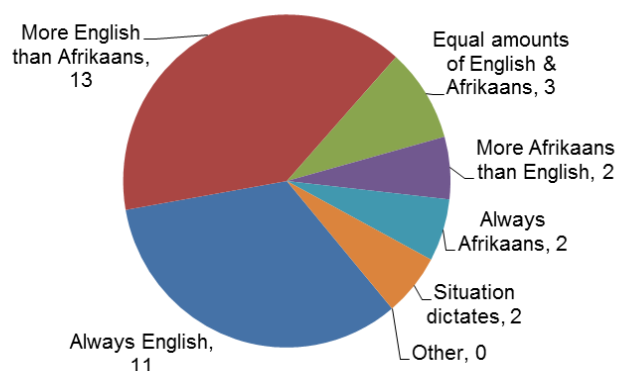
Participant 13: Afrikaans unless there are English speakers present.

Participant 18: I prefer Afrikaans as I get to speak it away from home.

Participant 19: I mix Afrikaans and English. As I am rusty with Afrikaans, I like to take this time to converse more fluently.

Participant 24: I mix both English and Afrikaans when I speak to my friends

Language often used in correspondence (e-mail, texting, letters) with relatives living with the participants or from South Africa showed equal amounts of linguistic variance used across most given scenarios. The results are presented in Figure 9.

Figure 9: Language used in correspondence with Afrikaans relatives from South Africa

Many indicated that they mixed Afrikaans and English, with the participants including more than one language.

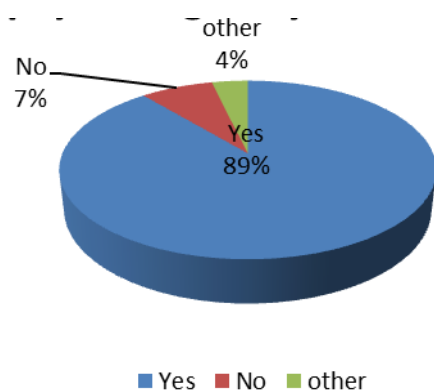
Participant 13: I have many fully bilingual friends and relatives who speak both English and Afrikaans at home. Funnily enough, I speak more Afrikaans when abroad than when I am in South Africa.

Participant 20: My relatives are all English, so I only use English.

Participant 21: I often use 'kombuis Afrikaans' (non-standard vernacular) and a mixture of Afrikaans, English and Urdu.

5.6 Language and identity

The overwhelming majority (87%) of participants felt that speaking a language that identifies where one is from is important socially or psychologically, or both. The results are presented in Figure 10 below.

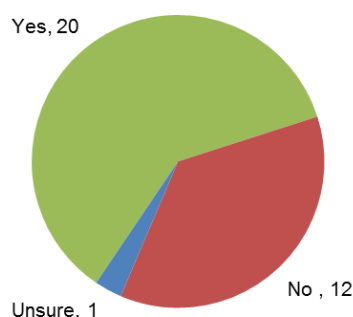
Figure 10: The usage of Afrikaans in a wider social context.

Some of the reasons cited in this case are:

- Participant 1: Yes, it is important. My native language (Xhosa) is my identity.
- Participant 3: Psychologically, it enhances cultural identity and gives you the security and stability of a group comfort in a foreign environment.
- Participant 4: Definitely both, as our language defines who we are and helps interaction between various people.
- Participant 8: Both. Psychologically it connects you to others and socially it allows you to converse with South Africans.
- Participant 9: It is definitely a sense of identity because it opens up doors to speak about South Africa.
- Participant 10: It is a two-edge sword really. Yes it is important, but it can also label you negatively. White Afrikaans people will always be viewed a certain way. Not always positively.
- Participant 14: This is a personal question and depends on how you view your identity and whether you have emigrated and how long you have been away from your birth country.
- Participant 19: It offers the listener a social reference which could enable feelings of safety and offer a doorway to diverse sharing. I'm not a strong supporter of patriotic reasoning, though recognize the value of establishing identity.
- Participant 22: Yes both. You instantly bond with people speaking your home language when you are in another part of the world.

Many participants (60%) felt that the multilingual abilities of South Africans in the Middle East give them a measure of being skilled linguistically in the eyes of the local people and/or other expatriates from Europe and the USA, while 36% disagreed – see Figure 11 below.

Figure 11: The multilingual abilities of South Africans are deemed important by locals/expats in the Middle East

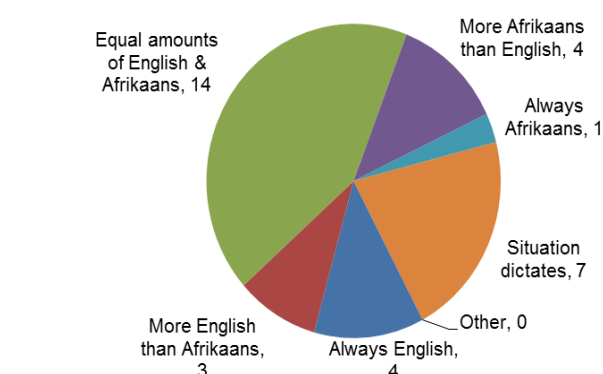


Four percent were unsure as the following responses show.

- Participant 2: No. I think the Middle East prefers American and British English speakers.
- Participant 3: Yes, definitely. People are always amazed that we can speak more than one language.
- Participant 9: I think that South Africans who are multilingual are held in high esteem.
- Participant 10: In the U.S. I was admired for being multilingual, but I don't know about the Middle East.
- Participant 12: Absolutely! Other faculty members are amazed at our ability with language and it is inspirational.
- Participant 13: Being multilingual gives you linguistic prowess, but Afrikaans does not carry value in many people's eyes.
- Participant 16: Yes, I think it instils respect for South Africans.
- Participant 18: Yes, because the local people and expats from Europe and the USA are always amazed that we South Africans can speak more than one language. People think that this ability comes with the skills of understanding and communicating with different people.
- Participant 24: No. If Afrikaans was a language like Spanish or French that most people speak around the world, it might have been interesting to locals.

To demonstrate solidarity with someone from South Africa, 43% of participants spoke Afrikaans, with 30% using both English and Afrikaans. English is used by 17% of the participants whilst more Afrikaans than English is spoken by 13%. This is represented in Figure 12 below.

Figure 12: Language spoken to show solidarity with South Africans living in the Middle East



The following attitude by some Afrikaans speakers had been noted by a participant:

Participant 2: I have found some South Africans does [sic] not want to be known as Afrikaans speakers and have been asked not to communicate with them in Afrikaans.

The following participants cited other reasons for using a particular language:

Participant 5: The psychological connection. Even with South Africans of different colour. Amazing!

Participant 13: I use Afrikaans to freely express myself without other's [sic] being able to understand.

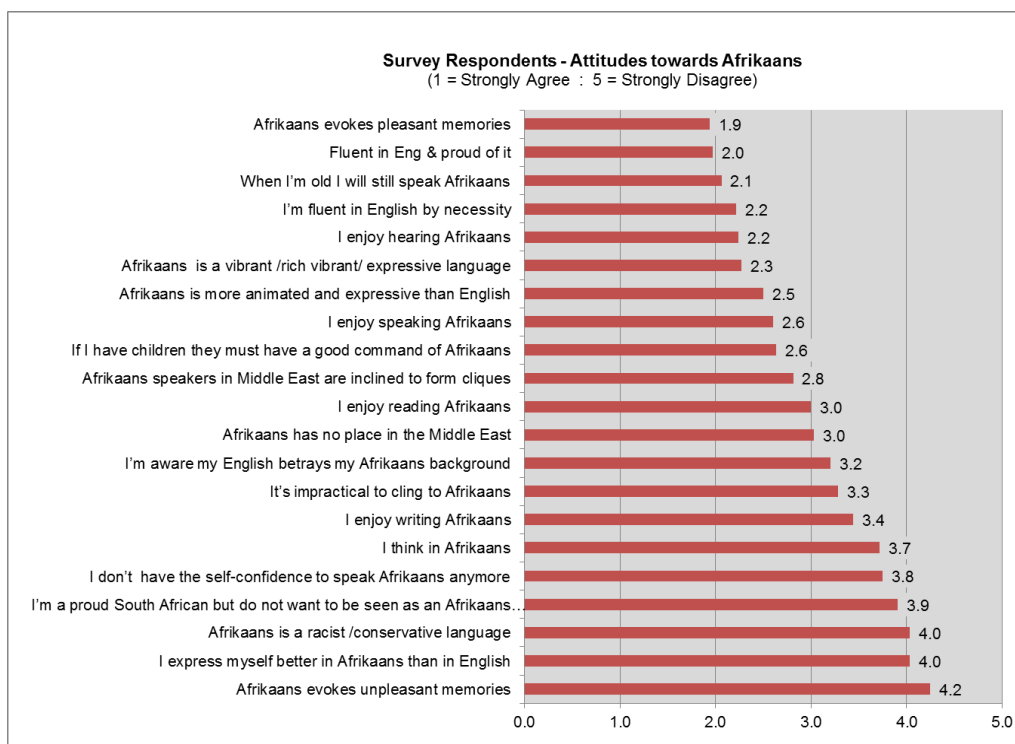
Participant 14: It has humour and a connection.

Participant 15: I am paid to speak English and if other people do not understand Afrikaans, it is rude to speak it if they are present.

5.7 Attitudes towards Afrikaans

To gauge participants' own attitudes towards Afrikaans, they were asked to indicate with which statements they agreed or disagreed using the Likert scale (where 1 = strongly agree and 5 = strongly disagree). Figure 13 below illustrates their responses.

Figure 13: Attitude towards the Afrikaans language



5.8 Summary of results

The ratio of the L1 of participants was approximately 64% English, 33% Afrikaans, with 3 % Zulu and 2 % Xhosa and Zulu. At least 70% of the participants reported that they spoke most fluently in English, 12% were most fluent in Afrikaans, and 18% equally fluent in both English and Afrikaans. English (78%) remained the main language that participants spoke at home while abroad, with only 20% speaking Afrikaans.

Languages spoken by participants when meeting other South Africans were found to be 39% in both English and Afrikaans, 31% in Afrikaans only with 22% English and 4% either Zulu or Xhosa. Furthermore, when meeting fellow South Africans, participants reported that the languages automatically spoken are Afrikaans (36%), English (30%), both English and Afrikaans (27%) or Zulu (4%).

With regard to whether the language/s expatriates speak in the Middle East influence/s the way that they are viewed by other country's expatriates, 93% of participants felt that it does while 7% did not think so. On the other hand, most participants (60%) feel that proficiency in more than one language does not influence marketability of expatriates in the Middle East.

Participants further indicate that when conversing with friends who speak Afrikaans in their homes in the Middle East, 40% would speak English and Afrikaans, 40% Afrikaans and 12% English. The overwhelming majority (87%) indicate that speaking a language that identifies where one is from is important socially or psychologically, or both. The question of whether the multilingual abilities of South Africans in the Middle East give participants a measure of linguistic prowess in the eyes of the local people and/or other expatriates, was viewed by 60% in the affirmative, while 36% disagreed and 4% were undecided. Finally, 43% indicated that they speak Afrikaans and 30% both English and Afrikaans to show solidarity with someone from South Africa.

The results show that although English is firmly entrenched as a global lingua franca, there is space for other languages in identity construction. In this regard, Afrikaans, perhaps partly because of the sample population, seems to have an important place in this repertoire especially when showing solidarity or "South Africanness". The next chapter will investigate these three themes: English as a global lingua franca, linguistic repertoires and identity construction, and the position of Afrikaans in these linguistic repertoires in more detail.

CHAPTER 6

Language attitudes and identity construction: Emerging themes

6.1 Introduction

This chapter presents and discusses the results of the thematic analysis. According to Pavlenko (2007: 166), whilst the overriding advantage of thematic research rests in its receptiveness to common features that are pertinent in participants' stories, it lacks a theoretical premise which gives such stories credence. Acknowledging these shortcomings of thematic analysis, the present research employs thematic analysis only as an instrument to illustrate important themes. In the next chapter, small and big stories that further illustrate the themes presented in this chapter will be analysed in more depth.

6.2 Identification of themes

Various themes in the data were identified by cross-checking the questionnaires, language portraits, explanatory notes and interviews for recurring words, phrases and images. Examples are *English as a universal language*, *global language*, *Afrikaans for comfort*, *connection*, *good feeling in heart*, or images which all represent language in a particular way. These categorisations were merged with similar themes (e.g. multilingualism as resource, heteroglossia and identity construction were merged under the theme "heteroglossic linguistic repertoires"), especially since many of the themes were connected and it made more sense to discuss them together.

The following themes were identified as themes that consistently appeared or stood out as salient:

- i. Heteroglossic linguistic repertoires
- ii. English: the key to social, professional and financial global success
- iii. Afrikaans
- iv. Colour as an instrument of clarity

First, the more general themes concerning linguistic repertoires and multilingualism are discussed, and then themes about specific languages. English is subsequently highlighted. Finally, to end off the chapter, the ambivalence surrounding Afrikaans is reviewed.

I chose not to separate the analysis of the data gathered on the basis of the different modes used. I found that the language portraits and verbal data from the interviews are connected, since the language portraits had prompted the verbal data. Hence the language portraits, and extracts from the interviews are analysed by incorporating them under a relevant theme.

6.3 Heteroglossic linguistic repertoires

All of the participants have more than one linguistic variety as part of their linguistic repertoires and while the L1 has symbolic significance for all of the participants in terms of their identity, there is space nevertheless for other identities as well. Here, Bakhtin's (1981: 271-272) view of society as a multivoiced, multi-discursive and heteroglossic construction is significant. Only 9 of the 33 participants use only one language (English) at home, while the remaining 24 speak two or more languages, depending on the linguistic repertoire within their immediate environment. In line with Blommaert's (2010a: 696) view that languages are mobile resources, this study explores how the participants use the languages they speak to construct meaning and identity in an expatriate environment. Many participants confessed that whilst they cannot speak some of the languages in their repertoires either fluently or well, they still use them as resources.

All participants speak or can to a degree communicate in at least two languages (English and Afrikaans), and some in three, four and in one instance (**JN**'s case), five languages (Xhosa, Zulu, Urdu, etc.). These languages are used by participants to create dialogic spaces, where they negotiate the linguistic environment they find themselves in. **SP**, for example, emphasises the fact that she managed to communicate with the locals as she could pick up bits of Arabic following from her knowledge of Urdu. She explains that:

SP: When we speak, we speak in English, we speak in Afrikaans, and I taught them a few Arabic words. The advantage I had was that because I speak Urdu, I picked up Arabic very quickly. My Urdu also improved.

This seeming benefit is also echoed in **R**'s statement:

R: [...] as South Africans, when you meet people from the Netherlands and Germany you can understand at a very basic level what they are saying and vice versa. So I think it's [Afrikaans] a benefit. I did not realise it until I came here [The Middle East].

This is in line with Blommaert's (2010: 23) notion of 'truncated multilingualism' which refers to repertoires as specific yet slightly underdeveloped resources in that "we never know all of a language; we always know specific bits and pieces of it". This notion is encapsulated in **CL**'s statement with regards to her language portrait when she says:

CL: I did a little bit of Chinese here [on the arm]. It was just such a huge part of my life because I lived in Taiwan for almost 11 years. And sometimes when I cannot reach a word ... or grasp a word, the Chinese will pop up. So I put it over here [arm].

Multilingualism is seen as an asset by most participants, whilst many feel that Afrikaans has little practical value or marketability in the Middle East in the way that, for example, English, French and Mandarin do. The following interactive group exchanges during the interview process shed more light on how some participants view the value of Afrikaans in the Middle East.

- R:** I've seen that it's a benefit and that people look differently at us when we speak this language [Afrikaans]. They think that you can speak other languages and that you can also understand them.
- Interviewer:** In what way do people look differently at you?
- RP:** I think they look at you as more interesting. They are really interested in you when they realize you are speaking that language.
- RA:** They [Saudis] love it. You can go to any part of the kingdom. You can go to Jeddah, Mecca ... the salesmen will surprise you with "*Ja* aunty Ghayrunnisa *mooi abaya*³ *né?*" So many times it happens in Jeddah ... an example is a guy who spoke to us in Afrikaans and he is a Saudi. He told us "*Ja my vrou leer my*". You find Afrikaans in unexpected places and it makes you feel so happy and good inside. It just makes you feel like a community after that. It makes you feel like you came home like when someone speaks Afrikaans to you ... even if you don't know them, you form that bond right away.
- SP:** I once had a couple in E.R. and I wanted to say something about them. I just opened my mouth and said "*Bella kô gou hie*", and the next minute the man dressed in his Saudi garb with his wife next to him says to me "*Is jy van die Kaap?*" That day *skrik ek my boeglam*. He said that I spoke just like his friend from Cape Town. I think our language has rubbed off on the local people here because there are so many of us here.
- RP:** I find that the local people now are more open to South Africans. Before when I first started they very much had an inferiority complex to the European and U.S. people. They thought of them as much better ... higher. They now define South Africans differently in terms of the Afrikaans language.
- RP:** We are global ... it is a language that belongs to the world. I took German at high school for two years and when you have Afrikaans, I think it helps you in that respect. And I think also as South Africans when you meet people from the Netherlands and Germany you can understand at a very basic level what they are saying and vice versa. So I think it's a benefit. I did not realize it until I came here. Also the foreigners ... they bug you endlessly to teach them Afrikaans words ... they want to learn it.

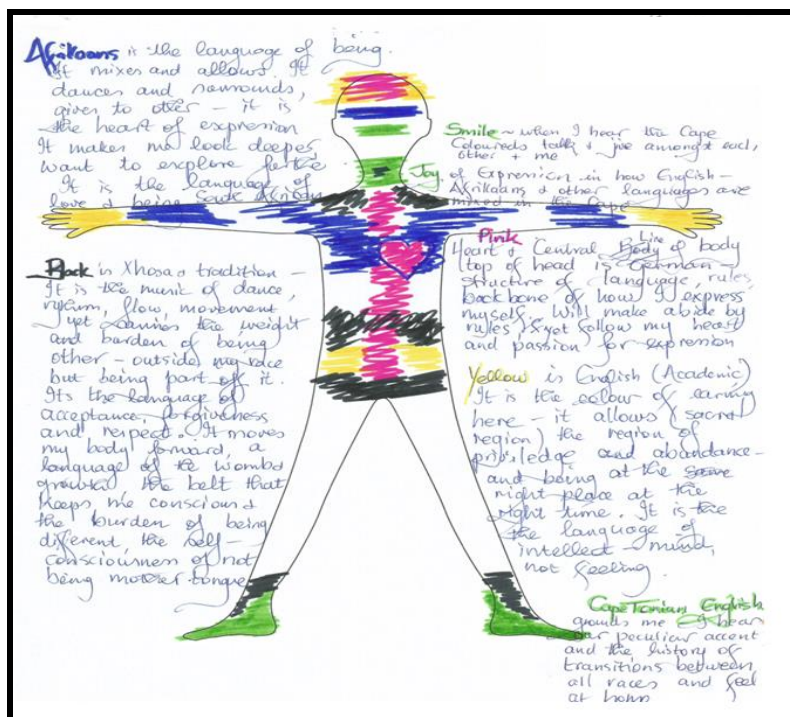
³ Non-English words or phrases appear in italics. An *abaya* is a traditional black cloak worn by Saudi women.

Of relevance here is the strongly emerging theme of the way in which the South African participants freely use language as the basis for identity formulation, drawing on their linguistic resources for identity construction and positioning. This linguistic multiplicity of participants is seen in the way that they position themselves and engage in subtle creation of multiple identities as and when they have a need for them.

Another example of these heteroglossic repertoires are **CI**'s language portrait which has a broad arsenal of language repertoires, most of which she has an emotional attachment to. She coloured German in pink, the colour of love and structure, yet identifies with and longs for the way that English is spoken in Cape Town where translanguaging is common place. The way that she explains during the interview (see transcript below) her choice of colour in representing her linguistic repertoire in her language portrait (below), clearly shows that it is part of who she is, or relates to.

CI: I started with pink because that is for me ... that is ... uhm the heart and the real place of love. And it is a quiet place and it ... err the colour of German for me. It's up my central spine, nothing really in my face because I don't express myself much in German but it is the colour of mind in terms of language. So it's the structure of language and the rules ... the backbone of how I express myself ... that I like the order and that I will make and abide by rules ... yet fill my heart and passion for expression ... uhm. My groundedness in my feet and joy in always moving and being active ... and around my throat and the smile ... not really the talking. But the smile area was actually the colour of Capetonian English ... and I make a great distinction over there because that really grounds me. I hear our particular accent *en daai Kaapse Klopse mense* ... and the history and the transitions between all races and I just feel at home. So for me it's the colour of home ... is being in Cape Town and hearing *ons taal daar wat is net 'n lekker bredie en mengsel en pavement special of alles*. So it's the joy of expression in around the throat. And in ... *ja* all other things are mixed in the Cape.

Figure 14: Language portrait 1 - CI



Multilingualism and its corresponding expectations can at times weigh heavily on speakers. This phenomenon is shown in the following extract where **CL** reflects that whilst English is the language that she uses daily in her line of work abroad, she is still grounded linguistically in Afrikaans. She finds the expectation that all English speakers should conform to being “native like” unreasonable, and that multilingualism should be lauded instead. According to **CL**, both English and Afrikaans give balance to her life and she see them as her anchor and compass.

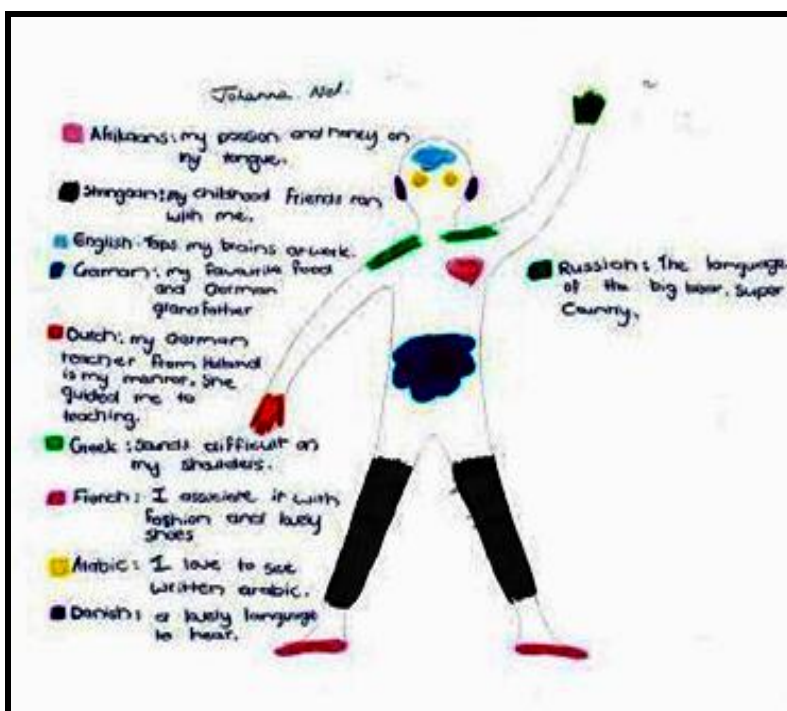
CL: ... but sometimes when I spell, I spell in Afrikaans unknowingly ... you know what I mean ... it's just instinctive. So I'll be writing something and I'll have to go back and check because of the Afrikaans spelling. I put green on the shoulders because I do think ... not that English is a burden ... uhm ... sometimes it's really hard to make sure that you express yourself. Because I think we are bilingual, there is such an emphasis on being native like ... and I think when you are bilingual ... that's really hard to ... that's a lot of pressure to be ... to speak a language perfectly. I think we should be credited for speaking multiple languages.

This dilemma with English is echoed by **JN** who explains that whilst she earns her living as an English teacher, she continues to struggle with finding the right words.

JN: English ... uhm. I coloured my brain in the English colour because it's still a challenge to me to work in English and it taps my brain every day.

Another aspect of these linguistic repertoires is that certain participants either mentioned the desire to learn another language or expressed the linguistic influence that another African or other language has in their lives. This comes through in their drawings. JN's German ancestry from her mother's side is responsible for her love for German food, while Dutch reminds her of her teacher/mentor from the Netherlands. She further makes linguistic associations with Greek, Arabic, Danish, and Russian, where the colours paint her perceptions of each language ranging from linguistic difficulty, fashion, written and aural illusions to a super power (see Language portrait 2 below and thereafter her explanation).

Figure 15: Language portrait 2 - JN

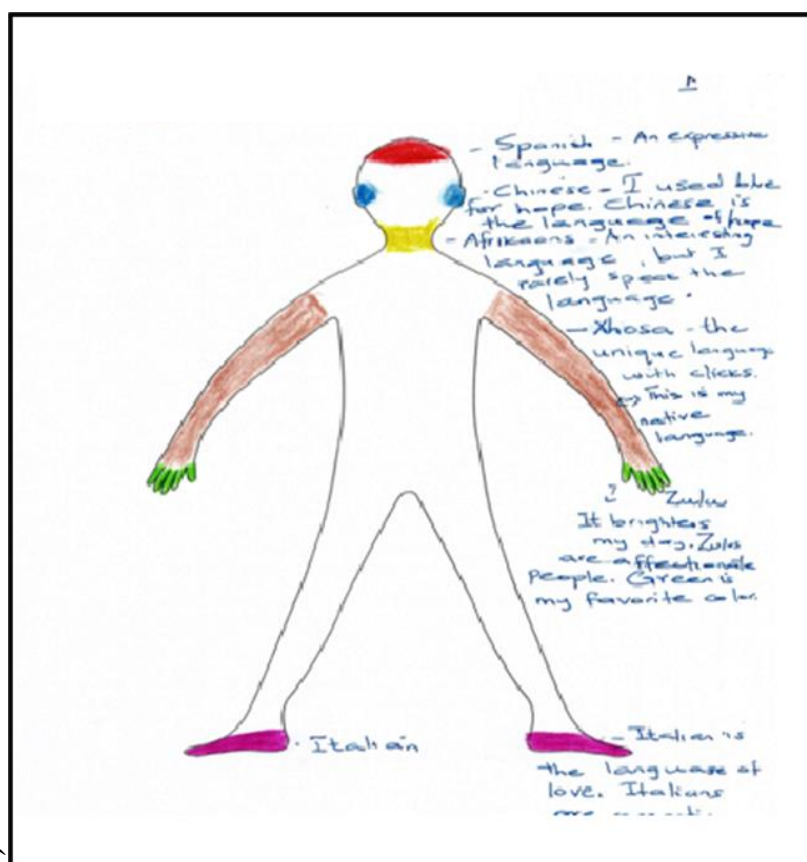


JN: ... And then my stomach is German, because my favourite food is German and it reminds me of my German grandfather who was very particular about his food. The orange is Dutch because my German teacher came from Holland and I usually associate the Dutch language with orange because they are usually wearing orange. And she was my mentor. She guided me to become a teacher and the fan that I am to write on the board. The green on my shoulders is Greek to me ... it sounds like a heavy load on my shoulders because it is a very difficult language. My feet I coloured pink, because that language I associate with beautiful shoes and fashion. The yellow ... my eyes ... uhm ... is Arabic. I love to see the written Arabic and to try and decipher it. But I like the way ... it's almost like art. Uhm ... and the purple in my ears are for Danish because to me it's a beautiful language to listen to. And my right hand ... it's the raised

hand ... uhm I coloured in green for Russian, because it reminds me of the language of the big bear of the communists ... of the super country.

In her language portrait, **ZN**, who is a Zulu native speaker, coloured her head in with Spanish as the seat of expression and her ears hearing Chinese as “hope”. Though she finds Afrikaans “interesting”, her arms are the colour of Xhosa which she thinks is unique. On the other hand, her hands are in her favourite colour “green” representing her mother tongue and its people, reflecting that Zulus are “affectionate people”. **ZN** finally colours her feet in Italian, referring to it as the language of “love” and fashionable shoes.

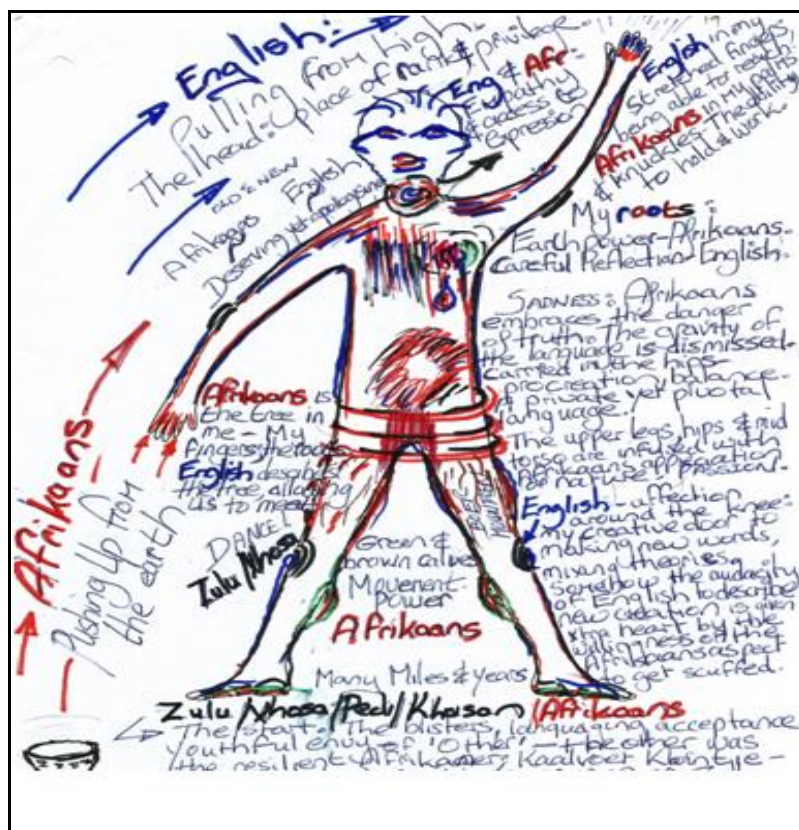
Figure 16: Language portrait 3 - ZN



The use of colour in the drawings as a vehicle of expression for participants' feelings about the languages that they either use or have pretensions about helped them express their linguistic identity in an emotive and positive way. **JJ** (see Language portrait 4) is passionate about both English and Afrikaans. His L1 is English yet he depicts Afrikaans with an air of sadness and makes a philosophical comparison between it and English. He compares the Afrikaans language to Mother Earth and nature; the tree in him, deserving yet apologetic. According to him, English epitomises rank and power versus the empathy and expression that Afrikaans gives. His linguistic portrait shows how he values both English and Afrikaans, the one allowing him to stretch and reach great heights and the other – the palms and knuckles of

the outstretched hand – the working potential that carries him. The African languages, such as Xhosa, Zulu, Pedi, Khoisan and Afrikaans, are shown on the feet with blisters as the resilient other and the *kaalvoet klonkie*. **JJ**'s use of colour and meaning conveys a deep-seated emotional connection with his language repertoires.

Figure 17: Language portrait 4 - JI



Another participant that associates Afrikaans with nature is **NLR** (see Language portrait 5 below). She says the following:

NLR: Then the green legs and feet because that makes me think of walking through nature which I love. Uhm ... and I think nature in South Africa is really special with the wild animals we have ... you know ... that you can't find anywhere else in the world. Uhm ... them farmers and nature lovers in South Africa ... I associate with Afrikaans-speaking people.

6.4 English: The key to social, professional and financial global success

A theme that pervaded most discussions and interviews is that English is regarded as a necessary tool for academic, professional and financial advancement. Otsuji and Pennycook (2011: 424) refer to Bourdieu's (1991) notion that linguistic capital only flourishes if it is given symbolic capital by other language users, and conclude that English currently holds the linguistic status of being the global *de facto* gatekeeper to good jobs and most tertiary

educational institutions. Whilst there is a sense of anxiety about the possible threat that English poses to the survival of African languages and Afrikaans in particular, participants in this study, almost without exception, take a pragmatic view of the need to be proficient in English. The primary need for proficiency in English, by admission of many of the participants, stems from the fact that it provides their income, and is therefore seen as the language of academia. That English is viewed as the key to social, professional and financial success is reflected by the fact that it is often placed in the head or in the hands, symbolising the seat of thought, study and work. Participants in this study are mostly dependent on their English language proficiency as a large number of them work as English teachers as well as highly qualified academics in either the finance, IT or medical professions. These sentiments are echoed emotively in participants' language portraits, where certain languages are illuminated, showcasing their linguistic identity. From **CI**'s language portrait above (Figure 12), **CI** has used the colour yellow for the English language and coloured it in her head, womb area and hands. In her interview segment with the researcher, **CI** explains that English is the language that provides her income even though she is an academic specialist in another field. Her exposition on the dichotomy between English as "the language of intellect" versus languages of "feelings", indicates that she, like many other participants, has no emotional investment in the language.

CI: Yellow for me is kind of ... like around my sacral producing womb region, my hands and very much the intellect and it's the colour of English ... the colour of earning here. I'm not an English teacher ... err ... by trade. I'm a math and computer ... I ... err that's my forte and it's the colour of actually allowance ... it's the ... it's also for me in my upbringing being the region of privilege and abundance ... being White ... being English White ... uhm it's also the language of being at the right time at the right place. I'm sitting at Princess Norah University not because I'm brilliant in the other fields but because I speak English. So it's ... you know ... just this paradox and it's the language of intellect ... the mind ... It's not feelings so very much if I go into my head I'll be thinking in English ... because I have to activate an academic mind set.

Other participants express similar sentiments. **NLR** and **CL**, who are both from the English as Second Language (ESL) education sector (Language portraits 5 and 6), see English as the language of financial advancement and of academia. In her language portrait, **NLR** has coloured her head and her arms down to her hands in red, representing the English language which she sees as the medium of income and intellect.

NLR: ... this picture ... shows that I coloured the head and my arms and hands in red, because I think in English especially with my studies and my work. And I

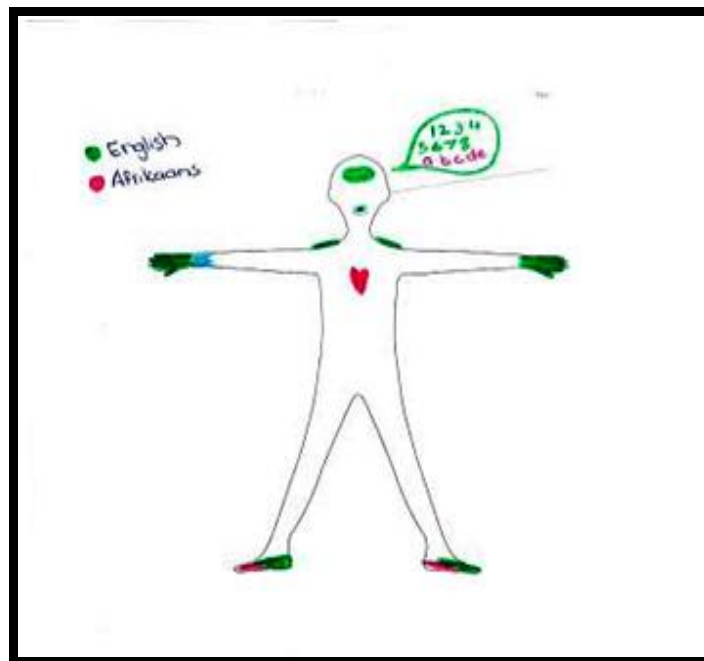
talk with my hands so that's sort of also in English and you use it when you are explaining as well.

Figure 18: Language portrait 5 - NLR



In language portrait 6, **CL** has also coloured her head and hands in the English green, stating that English enables her livelihood and facilitates her mathematical processes.

CL: So I think I chose the colour green for English because I think that's how I earn my money ... that's why I coloured my hands as well. ... And then I think in English that's why I coloured green over there [the head]. I do math in English.

Figure 19: Language portrait 6 - CL

In general, English is seen as the key to social, professional and financial global success by participants.

6.5 Afrikaans: The language of longing, ambivalence and diversity

A thread that runs through the data is connected to the theme that, regardless of participants' motivations for language choices, there is this desire to maintain one's "own" language (as Afrikaans is referred to by many participants) or a language that reminds one of "home". This emerged not only in the drawings and accompanying explanatory notes, but also in the interviews. The following excerpts taken from some of the participants' explanatory notes together with the biographic drawings and interviews, further illustrate this positive and emotional attachment to Afrikaans, whilst also highlighting the sadness, shame and regret of its Apartheid past.

In the interview segment, **CI** refers to familiar things from home that Afrikaans evokes, such as *tannies*, *boere koffie*, *boegoe tee* ... *beskuite*, including familiar and dear places such as *Makhado*, *Stellenbosch* and *Malmesbury*. In her depiction of her language portrait, **CI** expresses a deep connection with the language and those who speak it and appears to "embrace" them implicitly.

Interviewer: You have coloured your arms in the blue colour of Afrikaans. Can you explain why?

CI: Uhm ... Afrikaans is the language of being and I have got it in my arms. And why I have chosen this picture outstretched was because I see this embracing

nature of Afrikaans and the ... *tannies* as you know ... sit down and have your cup of *Boere koffie of boegoe tee* or something like that ... *beskuite* ... and specially Makhado and all my Stellenbosch and Franschhoek and Malmesbury area people over there. The realness it surrounds. It's the heart of expression, it, makes me look deeper and explore further ... I can taste this language. I can get around it. I can mull over it. So it makes me feel very creative and it makes me feel very South African knowing that I got this language that seems to embrace. Yet ... the culture ... was so for Apartheid ... you know ... in my stereotypical view.

Another participant, **JN**, coloured her heart in purple for Afrikaans in her language portrait and explains why.

JN: Afrikaans is at my heart. It's my passion and it's like honey on my tongue.

On the other hand, when asked why **NLR** coloured her shoulders and neck in blue for Afrikaans in her language portrait (see language portrait 5), she responded that Afrikaans is for her the language of relaxation with Afrikaans people and food from "home".

NLR: I relax in Afrikaans. I just feel so at ease so the shoulders and the neck ... you know ... which I think is quite important ... it shows when you relax. I just did that in Afrikaans as it's so nice to be among Afrikaans people and *ja* ... so I just made that blue. And I love eating Afrikaans and Dutch food ... uhm so the stomach area ... sort of ... the body area I made in yellow because I love yellow ... so that resembles the Afrikaans. Dutch I made just a darker blue ... maybe because I see Dutch as being closer to Afrikaans ... uhm and of course food comforts me and it always reminds me of home.

CL reaffirms many participants' views that Afrikaans is their medium for emotion. She coloured her heart in pink, indicative of Afrikaans which enables her to process her emotions.

CL: And then my heart is pink, because it's Afrikaans ... because I think always when I feel ... or when I'm upset or ... you know I think Afrikaans is the first thing that pops out of my head ... or when I'm drunk I have a really hard time speaking English.

Language portraits 7 (**MC**) and 8 (**AL**) are reflective of participants' emotional attachment to Afrikaans, where they have shaded their hearts in the Afrikaans colour. Whilst **MC** has coloured English in her head region, as most of her "thought processes" take place in English daily as an English teacher, she has an emotional attachment to both English and Afrikaans

which she says form “equal halves of her heart”. However, she explains that she coloured her feet in Afrikaans as she remains grounded in her Afrikaans roots and heritage.

Unlike most participants, **AL** has placed red for Afrikaans in the head where she does most of her “critical thinking”. She has further coloured her stomach area in Afrikaans as she gets her “gut” and “instinct” in this language. **AL** differed from **MC** in that she coloured her feet in English as it provides a net of safety and comfort, and also one of mobility.

Figure 20: Language portrait 7 - MC

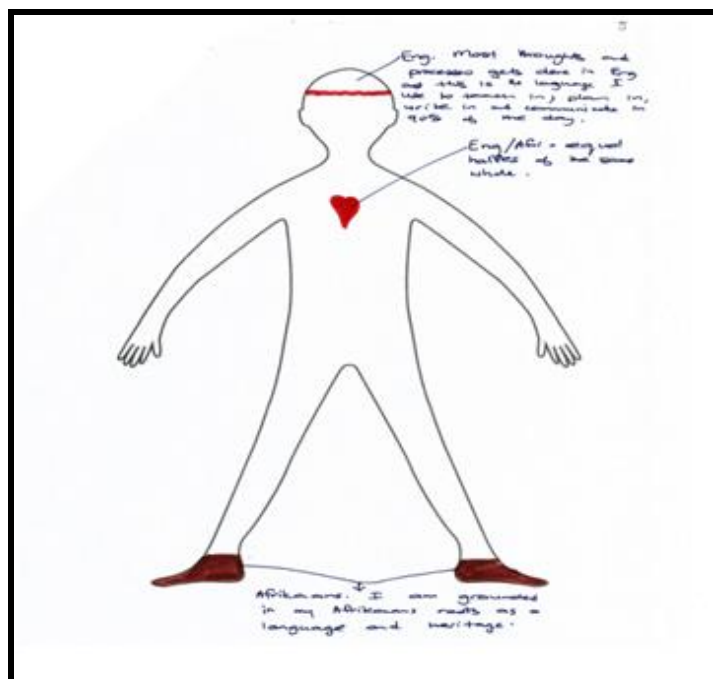
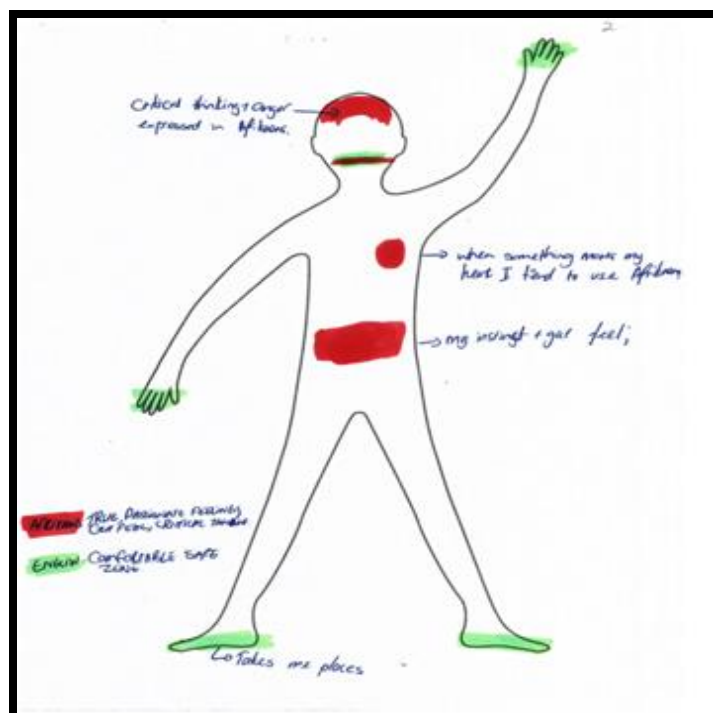


Figure 21: Language portrait 8 - AL



The emotional attachment to Afrikaans is also echoed by **CL** below, who has coloured her feet in both English and Afrikaans.

CL: And then ... what grounds me ... I chose both English and Afrikaans, because I think that is what keeps me grounded and ... gives me direction as well ...

That the Afrikaans language is seen as a language from “home” and a grounding device close to participants’ hearts is consistently reflected strongly in the drawings, explanatory notes, interviews and narratives.

Of importance here is the fact that all participants are highly educated and fluent in English (64% English L1 speakers), yet many prefer to speak in Afrikaans when they meet socially. It is just the idea of conversing in Afrikaans that seems to matter and not whether one speaks standard or a vernacular form of Afrikaans. Some participants intimated that even Afrikaans speaking Whites do not seem to care how others speak as long as they can converse with a fellow South African. A fair amount of code switching is used by many participants, as reflected in the excerpts below.

Interviewer: Do the Afrikaners that you meet here mind when you speak an Afrikaans vernacular to them?

SP: They actually welcome it. They feel at home ... whether they come from Gauteng, Durban ... bottom line is we all speak, understand, speak and have a ball when we speak Afrikaans ... even if those people were speaking English, they will fall into the trap and speak Afrikaans. Because it’s the dominant *taal wat gepraat word* when we get together.

RP: If there’s one that don’t speak or can’t speak Afrikaans well ... they feel almost even to a certain degree left out ... not left out of the conversation ... that’s a strong word, but they wish that they can contribute and enjoy ... because it’s an enjoyable thing. Once you start anew, you feed off each other’s energy no matter if it’s *kombuis*, *suiwer*, mixture, *wit*, *swart*, *alles*, *alles* ...”

An interesting perception that emerged is that Afrikaans is a social leveller which allows for freedom of expression, free from the constraints that English, for example, has in regard to social class and status. The following is an interaction between **R** and **RP** in a group interview session expounding on this perceived phenomenon.

R: I find that you’re speaking Afrikaans and you are in a group of people ... and sometimes you don’t know anyone and have just been introduced ... and they speak Afrikaans to you ... it feels good. No one’s then a stranger among us. And also there’s no social standing ... I have to say. You don’t speak differently

because you are a doctor or the other speaker is a street sweeper. I think because of the way that your accent can define you when you speak in English. I am from Durban ... it's very different to the way someone from Cape Town or Port Elizabeth speaks. I had people mention the difference and refer to my English as Upper Class English. With Afrikaans you can't change your accent ... it just comes out the same as everybody else. There may be a difference ... *som mense praat kombuis Afrikaans ... ander praat suiwer Afrikaans* ... that's the only difference. So I think that Afrikaans is a great leveller.

RP: When it comes to English, there's a social standing and people will judge you accordingly and with Afrikaans it's not necessarily there ... it's like glue ... it glues us together. And you can *skinder* in Afrikaans in front of everybody else if you don't want them to know anything ... that secret code is so valuable ... isn't it? ... And cool ... at work especially ... right?

An unexpected theme that emerged was that the language once despised by many is seen by certain participants as an instrument of bonding outside of South Africa. This began with an interactive conversation between **M** and **R** which highlights their perceptions about the way that White Afrikaans-speaking South Africans react towards other South Africans across racial lines outside of South Africa. They allude to a certain kind of spontaneity and shared identity that is unlocked by a common language and culture (in this case, rugby) from the place called "home". **MC** feels that this sort of abandonment of separatist attitudes is not likely to happen within South Africa.

After the negative years of Afrikaans and its association with Apartheid, one gets a sense that participants have discovered positive feelings towards this language whilst working as expatriates in the Middle East. Participants not only see it as a language of reconnection and togetherness, but also as a language that assists in furthering linguistic understanding and communication in other languages. Is this the beginning of the period of depoliticisation of Afrikaans in diasporic communities, perhaps? This positivity and re-familiarisation with the "language of the oppressor", as Afrikaans is referred to in some circles, is evident in the following interactive group discussion.

Interviewer: Having completed the questionnaire, how do you feel about the languages that you grew up with now?

RP: That Afrikaans is not necessarily a bad thing and that as a South African it can benefit us. Both in our own country and when you leave. And that I thought it was ... err ... I did not think it was positive when I left South Africa. But now

I've changed my mind because over the years I've seen that it's a benefit and that people look differently at us when we speak this language. They think that you can speak other languages and that you can also understand them.

Interviewer: Did you not speak much Afrikaans back in South Africa?

RP: I did but I was ashamed of it when I came ... because of the association [with Apartheid] and how I felt about it ... now I feel differently ... it benefits me now and I am proud of it now. I thought it only belonged in South Africa and I was wrong. I think that other South Africans who also speak Afrikaans ... whether it is *suiwer Afrikaans* or *kombuis Afrikaans* ... when they come here they are pleasantly surprised when they meet people ... because they don't anticipate that it would be welcomed in the manner that it is. I have a colleague ... she married someone about twenty or thirty years ago and moved to the UK and recently she came here and she met South Africans. All she wants to do is speak Afrikaans even though she can hardly speak Afrikaans to save her life ... it is a comfort to her ... it is a benefit.

SP: Many South Africans *wil die taal van vooraf leer... die wat in die buiteland is*.

ZP: I only really started speaking Afrikaans when I came here [Saudi Arabia] ... and I really enjoy it and it feels good when we South Africans get together. I now want to improve my proficiency in Afrikaans so have started reading Afrikaans magazines. I think you have a stronger sense of identity when you are confronted by and later immersed in an alternative dominant culture. It forces you to place things into perspective as it brings forth the awareness of belonging somewhere, and unwittingly making comparisons. Afrikaans has done this for me. It is only since I have lived in the Middle East for a while that I have developed a sense of national pride ... even brought three different copies of the magazine *Die Rooi Rose* in Afrikaans back with me on my last visit.

According to certain participants, speaking Kaaps was not encouraged in their homes as the standard version of Afrikaans was preferred. When explaining her language portrait to the group **ZP**, a Cape Malay South African explains that, growing up, they were not encouraged to speak Kaaps at home. In fact, she says that her father "hated" it when they did.

ZP: We speak Afrikaans but it's just a bit of slang ... and even then we don't encourage it because if you don't speak proper Afrikaans don't speak it. My father never wanted us to speak Afrikaans because he hated when we spoke slang.

In addition to the desire to maintain "one's own" language (as Afrikaans is referred to by many participants), the voice for the inclusion of Kaaps also surfaced. This ties into

participants' pride in Kaaps and their emotional attachment to Cape Muslim Afrikaans. This is what they had to say in a group discussion.

Interviewer: Earlier we spoke about Afrikaans being the language of the Afrikaner and you [AM] touched on 'Affekaner'. Can you elaborate?

AM: The Muslims of the Cape or Cape Malays is referred to as 'Affekaner'. For as long as I can remember we [the Malay community] called ourselves that. It is because they speak and because the 'Affekaner' language is a mixture. There are a lot of Malay words such as *jamang*, *pwasa*, *labarang*, *piesang* ... It's a melting pot basically ... of Afrikaans and traditional Afrikaans mixed in with some Malaysian and some Arabic words etc., so they came up with this unique ... instead of Afrikaner ... they were known as 'Affekaner'. It's a concoction of all the different cultures.

SP: It makes Capetonians very unique ... so we can't say it's pure, but we are able to speak it in a foreign land. I still feel more comfortable when our whole gang lot *bymekaar kom* and speak in Afrikaans.

RP: The language is underappreciated and under-investigated and this [the interview] is one of the opportunities we have to discuss this. I mean who else talks about it? I never even thought about it until I came here. When people started asking me where I was originally from ... I actually didn't know. I can say I am from Cape Town, but what's my ethnicity? It's a mixture ... and that's the same for many other Capetonians in particular. They don't know and they don't care ... *en dis klaar wat dit so is*.

R: You cannot also say the same things in English. Afrikaans is such a descriptive language ... how do you say "*dis 'n mannetjie wind wat waai*" in English? Or the guys from the fruit stands ... "Hey listen *Gala* ... listen ... the man goes [mangoes] where the woman goes *né?*" ... "*mengoes, mengoes lekker soet!*" [selling the fruit, mangoes]. Also nothing beats swearing in Afrikaans ... that's the honest to goodness truth. Can we actually imagine not speaking Afrikaans?

RP: I also feel that Afrikaans is an emotive language that unifies all South Africans so you don't get judged as harshly when you speak *kombuis Afrikaans* ... you are judged less because it is a unifying language.

Interviewer: You mentioned the difference between Afrikaner en 'Affekaner'. What is your opinion about another Afrikaans standard created incorporating all the Afrikaans vernaculars spoken in the different regions?

RP: I think there is nothing wrong with building on a strong base. I think it should be preserved as a very important language and given the credit it deserves ... and this would be a step in the right direction. Times are changing and there

may be even more words added to this. We should think out of the box and expand it to include this uniqueness of the ‘*Affekaner*’ language. If you look at the counterpart English ... English has been changed over the years ... there’s words that have been added ... “bootylicious” ... for goodness’ sake ... is found in the dictionary. So for us not to entertain the idea of Afrikaans versus ‘*Affekaner*’ will be detrimental to us. The benefits outweigh the negative side and it stands a better chance of being preserved a hundred years from now.

Thus data collected in this study shows that most expatriates find that communicating in Afrikaans and other indigenous languages outside the borders of South Africa gives participants a sense of comfort and belonging.

6.6 Colour regarded as instrument of clarity

Another dimension that emerged was that the use of colour in the language portrait activity was seen by some participants as an exercise “of balance and clarity”. As suggested by Busch (2010: 284), participants’ language portraits allowed them to explore their experiences, emotions and thoughts about the broader social context of their language practices including their ambitions and desires. However, what emerged with responses given by the following participants is the added dimension of colour becoming an instrument of “balance” and “clarity”. An important facet of their portraits is that participants used shades of colour to signify the level of linguistic importance the language played in their lives. The following emerged during another interview:

ZP: I started off ... I first took the colour purple and I made the third eye. I coloured it in because I see it as a source of wisdom. And it’s my intuition and it’s where I can see things which are obvious but not clear. ... Which is always a big problem with me. I didn’t do my interpretation like that ... from a personal experience and the background that I come from, we’ve never differentiated between ... this language represents that and that language represents that. Though I have to admit that if there is one language that I identify with more than Afrikaans then it is Arabic ... if I had to use your [JN’s] analogy ... I would just have English and Arabic. In fact I wrote it [Arabic] on my ears and on my mouth, because I wrote that the one was to listen to good news ... the recitation of the Quran and my mouth was to glorify God. So that was the only one where I used language. Because overall in the home [in South Africa] we never thought in terms of English and Afrikaans ... somehow or the other it never occurred to us. I just used the different colours to represent certain things and I used this particular picture made most of it in yellow. Because it’s trying to get a balance in life ... to

create a balance. And maybe in a way it was the right thing for me ... because to choose one language over the other is not going to work out for me personally. It's only ... English is only a means of communication and the Arabic is because I am Muslim and I always aspired to learn Arabic because I couldn't read Arabic. I think the strange thing is because I am what we consider "Coloured" ... "Cape Coloured" ... our background is supposed to be from Java and a bit of Dutch from my mother's side and err ... Indian on my father's side ... but we don't care ... we honestly don't have the words ... we don't have the traditions that filter down in our family.

NLR's reflections show a journey of uncertainty of identity and the same search for balance which the language portrait activity puts into perspective for her.

NLR: Yes I would also say my picture also shows a lot of balance. I would say I think it's important ... uhm. Although I grew up in a Dutch family, spoke Afrikaans, went to an English-medium school, it's as if I sort of never knew where I really belonged. Although with this picture ... it shows that I coloured the head and my arms and hands in red, because I think in English especially with my studies and my work. And I talk with my hands so that's sort of also in English and you use it when you are explaining as well.

In the next chapter, further themes around Afrikaans identity construction are discussed through small stories. Bamberg defines small stories as instruments that make it possible for one to examine how individuals as agentive actors position themselves and become positioned (Bamberg 2011: 15). The small stories that are presented reflect this dual nature of identity construction in which the referential world is constructed. Here, the characters (participants) emerge as protagonists in space and time, and the referential world (the plot of the story) is constructed and reconstructed through the eyes of the teller/narrator via interactive engagement (Bamberg 2011:16).

CHAPTER 7

Narratives of nostalgia, unity, ambivalence and contradiction

7.1 Introduction

This study sees various themes emerging that seem to be interrelated. In particular, Afrikaans seems to be a language that evokes feelings and emotions of nostalgia, unity, ambivalence and contradiction. These feelings were manifested in narratives. In this chapter, some of the narratives that emerged around this theme will be analysed in more depth. Both “small stories” and “big stories” (language biographies) will be analysed. The big story focuses on the biographical narrative content of the story such as personal, past experiences. The analysis of these big stories is generally used to present the grand narratives of an individual’s life (Georgakopoulou 2006), and asks the “whats” of narrative content (Phoenix and Sparkes 2009: 222-223). These big stories are typically structured as narrations of events over a period of time with a starting point, story line, middle and end.

On the other hand, small stories are those stories told during normal daily interactions about everyday occurrences. They are often heard outside of the formal interview setting as “fleeting moments of narrative orientation to the world” (Georgakopoulou 2006: 123). According to Freeman (2006), big and small stories are reciprocal in nature and complement one another. Freeman notes that when used in combination, big and small stories point to a promising integrative approach for narrative inquiry. In line with Freeman’s (2006) view, Stanley (2010: 21) highlights this reciprocal nature of big and small stories in that they involve “overlapping continuums of degrees of bigness and smallness”.

The narratives of participants in this study vindicate Stanley’s (2010: 21) utterance that “bigness and smallness do not complement each other, they are each other”, as their stories, big and small, are irretrievably interrelated. Small stories will be analysed according to Barkhuizen’s (2008) three-level analysis. Level one focuses on how characters are positioned within the story in relation to each other and in relation to time and space. The second level deals with issues relating to whether the telling of the story is interactionally accomplished. Here, the interaction is analysed chronologically, taking into account how the story is introduced as well as turn taking. Not only other participants in the group, but also the contribution of the interviewer is taken into account as the story is narrated as a result of a prompting or questions posed by the interviewer (Barkhuizen 2009). Finally, at level three, an

analysis is made to ascertain how participants construct and position themselves in relation to other characters in the stories (or the bigger story), including how the narrator/s establish a sense of self or identity.

7.2 Small story analysis

The first small story is that of **SP**, a South African of Indian descent who has been living and working in Saudi Arabia for the last 19 years. She was born in the Western Cape, raised by first-generation Indian immigrant parents, and completed her education in an English school, yet had Afrikaans as L1 at home. She went on to become a nurse and, at age 36, left South Africa to work in Saudi Arabia. Whilst working in the Middle East, she married a Kenyan national who speaks English and Urdu and is a qualified pulmonologist. They have been employed in different hospitals for the better part of 20 years. During the interview, she was asked if she had any colleagues from South Africa working at her hospital. Her initial response was in the affirmative, after which she vividly recalled her arrival in Saudi Arabia in 1995 and the isolation that she felt. She went on to explain how she dealt with her anxiety by telling the following small story.

Small story 1: Creating a “home” away from home

Interviewer: Do you have many colleagues from South Africa?

SP:

1. Yes. In fact I was the second or third South African at our hospital. I came here in 1995,
2. December 19th and the first person I wanted to see was Laura who worked with me at City
3. Park Hospital. And I was so homesick because *die plek het vir my maar baie treurig gelyk o*
4. *vader* ... and I just thought to myself “where did I get myself into?”. It was an experience and
5. you feel foreign and you get scared, you don’t know anyone and that particular day I could
6. not wait for Laura to come. I ended up giving every South African that came ... I would give
7. them a get-together. I would make some food ... and *jy wiet mos, hulle* like ‘*More kos*’ (Indian
8. food). So I made nice Indian dishes or we had barbeque together ... and that’s how we met
9. South Africans ... it was Whites, it was Blacks, it was “Coloureds” ... and I was the Indian
10. there ... but it was nice.

The small story by **SP** describes events which brought South Africans together (through the use of food). The characters in this small story are **SP**, her South African colleague Laura, and the many South African nurses who periodically arrived in Saudi Arabia. She refers to the later arrivals as “every South African that came” (line 6) and places them in racial groups by describing their diversity in that “it was Whites, it was Blacks, it was Coloureds” (line 10). In

lines 1-2, she explains that she was only the second or third South African employed at the hospital and recalls the impatience she felt about reconnecting with her colleague and friend Laura from Cape Town. Whilst she mentions the different racial groups, she does not see them as “apart” from but simply as “part” of a group of South Africans when she emphasises “... and I was the Indian there ...” (line 9). This almost proud announcement sets the tone of **SP**’s story about the need for togetherness with those from “home”.

In telling this small story, **SP** first gives some background (when she arrived in the foreign country), followed by her introducing a problem (her feelings of loss and loneliness), and gives a resolution to this problem (creating opportunities for fellow South Africans to meet up). The story begins on 19 December 1995 when **SP** arrives in Saudi Arabia, just one year after South Africa became a democracy and employment opportunities for South Africans began opening up abroad. For many South Africans, travelling and working abroad was a first, and many were not prepared for the emotional upheaval it would bring. As **SP** is the main character, we experience these feelings of anxiety and isolation through her voice when she says that “you feel foreign and you get scared, you don’t know anyone” (line 5). She feels “homesick” upon arrival and questions her decision to go to a place that looked “*treurig*” (‘bleak’ – line 3), leading to an urgent need to be with other South Africans, in this case, her friend Laura. She resolves to help ease the feeling of isolation and anxiety for her fellow South Africans by trying to create a “home away from home”, thus leading to the action that translates into the arranging of “get-togethers” and making South African food. She even makes Indian food from “home” that South Africans like in order to create this feeling of togetherness.

The way in which the narrator positions herself as someone who faced loneliness resolved this, and also through her efforts made it easier for other South Africans to fit in. The narrator code switches to Afrikaans, especially when she discusses emotional aspects. This code switching is probably done because she knows that the interviewer has proficiency in Afrikaans. This could well have been different if the interviewer was not proficient in Afrikaans. It is also interesting to note that although the narrator emphasises a “South Africanness”, she still uses Apartheid classifications to talk about South Africans.

This story not only recounts the events of a certain day and the emotions that the protagonist experiences, but also provides insight into issues of anxiety, isolation and separation that migration, even if temporary, brings with it. Events on that fateful day of **SP**’s arrival in the Middle East, leads her to cling to anything South African and to create situations for South

Africans to spend time together, not only to welcome them and make them feel the warmth and togetherness of being with one's own kind, but also because she needed the contact. This need for contact with South Africans inspired **SP**'s actions as she says "... and that's how we met South Africans ... and it was nice ..." (lines 8-10). This need for contact from "home" is captured in this small story, where South Africans across the racial lines came together and connect as one unified group socialising and enjoying "food from home" as comfort and support for each other. This unifying quality also appears to be part of other South African languages as it signifies attachment to and identification with "home".

Small story 2: MC's United through Afrikaans and rugby

An unexpected theme arose of the once despised Afrikaans language during the dark years of Apartheid becoming an instrument of bringing South Africans across racial lines together. Before taking a closer look at **MC**'s story, it is important to elaborate a bit on her background. MC is a 51 year-old South African born of "Coloured" parents in the Cape Town suburb of Southfield, who speaks English as L1. She is married with three children and whilst her entire family is equally fluent in English and Afrikaans, English is also the L1 of her husband and children. **MC** is a qualified teacher who taught English as a major for many years in South Africa. In 2012, she left South Africa to teach English as a foreign language at a tertiary institution in Saudi Arabia, where she still works at present.

Interviewer: What are your initial thoughts having completed this questionnaire?

MC:

1. This has been such an interesting questionnaire to fill in. It had reminded me of an incident
2. that happened in Carrefour now the other day. I was walking behind a White couple and
3. they were talking about a rugby match in Afrikaans and I went up to them.
4. I didn't even introduce myself and we just continued the conversation. We just found
5. ourselves sitting on a bench afterwards ... chatting, you know? I feel that something like this
6. won't happen in South Africa.

On the first level this small story is about the way in which the Afrikaans language spontaneously brings South Africans together in a foreign environment, regardless of race. This small story was narrated by **MC** as an initial response given to the opening question in the group interview session, when the interviewer asked what the group's immediate thoughts were upon completion of the questionnaire.

The characters in this small story are the narrator and an Afrikaans-speaking White South African couple. The narrator spontaneously recounts events that take place in a supermarket, where she meets these South Africans. The narrator first sketches the scene where she walks behind the husband and wife in a supermarket (Carrefour; line 2) and hears them speaking in Afrikaans. Her reaction on hearing Afrikaans being spoken results in an automatic spontaneous need to communicate in this language from “home”. By her own admission, the narrator introduces the problem which is a longing to hear and connect in Afrikaans. **MC** tells us that she just voluntarily joined in the “conversation”, which “continued” (line 4) as if it was the most natural thing to do. Accordingly, the narrator in this story positions herself as one who has a need to connect with South Africans in a foreign land and does just that, as she is spontaneously drawn to the language and a love for the rugby culture from back “home”. The welcoming reaction by the White Afrikaans-speaking South Africans to include a “Coloured” Afrikaans-speaking South African into their intimate space, also reflects their need to connect with their fellow countrymen. The obvious connection and comfortable feeling of togetherness leads the group not only to shop together, but also to enjoy lunch on a bench hours later, where the narrator recalls that they continue “... chatting” (line 5).

The story ends with the narrator lamenting the fact that what happened on that day, in that supermarket, in that country “won’t happen in South Africa” (line 6). This statement draws attention to the conflict in the story which revolves around the issues of the divide and ongoing debates regarding “Afrikaners” and standard Afrikaans versus Kaaps and the rest of the Afrikaans speaking population. The narrator alludes to the idea that the action that played itself out on that day in the Middle East is unlikely to happen in South Africa. This small story ironically brings forth the unifying quality of Afrikaans as a language from “home” that acts as a catalyst in breaking down racial barriers and uniting ordinary South Africans abroad, yet is still at the centre of the “division” back home.

This unifying quality also appears to be part of other South African languages as it signifies attachment to familiarity from “home”. **MC** once again narrates a small story that took place while she was working in the UK. Her story brings to life the powerful emotion that language as an indicator of identity and that place called “home” involves.

Small story 3: MC continues: languages from “home” unite

1. Yes ... yes ... Did I tell you what happened to me in England when I was teaching there?
2. I was teaching for four years and I wasn’t home for four years as my family used to come and

3. visit me. So ... I was standing at the bus station one day and I heard two Xhosa ladies speaking
4. Xhosa. Ooh...I just hugged them and they hugged me back and all three of us just ended up
5. crying. It was such an emotional moment. I think language is such a powerful tool if you
6. connect with it.

RA: And especially because it's part of you, so you use it every day and when you are in a foreign country like this for example, you hear Arabic every day, the whole day ... all of a sudden you hear Afrikaans ...

MC: And it's our own ... it's our own. We connect with it differently here.

The above small story once again echoes the way in which a South African language, this time Xhosa, spontaneously brings South Africans together in a foreign environment, regardless of race. This small story is again narrated by **MC** who is inspired by a response from **RA**, a member of the group taking part in the discussion. **RA** responds to **MC**'s earlier narration on the supermarket encounter by saying that South Africans respond in the way that **MC** described, "because when you do hear the language you feel like ... all of a sudden ... that's a piece of home and never mind what your colour...".

The characters in this small story are the narrator and two South African expatriates. The setting is a bus station in London where **MC** hears the women converse in Xhosa. As in her first story, the narrator experiences an automatic, spontaneous need to connect with these people from "home", even if it simply means listening to this familiar language from "home". Once again, the present issue is the longing to hear and connect with those from home in a language which makes the association. The action that follows is laden with emotion as the narrator recalls how she simply went up and hugged them and they "hugged me back and all three of us just ended up crying (lines 4-5). In this story, **MC** clearly positions herself as an individual one who has a need to connect with South Africans, compounded by the fact that she has not been "home for four years" (line 2). This need, once again, is also exhibited by the emotional reaction to the narrator by the women. This longing and need for togetherness was resolved by the reaction and linguistic connection of these South African expatriates to a language from "home".

The aforementioned accounts by the participants reflect the role that language plays in shaping identity which cannot be underestimated as it instantly connects individuals of the speech community. This is emphasised by Joseph (2006: 39) who said that "we read the identity of people with whom we come into contact based on very subtle features of behaviour, among which those of language are particularly central".

Small story 4: CI's the colour, joy and movement of Cape English

CI is a White South African who grew up in the Cape Town suburbs of Tamboerskloof, then Monte Vista and Kalk Bay, and speaks English as L1. (A more comprehensive background of **CI** is given elsewhere in the thesis so it will not be repeated at this point.) Of relevance here is that she is particularly drawn to the linguistic cultural humour of Cape English as spoken by “Cape Coloureds”. From her small story below, it becomes evident that she identifies with a man who appears to be a “Coloured” flower-seller who, in her perception, is as perennial as the grass from the place that she calls “home”. She acknowledges that he is culturally and linguistically different from her, yet she sees him and his kind as an integral part of her fabric of life.

Interviewer: You seem passionate about the way that the English language is spoken in Cape Town. In fact, you mention in your notes that it is “the colour of Capetonian English” that grounds you. Can you explain?

CI:

1. I was walking to the beach the other day when we were in Fish Hoek and there was this
2. lovely toothless wonder and had these ... they looked like nicked flowers that was just lying
3. next to the road over there ... and I kind of gave a smile of thinking “*Ja*, I wonder where
4. you nicked those things from.” And he just said to me “Lady ... don’t let the South-Easter
5. wipe that beautiful smile off your face” ... (laughing). And for me that is the Cape English.
6. It’s just so brilliantly foreign to my upbringing with its rules and regulations yet it’s just
7. where ... expression and just joy and movement and life come from. It’s a colour, its ... yes
8. just life ... that’s Cape English.

In level one, in the aforementioned small story, **CI** celebrates and affirms the linguistic ownership and implicit understanding that South Africans have vested in “Cape English” (line 5), as **CI** refers to it. The telling of the small story was in response to the interviewer referring to **CI**’s language portrait notes, where she indicates that it is “the colour of Capetonian English” that grounds her. She is asked by the interviewer to explain this statement. The characters in this small story are the narrator and a “Coloured” flower-seller. The action takes place in the Cape coastal town of Fish Hoek, where the narrator is walking along the beach on one of her return visits home and encounters a “Coloured” man selling flowers. She describes the flowers as “just lying next to the road” (lines 2-3), alluding to the idea that it may be someone else’s property. Here, the narrator positions herself as a Capetonian who is cautiously suspicious of what may proceed to be a sale of stolen goods (the problem).

The action in the story reflects the close bond that is shared between the characters, as the flower-seller correctly interprets the narrator’s knowing smile as one of concern. In response,

he slyly lays the blame for her disposition at the door of the Cape's notoriously fierce wind known as the "South-Easter" (line 4). Instead of feeling anger or disgust, the narrator is drawn into the humour of the man's defence and chooses to engage with and enjoy the harmless abandonment of all the "rules and regulations ..." (line 6) that she grew up with in her White culture. The narrator marvels at the way in which language is expressed through sheer "... joy and movement and life ..." (line 7), bringing forth the "colours" of "life" (line 8) in the form of Cape English. It is precisely this "life" that the narrator comically tries to breathe into her telling of the story when (to the delight of the interviewer) she tries to imitate the Cape English accent. There is also a whiff of code switching through her use of "ja" (line 3).

On the other hand, **CI** has an intense bond and love for Xhosa and those that speak it. At this juncture, it is necessary to give a bit of background of this participant. She grew up in Cape Town with a German mother and an English father. As a young girl, she became seriously ill and yearned to be with her Xhosa nanny whom she loved dearly. As it was not possible for the nanny to return as she had small children at this time, the family decided to allow **CI** to go and live with her nanny in Khayelitsha (a Black township) where she lived for five years and not only learned to speak Xhosa but studied the art of becoming a *sangoma*. Her amazing bond with Xhosa and its people is reflected in her statement that it represents "everything" to her. She is, however, sadly reflective of the ambivalent realities of being White, hence "different".

CI, **JN** and **CL**'s depictions of their language portraits breathe life into Rampton's (2011) stylisation, as they have the capacity to navigate comfortably the inescapable ambiguity of a multilingual environment.

CI's (see Language portrait 1) explanatory notes speak vividly of her feelings about the Xhosa language, when she says:

CI: Black is for me around Xhosa and around tradition. And it's like this girdle that sits around your hips and around your waist ... And the colour over here on the ankles ... it's the music of dance. The rhythm. It's what we've got in our language off the Xhosa ... it's culture ... it's living, it's food. It's giving, it's who you are ... it's your sadness ... it's everything. But it also carries for me the weight very much of being other ... outside my race but part of it. It's the language also of acceptance, forgiveness and respect. It moves my body forward. Uhm ... it's a language of wounds and growth and bounds that keeps me very conscious ... because I'm a Sangoma ... err I've got constant reminders ... people see me who are African and they know I am different. So it carries for me a weight around the shoulders as well as the burden of being

different ... is not always a comfortable place for me to sit. Uhm, so I am very conscious that it's not my mother tongue and I'm part of and not of it.

On the other hand, **JN**'s L1 that she learned was not English or Afrikaans, but Shangaan (see Language portrait 2). She says of her language repertoire:

JN: Shangaan is a ... I coloured the little legs black, because I don't know why ... I grew up on a mission station and my little friends were Black. My first language was Shangaan, because I couldn't speak Afrikaans when I went to school. And my little Black friends ... err ... had the cutest little legs and that reminds me of my childhood.

CL also worked in Taiwan for a number of years and found an attachment not only to the Chinese language but also to its people. She describes this period and place in her life as significant to the point that it has given her deep emotional linguistic eloquence (see Language portrait 4). **CL** explains:

CL: ... I did a little bit of Chinese here [on the arm]. It was just such a huge part of my life because I lived in Taiwan for almost 11 years. And sometimes when I cannot reach a word ... or grasp a word, the Chinese will pop up. So I put it over here [arm].

Breakwell (1986, cited in Korf and Malan 2010: 150-151) points to the fact that individuals have to place themselves under a transparency and make fresh choices regarding in-group norms of belonging and exclusion. He stresses the fact that one's identity, whether individual or as part of a group, should invoke positive feelings of worthiness.

7.3 Big stories

Nekvapil (2003: 10-11) defines language biographies as biographical accounts in which the narrator bases his story on a language with the focus on how the language was acquired and used. As language is an interactive tool used in all spheres of society (i.e. family, friends, acquaintances etc.), one's language biography naturally forms part of other individuals' biographies, whether those of family or simply certain linguistic features of a particular language community. Nekvapil emphasises the usefulness of analysing language biographies as this wide reach of language biographies makes them good sources of information, especially with regard to historical and diachronic research of language.

Nekvapil (2003) refers to three categories of information that can be extracted by way of biographical narratives analysis. These categories include information on how "things were" (the reality of life), how "things" and events were experienced by the informants (the reality

of the subject), and how “things” and events are narrated by the informants (the reality of the text). These categories are relevant in the context of this thesis, as they all form an integral part of identity construction. This chapter presents language-biography narratives by participants that are closely linked to the actions and attitudes of the speakers towards the Afrikaans language in particular.

Narrative 5: SS's love for the 'suiwer' Afrikaans spoken by my rural family and theirs for our English

The following narrative by SS is reflective of how South African parents feel about the value of multilingualism. Accordingly, the narrator explains that she grew up in an air of academia with fluency in both English and Afrikaans. She explains that whilst she studied English as L1, she was equally fluent in both English and Afrikaans and, interestingly, found Afrikaans to be the “rich” language. By her own admission, she loved to speak the standard vernacular which her family living in the Southern Cape spoke. She refers to “*kombuis* English” as the language not spoken properly, and that her rural family was proud of her linguistic prowess in English.

SS:

1. I grew up speaking both Afrikaans and English. My parents both grew up with Afrikaans as
2. their mother tongue. My parents felt that it would be in my best interest to be fully bilingual.
3. During my foundation years I was able to converse fluently in both Afrikaans and English.
4. My dad was an avid reader of English; he had a library of English books and he subscribed to
5. Readers Digest during the 1980's. He also encouraged me and my siblings to read.
6. I was enrolled into primary school. The principal at the time encouraged my parents to enrol me
7. into Afrikaans medium instruction. His reasoning was that because both my parents were
8. Afrikaans first-language speakers, it would be in my best interest.
9. However, the school I was attending had only one Afrikaans medium class and the rest were
10. English. Our neighbours were predominantly English first-language speakers, which meant
11. most of my friends spoke English. I was able to switch from Afrikaans to English with ease.
12. Mostly I found when I spoke English I could express myself with the same way as I would in
13. Afrikaans, although I found that Afrikaans was a rich language.
14. My maternal grandmother lived in the Southern Cape, where most people spoke “*suiwer*”
15. Afrikaans and I loved speaking “*suiwer*”. Coming from a community where most people
16. spoke a sort of “*kombuis* English”, as we would call it, where English and Afrikaans is mixed
17. to form a colloquial language, it was typical to blend the two languages. During school
18. vacations I would spend time in the Southern Cape, where people mostly spoke Afrikaans and
19. when I spoke English to my siblings amongst our peers, they were quite impressed that we
20. had a good command of the English language. My grandmother's relatives would joke with
21. me, telling me to teach the farm kids some English. They were impressed with us city kids.

In this narrative, **SS** recounts the early years when she attended a dual-medium school which only had one Afrikaans class. Her parents decided that she should enrol in the English-medium class despite the fact that her mother tongue was Afrikaans. **SS**'s story highlights the value of multilingualism, with particular reference to English as the second language, as a linguistic tool that empowers and elevates the speakers in the eyes of their interlocutors.

The characters in this small story are **SS**, her parents, the school principal, her grandmother, neighbours, friends and family members. The narrator first gives some background about her childhood and explains that her parents both spoke Afrikaans as mother tongue yet circumstances with regard to the school led to her being enrolled in an English-medium class. The problems were several. Her mother tongue is Afrikaans, the school only has one Afrikaans class and her neighbours and friends speak English. The narrator thus positions herself as one who was quite willing to learn English as L1 even though her mother tongue is Afrikaans, as this would resolve her communication woes with her neighbours and friends and render her multilingual. She manages this multilingual linguistic feat and is able to navigate between the two languages with "ease" (line 11) whilst teaching and, by her own admission, becomes "quite proficient in Afrikaans" (lines 11-12). The narrator speaks of a mutual admiration that existed between her and her rural family from the Southern Cape regarding their respective proficiencies in standard English and "suiwer" Afrikaans (line 15). She was particularly admired for her proficiency in English as most "Coloured" people, especially in the Cape region, spoke a mixed language known as "*kombuis* English" (line 16).

The following narrative is the life story of **JN** that encapsulates the highs and lows of the Apartheid era, with details so vivid that the researcher was able to locate this family in the history pages⁴. The narrator was born to a Dutch father and German mother and has four siblings, one of whom is adopted. This is the story of the protagonist who rode the crest of an incredible linguistic wave through the years of Apartheid, and whose life story defined the concept of the 'Rainbow Nation' long before Archbishop Desmond Tutu coined the phrase in 1994. She grew up at a mission station where her father was the minister, and she came to love the Shangaan people and their language as her own. She had no idea of race until her father tragically died in an accident on the farm while trying to save a worker, and the family had to relocate to the "real" world and face the harsh realities of Apartheid. However, this participant's resilience and firm conviction to stay true to herself and her upbringing directed her to master and communicate with other South Africans in five different languages

⁴ "Faith, hope and determination" by D.J. Theron.

(Shangaan, German, English, Afrikaans and Xhosa). Her compelling story takes us from Rivoni (the mission station), through a period that spans 59 years and ends in the Middle East, where **JN** now teaches. **JN**'s narration encapsulates Riesman's (2008: 105, cited in Barkhuizen 2003: 11-12) utterance that "stories don't fall from the sky ... they are composed and received in contexts – interactional, historical, institutional, and discursive". It also gives life to Pavlenko's (2007: 176-177) view that narrative analysis in sociolinguistic research must take into account the "larger historical, political, social, and economic circumstances that shape them". **JN**'s depiction of her life's reality (how things are or were) allows the researcher to establish fact from fiction, to a certain extent. The "hope" in the title of **JN**'s story alludes to glimpses of a depoliticised Afrikaans on the move.

Big story 1: JN's Promise, struggle and hope

Interviewer: You say that Afrikaans is your L1, yet this was not the case in your childhood years, as Shangaan was the language that you spoke most fluently. Could you tell us how this came about, especially since you are a White South African of Afrikaner descent?

JN:

1. I'm a White South African. Born and raised during Apartheid. I speak Shangaan, Afrikaans,
2. German, Xhosa and English. I'm sharing my unique language journey, because I think it is
3. quite different from the average Afrikaner's language journey. My father, Mfundise Brood
4. Potgieter, was a missionary in the Bushbuckridge area and I grew up amongst 100 000
5. Shangaan people. My name was Mansesane, the thin one, and all my siblings had Shangaan
6. names. I ate what the Shangaan people were eating, my best friend was Jabulani and I
7. greeted everybody in the Shangaan way: *Abushene! U kweni? Ndi koho*. I was born in 1956
8. in a Shangaan world. Being raised during Apartheid, I had no idea that strife and hatred
9. was the norm outside the protected mission station, Rivoni, a name one of my father's first
10. evangelist's wives had given the mission station. My mother, who is from German decent,
11. taught us some German phrases. At the same time, Afrikaans was spoken in our home, if no
12. Shangaan members of the congregation were present. They counted it as being impolite,
13. speaking Afrikaans in the presence of the Shangaan people. Therefore, we all had to know
14. Shangaan. In a way, Shangaan was my prayer language (because we had to attend my
15. father's sermons in Shangaan), my social language, and Afrikaans was my family language.
16. Great was my surprise when I had to attend school, outside the protected environment of my
17. Shangaan world! I spoke a broken Afrikaans and German, and a perfect Shangaan! My
18. parents were told to teach me decent Afrikaans, for my sentences were Afrikaans sentences,
19. directly translated from the Shangaan: *die man, hy loop ..., ek lekker gelag ..., loop moo*
20. *(totsiens)!*
21. Gradually I learned to speak Afrikaans, and then Shangaan became my second language,

22. because I was only introduced to English at the age of 7. We were taught simple words and
 23. phrases in English and the reader was so elementary. German was only heard when my
 24. mom spoke to us in the absence of my dad.
 25. Tragically my father was killed on the mission station and we had to relocate to a farm far
 26. from the mission station. I lost contact with my Shangaan friends and “family”. At
 27. university, I studied a BA degree in Languages, including Afrikaans/Dutch, English, German,
 28. French and Xhosa. I studied Xhosa seeing that I was studying in the Eastern Cape and the
 29. only African language was Xhosa. Mr Mzeleni taught us the clicks, a love for the
 30. unbelievable fables and fireside stories in the Xhosa culture and helped me overcome the
 31. confusion that is brought by learning several African languages. *Shinkwa* (‘bread’ in
 32. Shangaan), now was *isonka* (‘bread’ in Xhosa). My toughest language barrier was to forget the
 33. Shangaan and learn the related Xhosa. Studying at an English university, the Nelson
 34. Mandela Metropolitan University in Port Elizabeth, forced me to learn English well, seeing
 35. that our lectures were in English. German was my major and I graduated, having studied
 36. German to my third year. I became a German teacher in Namibia, teaching German from
 37. grade 8-12. Wanting to continue my father’s legacy, I planned to teach at the Black
 38. Educational Department, Coloured Educational Department and the Indian Educational
 39. Department during Apartheid. It was tough, because I was teaching the oppressor’s
 40. language, Afrikaans, but I have the privilege to say that I made a difference in the lives of so
 41. many disadvantaged students in those years.
 42. They still contact me and visit me. Some have become leaders, with so much mercy, because
 43. a White teacher once, long ago had a heart for the oppressed ...
 44. My decision to bid the South African Education Department farewell and to start teaching in
 45. the Middle East in 2011 changed my whole perception of Afrikaans as the language of the
 46. oppressor. Here I met my fellow South African colleagues, far from home, in the same
 47. situation: to overcome the culture shock and to teach English to Arabic students. Life away
 48. from home, where you are surrounded by Arabic native speakers, Arabic food, shops, the
 49. distinct distanced attitude towards expats, forces a person to embrace what is yours. You
 50. treasure anything and anyone that reminds you that you are South African. It is as though
 51. we South Africans in the Middle East are united by the language because the moment you
 52. meet a fellow South African, irrespective of colour or creed, and you hear the language, your
 53. longing fades. You hug and greet and giggle and joke, like only South Africans can! “*Môre*
 54. *meisie, hoe gaan dit met jou?*” It also becomes the way to discuss certain topics that we do
 55. not necessarily want the other teachers to understand! In this way, we vent our frustrations,
 56. helping us to support each other in a unique way. It’s become the unifying factor across
 57. races. The language of the oppressor becomes the language of comfort, the language of the
 58. place called home ...
 59. My language journey was a rainbow journey. Thanks to my beloved country South Africa!

The telling of the big story was prompted by a question from the interviewer who asks, “You say that Afrikaans is your L1, yet this was not the case in your childhood years, as Shangaan was the language that you spoke most fluently. Could you tell us how this came about, especially since you are a White South African of Afrikaner descent?” In response to this question, the narrator tells the above small story which is one of endurance, strife, forgiveness and reconnection through the use of language.

The characters in this story are the narrator, her father, mother, siblings, her best friend Jabulani, 100 000 Shangaan people, Mr Mzeleni, her students and fellow South African colleagues in the Middle East. The story begins at a mission station in the Bushbuckridge area in the former Transvaal Province during the late 1950s in Apartheid South Africa. The narrator sketches an almost idyllic, tranquil existence of a people living together as one extended family, with strong bonds of love and respect. At a physical level, **JN** and her family live among the Shangaan people and she refers to them as “friends and family” (line 25). That they too are highly regarded by the locals is shown by the fact that they are given indigenous Shangaan names such as “Thin one” (referring to **JN** in line 5) and *Mfundise* (line 3) meaning “minister”, in the case of **JN**’s father. Speaking another language (Afrikaans or German) in the presence of a member of the Shangaan group is regarded as disrespectful by her parents and so the family also prays in Shangaan, which indicates the bond and level of mutual respect that exists in their daily interactions. The community and their daily life are described as a relatively normal one with Shangaan being the main language of communication (see examples of greetings “*Abushene! U kweni? Ndi koho*” in line 7) and includes eating the same food. The narrator describes the setting at the beginning of her small story as a peaceful, “Shangaan world” (line 8), which is starkly juxtaposed against the rest of South Africa where Apartheid was in full swing. **JN** wistfully refers to this period as one where she is blissfully unaware of the “strife and hatred” (line 8) that lay just outside the precincts of the mission station.

At this point in the story, **JN** introduces her problem which has its roots in multilingualism. In this case, both her parents speak different languages (Afrikaans/Dutch and German) but live in a community where the people speak another language (Shangaan). The narrator’s mother and father use their own languages when talking to their children but, as **JN** points out, only in the absence of the Shangaan people, as their children also need to function in the world outside the mission station. As a consequence of this bilingual situation, the narrator and her siblings, to the consternation of their primary school teacher, are unable to speak, write or

communicate in their expected mother tongue, Afrikaans, but instead directly translate from Shangaan into Afrikaans. Furthermore, the narrator is only introduced to Basic English at age 7 and interacts in German with her mother only in the absence of her father. A second serious problem is introduced which devastates the narrator and her family. The narrator experiences loss on two levels: the loss of her father and her Shangaan “family and friends”, therefore the Shangaan language. The narrator later decides to empower herself linguistically not only in English, as this is a university requirement, but also in Xhosa, as this is the African language in the Eastern Cape and the closest to Shangaan. The main reason stated is her desire to teach at the schools of the oppressed masses (“Black Educational Department, Coloured Educational Department and the Indian Educational Department”) and to remain true to the teachings of her “humanitarian” father. With this decision made, the narrator positions herself as someone who wants to teach language as an important skill to the oppressed and help make “a difference in the lives of so many disadvantaged students in those years” (line 38). She goes on to graduate with a BA degree, majoring in five languages (English, Afrikaans, German, French and Xhosa). She explains that she is able to learn Xhosa as her teacher’s (Mr Mzeleni’s) skilful art of story-telling helps erase the confusion between Shangaan and Xhosa. The narrator first teaches German in Namibia followed by Afrikaans to the “many” disadvantaged students. She reflects on her actions and believes that her contribution all those years ago helped create feelings of reconciliation in the leadership after 1994.

The setting of the story moves to the present time (2014) where the narrator now works in the Middle East. The tone of the narration changes from an air of dejection (the narrator’s regret and shame of Apartheid and the role of Afrikaans at that time) to one of reconnection, hope and forgiveness. As in the small story of **SP**, the narrator here points to the problem of loneliness and isolation that rears their heads when one is immersed in a foreign culture. She points out that in such a situation where “where you are surrounded by Arabic native speakers, Arabic food, shops, and the distinct distanced attitude towards expats, you treasure anything and anyone that reminds you that you are South African” (lines 48-50). Thus the narrator once again brings us to the need of South African expatriates in the Middle East to connect with anything or anyone from the place called “home”. This need, she says, is met in a big way when hearing the Afrikaans language and that “longing fades” (line 53). The narrator explains that apart from Afrikaans creating a feeling of connection and togetherness, it also provides a private world where South Africans can relate intimately and provide support for each other. It has become the unifying factor across races. In the words of **JN**, “the language of the oppressor becomes the language of comfort, the language of the place

called home ...” At this juncture, the narrator’s position takes on the form of one that does not regret her difficult linguistic journey, which she now likens to a “rainbow”. In fact, she gives “thanks” (line 59) to her “beloved country” for the Afrikaans language, despite its Apartheid history, thereby signalling forgiveness. Once again, the familiar code switching of many South Africans is also one of the vices that the narrator employs, ironically indicating that Afrikaans carries a joyful and happy quality. This code switching, as mentioned earlier, is probably used by the narrator as she is aware of the interviewer’s proficiency in Afrikaans.

However, the reality of a White family having been almost assimilated into an African people and their culture, speaking their language and even accepting Shangaan names, at the height of the Apartheid era, is incredibly heart-warming, quite inspirational and indicates a small reality of what is possible. This story reflects language as a tool of communication. One that connects people, creates understanding and is thus mutually beneficial.

Big story 2: P’s ... it became my mission to learn Afrikaans

The same dislike for slang or Kaaps was the norm in P’s household. P is a “Coloured” South African from Johannesburg whose mother, a teacher, insisted on conforming to standard linguistic norms. Not only was slang not allowed, bad pronunciation was also not tolerated. Interestingly, P was allowed to take a European language at school (German), but was prohibited from learning an African indigenous one (Zulu) on the basis that they (Zulus) were not like them (“Coloureds”). Whilst P’s family spoke Afrikaans, she was discouraged to speak the language, a proficiency she later acquired whilst working as a teacher. P has since travelled the globe, employed as an English teacher, first in Korea and now in the Middle East. She finds the same true for South African expatriates in both countries in that they show a preference for Afrikaans when they get together. She believes that the Afrikaans language lifts their spirits, unifies them and allows them to gossip freely.

Interviewer: You mention that your first language is English but you prefer to speak Afrikaans. Why is that?

P:

1. I was born and raised in Johannesburg, South Africa. My mom, a teacher, insisted that I
2. speak properly. I would never be allowed to say for e.g. “*De udder* day I went to town”. It
3. had to be “I went to town the other day” etc. In my early teenage years I wanted to learn
4. Zulu. I was told by other members of my external family that “we don’t need it “ and
5. “we are not like them”. It was on those grounds that I did not ask my parents if I could learn
6. Zulu. It was during my teenage years that it was discovered that I had a knack for languages.

7. I could pick up languages quite easily.
8. I was enrolled into a German language class. Although I grew up in an English-speaking
9. home, my extended family spoke Afrikaans. My mom jokingly said “P, please stop it, you are
10. embarrassing”. Anyway, years later, I taught at a high school that had a very good Afrikaans
11. department. It became my mission to “learn Afrikaans properly”. I can safely say that I am
12. quite proficient in Afrikaans. What I also find fascinating is that most South African expats
13. tend to speak Afrikaans in the Middle Eastern countries. I’ve found the latter true for
14. South African expats in Korea as well. In my opinion, I think that we do so because
15. (a) it binds us as South Africans (cohesive group) ,and (b) it feels good to speak and possibly
16. gossip in a language that local people don’t understand.

In this big story, **P** tells of the early years in her home where speaking Kaaps or the non-standard version of Afrikaans, is not encouraged and her subsequent determination to learn it. **P**’s story also depicts Afrikaans as an instrument that unites South Africans abroad.

The characters in this story are **P**, her mother, family members and fellow South African expatriate colleagues. The narrator first gives some background about her childhood and explains that her mother, an educator, does not allow her to speak any language in a non-standard form. Speaking the commonly used Johannesburg-English variant, such as “*de udder day*” (line 2) is vehemently discouraged at this time. The desire of **P** to learn other languages (Afrikaans and Xhosa) remains unfulfilled (the problem) as she grows up. The narrator thus positions herself as one who wants to become proficient in other languages, including Afrikaans, despite her mother’s jesting that she (the narrator) is “embarrassing” her (line 10). She resolves this problem first by learning German and, ten years later, Afrikaans. She manages this linguistic feat whilst teaching and, by her own admission, becomes “quite proficient in Afrikaans” (line 11).

The story moves to present times in the Middle East where the narrator observes that South African expatriates show a preference for Afrikaans when they get together. The narrator further notes that the same is true for “South African expatriates in Korea” (line 14), where she worked previously. She includes herself in the belief that the Afrikaans language unifies South Africans into a “cohesive group” and allows them to “gossip” freely (lines 15-16).

In the next big story, **ID** reflects on her life’s journey which showcases her linguistic attachment to Afrikaans not only as the language that she grew up with, but also as one she associates intimately with her culture. **ID**’s father and mother are of Indian and Malay

descent, respectively, and she grew up in a predominantly Muslim Malay community. This is significant, given the fact that Apartheid laws separated and confined people to separate areas based on their race. She also mentions the tag of ‘*Affekaner*’ given to people who used Cape Muslim Afrikaans which includes many Malay, Indonesian, Arabic words, etc. **ID** lives in Dubai with her husband and three children who were all born and are being raised in the Middle East. The family regularly returns home to Cape Town where they spend their holidays with family and friends.

Big story 3: ID's Afrikaans provides emotional connection outside South Africa.

Interviewer: You have been living in the Middle East for the better part of 12 years and mention that you speak English at home with your husband and kids. What role does Afrikaans still play, if any, in your life?

ID:

1. I am from Cape Town and have been living in the Middle East for the last twelve years,
2. as my husband works there. We first lived in Jeddah for about nine years and later we moved
3. to Dubai. Having completed the questionnaire, I remembered an article sent to me by a
4. fellow South African living in Dubai. I couldn't help but feel nostalgic whilst reading the
5. article. I understood every word and although I cannot really say my exact ethnicity as my
6. father is Indian and my mother is Malay, which is also debatable, but nevertheless I was
7. brought up with a mixture of cultures. Personally I love hearing Afrikaans especially in
8. Dubai or any place out of South Africa. I associate Afrikaans with my country that I feel
9. patriotic towards, but more importantly with family and friends. When speaking Afrikaans
10. abroad, one automatically feels a connection to that person, regardless of race or religion.
11. Like I said I'm a proud South African. I especially wish to relate parts of the article as its
12. contents are such a real and vivid part of my present and past community back in Cape
13. Town, South Africa.

The narrative is about how language and culture influence the way in which people communicate linguistically, with particular focus on Cape Muslim Afrikaans. **ID** narrates the story and mentions an article as illustration of the meaning that she wishes to bring across. This is in answer to the question asked by the interviewer as to whether Afrikaans still plays any role in her life as she's been living out of South Africa for approximately 12 years. The characters in this small story are the narrator, her husband, and her South African friend.

The big story takes place in the Middle East where the narrator currently resides with her husband and three children. The narrator explains that the act of reading the interviewer's questionnaire has caused her longing and nostalgia (the problem) to resurface, as it reminded

her of an article that her friend gave her. The narrator positions herself as someone who “loves hearing Afrikaans, especially in Dubai...” (lines 7-8) as this language forms a very intimate part of her culture and South African heritage, thus helping to ease her longing and giving her comfort. She resolves to speak to and seek out any South African abroad, as she “automatically feels a connection to that person regardless of race or religion” (line 10). The narrator explains that Afrikaans is so entrenched in her culture and an article that her friend recently gave her illustrates this relationship.

The article (discussed in the “Notes” section of this thesis) which **ID** uses in her story is an excellent example of a normal conversation in Cape Muslim Afrikaans with which **ID** identifies and longs for. This is the ‘*Affekaner*’s Afrikaans alluded to by **AM** in an earlier interview.

Both the small and big stories analysed in this chapter reflect repetitive themes in respect of language that undeniably connect these participants’ attitudes and feelings with regard to how they define themselves as a group and their identity construction. Interestingly, Afrikaans seems to be a language that not only evokes intense feelings and emotions of nostalgia, unity, ambivalence and contradiction, but breaks down barriers and forges a “home away from home” community. These attitudes and feelings towards Afrikaans will be further scrutinised and discussed in the next chapter, with particular focus on identity construction in a migratory context.

CHAPTER 8

Discussion and interpretation: Afrikaans, migration and identity construction

8.1 Introduction to summary and discussion of main findings

This thesis focused specifically on attitudes towards Afrikaans and the use of Afrikaans in linguistic identity construction in a migration context, using a mixed-method approach. Whilst the data analysed is based on the language attitudes of a group of South African expatriates in the Middle East, the findings may have implications for situations of migration communities in other parts of this increasingly globalised world.

The dynamics of English and Afrikaans in a South African migrant context has been the focus of a few studies (Barkhuizen 2006; Hatoss et al. 2011; Kotze 2004). Issues under investigation have included, among other things, the use of home language, attitudes towards English and Afrikaans accents and ways in which these two languages compete for space in an English-speaking diasporic context. Whilst the aforementioned studies found notable language shifts from Afrikaans to English in the South African diaspora, outcomes in this study found many complex relationships with Afrikaans. As in Dyers' (2008) study, participants in the present study continue to identify strongly with their home languages, precisely because it enhances their personal and group identities (Dyers 2007: 97).

At this point, I will return to the original research questions posed in section 1.3 and consider to what extent these questions have been answered. I will arrange this discussion in terms of the research questions posed.

8.2 Attitudes to and use of language in the construction of identity

Three questions were asked at the beginning of this thesis:

- i) What is the (reported) preferred language of communication of a selected group of South African expatriates living and working in the Middle East?
- ii) What are the attitudes of the selected group towards Afrikaans (and other languages)?
- iii) How do South African expatriates in the Middle East construct their identities and what role does the Afrikaans language play, if any, in such identity construction?

8.2.1 What is the (reported) preferred language of communication of a selected group of South African expatriates living and working in the Middle East?

The participants in this study are multilingual (in mainly English and Afrikaans), speak at least three or more languages, and acknowledge that they are not proficient in all of the languages in their respective repertoires. For example, some participants speak an indigenous African language such as Zulu, Xhosa and Shangaan, or an Asian language such as Urdu, as either a mother tongue or an additional language. European languages such as German and Dutch also form part of some participants' linguistic repertoires.

The data collected in the current study is consistent with Kamwangamalu's (2007) view that language shifts from indigenous African languages to English are fuelled by the desire for upward social mobility and thus geared towards engineering better employment conditions. According to data in the present study, the vast majority of participants working in the Middle East see English as the language which opens up employment opportunities. This is in line with Bourdieu's (1991: 14) definition of symbolic and cultural capital, where the participants' L1 represents symbolic capital vested in identity and heritage, while English embodies cultural capital that entails academic knowledge and skills exhibited in educational qualifications. However, whilst English is regarded as the global language of economics by the majority of participants, Afrikaans remains a strong index of identity in this Middle Eastern expatriate community. When meeting fellow South Africans, slightly more than a third of participants stated that they would speak in both English and Afrikaans, marginally followed by the group that preferred to converse in Afrikaans only. Twenty two percent reported that they preferred to communicate in English only, and a small percentage would speak either Zulu or Xhosa.

8.2.1.1 Code switching

Another strongly emerging theme was the way in which the South African participants freely use language as the basis for their identity construction and positioning. Here, the participants' linguistic agility leads to various ways of positioning such as the creation of different identities that they enact when spontaneously speaking in Kaaps. This type of interaction by these South African expatriates is reflective of Rampton's (2009) notion of 'stylisation' as well as Hall's (1996: 4) view that identity is strategic and positional.

The data is reflective of the participants' flexibility with the languages they speak, switching comfortably from English to Afrikaans to reconstruct or reposition themselves in relation to others. Such code switching across the racial groupings is prevalent throughout all narrations and interviews, with participants discussing the value of Kaaps and standard Afrikaans in the Middle East. The unexpected openness and candidness of participants resulted in a kaleidoscope of perspectives, including a surprisingly positive attitude towards Afrikaans, bearing in mind the language's oppressive history. In addition, participants exhibited ambivalent feelings towards the Afrikaans language such as longing, nostalgia, warmth, isolation and sadness.

8.2.2 What are the attitudes of the selected group towards Afrikaans (and other languages)?

An unexpected finding was the participants' positive attitudes towards Afrikaans, even by those who acknowledged that they did not speak it very well and in fact wished to learn it anew, such as **ZP**. They seem to recognise and embrace the unifying quality and familiarity from "home" that Afrikaans represents despite its controversial history.

While one's L1 (many participants have English as a L1) has symbolic significance for all of the participants in terms of their identity, there is space nevertheless for other identities speaking Afrikaans as well. Here, Bakhtin's (1981) view of society as a multivoiced, multidiscursive and heteroglossic construction is significant.

Most participants stated that they clearly miss certain things about the Afrikaans language and speaking Afrikaans since living in the Middle East. They also mentioned aspects of South African cultural life and the Afrikaans language which they long for, such as the food and sport (e.g. rugby). The data showed a number of strategies adopted by the participants to deal with what they miss. Interestingly, an aspect of Afrikaans that participants miss is the expression of humour in the language. Many mention missing a particular brand of humour associated with both standard Afrikaans ("*dis 'n mannetjie wind wat waai*") and Kaaps which has particular linguistic expressions and cultural peculiarity. Such strategies have also been found among other immigrant groups striving to maintain their mother tongue (Fishman 1989). An example of such a strategy as stated by the participants is their getting together at work or on weekends with other South Africans and enjoying South African food and conversing mainly in Afrikaans. This activity by these participants reflects the notion of

Nettle and Romaine (2000) that Afrikaans cannot be defined as a ‘vanishing voice’, but one that is in use and entrenched in this South African expatriate community in the Middle East.

Whilst various themes emerge regarding the participants’ motivation for language choice, the one that emerges consistently is their emotional attachment to Afrikaans. That the Afrikaans language is seen as a language from “home” and a grounding device close to participants’ hearts emerges strongly in both the drawings, explanatory notes, interviews and narratives. The majority of participants see English as an international language of upward social and financial mobility. On the other hand, many feel that Afrikaans serves both as a mother tongue and a language of connection and cohesion for South Africans abroad. This sentiment is reflected in participants’ utterances regarding their preferred usage of Afrikaans as a language that “creates a good feeling in the heart”, “relates to other South Africans”, “feels like home”, “speak[s] freely” and “connect[s] for comfort”. Many literally and symbolically placed and coloured their mother tongues at the heart in their language portraits, indicating that for them it is a key identity marker and a cultural grounding device.

Interestingly, even though many speakers of Kaaps feel that their sociolect is stigmatised, they refused to distance themselves from it, and deliberately appear to showcase their agility between the use of Kaaps and code switching between languages.

8.2.3 How do South African expatriates in the Middle East construct their identities and what role does the Afrikaans language play, if any, in such identity construction?

According to Weedon (1987/1997: 28), language enables an individual to construct his/her “subjectivity”, seen by him/her as “the conscious and unconscious thoughts and emotions of the individual, her sense of herself, and her ways of understanding her relation to the world”. This is indicative of these South African expatriates’ previous “subjectivity”, reflective of their position in relation to Afrikaans in Apartheid South Africa and now, in the Middle East, where they are subjects of relationships determining their own linguistic choices. This seeming progression by the participants in this study, from Afrikaans as “the language of the oppressor” to one that unifies, is reflective of the post-structuralist view of Weedon, that the individual (i.e. the subject) is diverse, contradictory, dynamic, and changing over time and space. It is also in line with both Foucault (1980) and Weedon (1997) who believe that subjectivity is discursively constructed and firmly rooted socially and historically.

An unexpected finding was the culture shock experienced by many participants in this study. The majority of participants came to work in the Middle East armed with English as the universal global language, yet were completely unprepared for the dominance of a closed Arab culture and society, leaving them with feelings of insecurity, nostalgia and longing for linguistic and social interaction with those from “home”. These feelings led to participants seeking out other South African expatriates, either spontaneously or deliberately, in places such as malls, supermarkets and/or at work, irrespective of whether they are standard or non-standard Afrikaans speakers. Regular get-togethers are organised and, as stated by participants, Afrikaans and Kaaps is the preferred medium of communication by most South African expatriates, even those who are not Afrikaans first-language speakers, bringing to life Bakhtin’s (1981: 279) theory of dialogism. The theory points out how connections are made between the different voices of people in their everyday lives and their political, historical and ideological contexts. These connections are reflected in **SP**’s statements that “... it was Whites, it was Blacks, it was Coloureds ... and I was the Indian there ...” and “... whether they come from Gauteng, Durban ... bottom line is we all speak, understand and have a ball when we speak Afrikaans ... even if those people were speaking English, they will fall into the trap and speak Afrikaans. Because it’s the dominant *taal wat gepraat word* when we get together”. Furthermore, **RP**’s response of “once you start anew [in Afrikaans], you feed off each other’s energy no matter if it’s *kombuis, suiwer*, mixture, *wit, swart, alles, alles...*” is indicative of identity that becomes multivoiced, as participants engage through a variety of voices and discourses, with emergent knowledge and self (Busch 2010: 2).

According to Busch (2011b), it is also reflective of the increased global mobility that results in complex social formations and networking practices that are fluid and flexible. According to Bakhtin (1981), the purpose of language and communication is not rooted in an abstract system of linguistic forms, but in the social reality where verbal interaction takes place, such as the reality of linguistic interaction among the South African expatriates in this study.

Of relevance here is Bakhtin’s theory of “heteroglossia” which encompasses the complex stratification of language into genre, register and dialect. According to Bakhtin (1981: 428), heteroglossia is the “locus where centripetal and centrifugal forces collide” both as social languages within a “single national language” and as different national languages within the same culture (Bakhtin 1981: 275). Linguistic manoeuvring among the South African diaspora in the Middle East is reflective of such an attempt at making meaning. This quest to make sense is captured in the concept of ‘dialogism’ that leads to growth and change among South

African expatriates with regard to attitudes towards the use of standard Afrikaans versus Kaaps, among others. It is precisely the creation of this internal discourse that is open and appearing to be breaking free from the shackles of an Apartheid Afrikaans, leading to “ever newer ways to mean” (Bakhtin 1981: 346).

8.3 General observations

In general, this study finds that whilst English is clearly regarded as the global language of wider communication, people continue to identify strongly with their languages from “home” or their mother tongues, where it amplifies their personal and group identities or is a marker of their ethnolinguistic distinctiveness.

Thus, the data collected in this study shows that most expatriates find that communicating in Afrikaans and other indigenous languages outside the borders of South Africa gives them a sense of comfort and belonging. The quoted excerpts of participants together with the biographic drawings and interviews illustrate this positive and emotional attachment to Afrikaans, whilst also highlighting the sadness, shame and regret of its Apartheid past.

8.4 Concluding remarks

There has been much debate in recent years around the value and role of Afrikaans in post-Apartheid South Africa, with special emphasis on whether the language will survive or disappear from the South African linguistic landscape. Here, reference is made to the well-known South African writer Breyten Breytenbach who has stated that “Afrikaans is going to die within the next ten years”, resulting in a public debate on the South African radio station, Radio 702 (Fourie 2010). A second example is when blogger, Clive Simpkins, called for the euthanasia of the Afrikaans language in an online blog debate about the relevance of Afrikaans in South African schools. According to Simpkins, the government of South Africa is trying to preserve the language by keeping it “alive” on the “life-support system” of education. Simpkins is alluding to the idea that Afrikaans is slipping into the recesses of yesteryear and needs to be actively terminated rather than being allowed to continue a mundane existence. As mentioned earlier in the historical overview, these deep-seated emotions attached to debates regarding Afrikaans are a consequence of the associations between this language and South Africa’s racist past.

8.4.1 Usefulness of Afrikaans beyond the borders of South Africa

The attitudes of participants in this study suggest that they believe that Afrikaans has a future beyond the borders of South Africa as a unifying agent. These participants have seemingly engaged in Patton's (2010: 143) notion of 'reterritorialization' by recombining the deterritorialized linguistic elements of Afrikaans as the "language of the oppressor" and forging new relations with fellow South African expatriates across racial barriers in the building of a new or refinement of an old linguistic identity.

8.4.2 Recommendations for further research

On the basis of findings reported in this study, bearing in mind the moderate sample size and the fact the large majority of the respondents are expatriates working in the Saudi Arabian tertiary educational sector, as this is where the researcher is based, it is recommended that further studies be done on this subject in the Middle East. Broadening the research area and tapping into the minds of the hundreds of South Africans in this region will lead to the exposition of not only new knowledge on language and migratory processes but also on the construction of identity.

Phenomena that stand out in this study and warrant further enquiry are questions around:

- i) The indiscriminate use of the Afrikaans language in both the standard and non-standard formats, especially Kaaps by South African expatriates across races, as an instrument of identity, comfort and bonding outside the borders of South Africa.
- ii) The sensory connections made to Afrikaans such as "Afrikaans is at my heart. It's my passion and it's like honey on my tongue", that run throughout the data, where it is either associated with food or described like food.
- iii) The notion that Afrikaans, as opposed to English, is a social leveller which is seen as a language reflective of societal layering. This is really interesting as elsewhere Afrikaans is often associated with oppression and sowing division. It also speaks to the inclusive nature of Kaaps and how it is still evolving. Here, the way that speakers of standard Afrikaans appear to be embracing all forms of Afrikaans abroad is also a factor.

Notes

1. The researcher found the article on the internet: The Cape Malay (Cape Muslim) Vernacular <https://alexfam786.wordpress.com/501-2/>

Story Within (read and discussed by **ID**)

Article:

1. I was walking in one of the malls, when I bumped into an old neighbor ... I invited him
2. to attend a function with me... We spoke in Afrikaans and he declined the invitation saying,
3. *“Nee man ek sal nie kan gaan nie, ek gaan na ’n gaajat, dis mos Amie Yusie se honderd dae,*
4. *hy het mos in die pwasa gamaningal, in soeboeg se waktoe, dit was nogal die oggend net na*
5. *Layla Tul Qadr, hy het net klaar gesouwe toe bang die bilal, hy gaan neem toe abdas en gaan*
6. *maak salaah, in sy sujood kry hy sy ajjal, maar sy boeta is mos ntoeka-manie, ... ek het gese ek*
7. *wil vir sy kaffang betaal, ons het toe gesit en batcha daar by hom, ... Hy bly mos sommer*
8. *oorkant die masiet, toe dra ons sommer die katel oor die pad ... Ek wil nou nie gielaaf maak*
9. *of fietna nie, maar ...* Even though this conversation was in Afrikaans, a non-Cape Muslim,
10. Afrikaans speaking person would not have a clue what the conversation was all about, while
11. the Cape Muslim does not even realise that so many words were used that only he/she
12. understood ... Words we include in our everyday conversation when we speak English or
13. Afrikaans to each other, and when we turn and speak to a non-Cape Muslim person, we then
14. unconsciously replace these words with the English or Afrikaans equivalent.

The article is about how language and culture influence the way in which people communicate linguistically, with particular focus on Cape Muslim Afrikaans. **ID** refers to the above article as illustration of the meaning that she wishes to bring across. Characters in this story are a narrator, his neighbour, Amie Yusuf and Amie Yusuf’s brother. It takes place in Cape Town, where the narrator meets his neighbour while he is on his way to the funeral of a mutual acquaintance, “Amie Yusie” (line 3). He invites the neighbour to join him, who declines as he is going to a prayer meeting. The two continue to discuss the details surrounding the death of the deceased such as the fact that he died in the month of fasting, the time of death, etc. What is of special significance here is the fact that the narrator announces that the conversation is taking place in “Afrikaans” (line 9). The conversation proceeds quite naturally in Afrikaans and contains many words that are not found in standard Afrikaans and will in fact sound completely foreign to the Afrikaner ear. The following is the researcher’s translation of the many Cape Muslim Afrikaans words that the story contains (lines 3-9):

abdās – ablution

ajjal – death

amie – uncle

bang die bilal – the muezzin announcing the call to prayer

fietna – gossip

gaajat – prayer meeting

gamaningal – died

gielaaf – make mischief

goesl – ritual bath

kaffang – burial shroud

Layla Tul Qadr – 27th night of fasting

pwasa – fasting

salaah – prayed

soeboeg's waktōe – period before sunrise

souwe – breakfast before fasting commences

sujoed – prostration

toeka-manie – one who embalms the dead

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Addendum A: Questionnaire

Patterns of use of and attitudes towards the Afrikaans language by South African Expatriates: A Sociolinguistic Perspective Questionnaire

This questionnaire forms part of a research project which is aimed at determining the role played by Afrikaans in the way South Africans living and working in the Middle East perceive themselves.

We would be very grateful if you could answer the questions below. Most questions simply require a Yes/No answer. It should not take more than 10 minutes to complete this questionnaire.

PART 1 – Biographic details

1. Gender (M/F)
2. Age (years)
3. Marital status (Single/Married/Co-habiting – Offspring: Number)
If single, go to Question 5.
4. Primary language spoken by partner: (Afrikaans/English/other)
5. Occupation
10. Frequency of visits to SA (once per year/several times per year)
11. I grew up with Afrikaans/English as a first language/second language

PART 2 – Patterns of language use

2.1.

1. What language do you mainly speak at home while abroad?
2. If you speak a language other than English or Afrikaans, please state which one.
3. In what language do you speak most fluently?
4. What language/s do you speak when meeting fellow South Africans? Why?
5. When you meet other South Africans what language do they automatically start speaking?
6. Do you think that the language/s you speak influences the way that you are viewed by other country's expatriates and the local people? How?
7. If you were to be seen as proficient in not one (English) but also an additional language such as Afrikaans, do you think that this would increase your marketability in the Middle East? Why?

8. Many Afrikaans speakers in South Africa send their children to English Medium schools. What is your view of this, in particular taking into account, your experiences of living abroad?

2.2. The wider social context

1. Which language do you use in conversations (specify if necessary) with friends who speak Afrikaans in their homes in the Middle East?
2. Do you believe that speaking a language that identifies where you are from is important socially or psychologically or both? Why?
3. Do you think that being multilingual in the Middle East gives South Africans a measure of linguistic prowess in the eyes of the local people and/or other Expatriates from Europe and U.S.A for example?

2.3 General

Which language do you often use?

1. To demonstrate solidarity with someone from SA (always English/more English than Afrikaans/equal amounts of English and Afrikaans/more Afrikaans than English/ always Afrikaans/situation dictates)
 - Another reason (name it):
2. Which language do you use in correspondence (e-mail, texting, letters) with relatives who speak Afrikaans in the home?
 - (a) *in the Middle East*: (always English/more English than Afrikaans/equal amounts of English and Afrikaans/more Afrikaans than English/always Afrikaans/situation dictates – specify)
 - (b) *from SA*: (always English/more English than Afrikaans/equal amounts of English and Afrikaans/more Afrikaans than English/always Afrikaans/situation dictates – specify)

PART 3 – Attitudes towards Afrikaans

1. Mark each of the following statements with which you agree or disagree using the following scale **1 - 5**:

1 = strongly agree ; 5 = strongly disagree)

- Afrikaans has no place in the Middle East.
- Afrikaans is a vibrant/rich/expressive language.
- Afrikaans is a racist/conservative language.
- Speakers of Afrikaans in The Middle East are inclined to forms cliques
- If I have children, I would like them to have a good command of Afrikaans.
- I am aware that my English betrays my Afrikaans background.
- I think in Afrikaans.
- I express myself better in Afrikaans than in English.
- I don't have the self-confidence to speak Afrikaans any more.
- I enjoy hearing Afrikaans.
- I enjoy reading Afrikaans.
- I enjoy speaking Afrikaans.
- I enjoy writing in Afrikaans.
- I am quite fluent in English, compelled by necessity.
- I am quite fluent in English and proud of it.
- I am proud of being identified as a South African, but prefer not to be caught out as an Afrikaans-speaking South African.
- I find it impractical to cling to Afrikaans.
- Afrikaans is more animated or expressive than English.
- When I hear Afrikaans being spoken, it evokes pleasant memories.
- When I hear Afrikaans being spoken, it evokes unpleasant memories.
- When I am old, I will still use Afrikaans.

2. If the opportunity arises, I will attend/support the following (mark wherever applicable):

- Freedom Day celebrations (April 27th)
- A "braai" (barbeque) organized by other South Africans at their compounds.
- A cricket match in which the SA team participate
- Anything else (mention):

Addendum B: Sample Portraits: 1-3

Figure 1

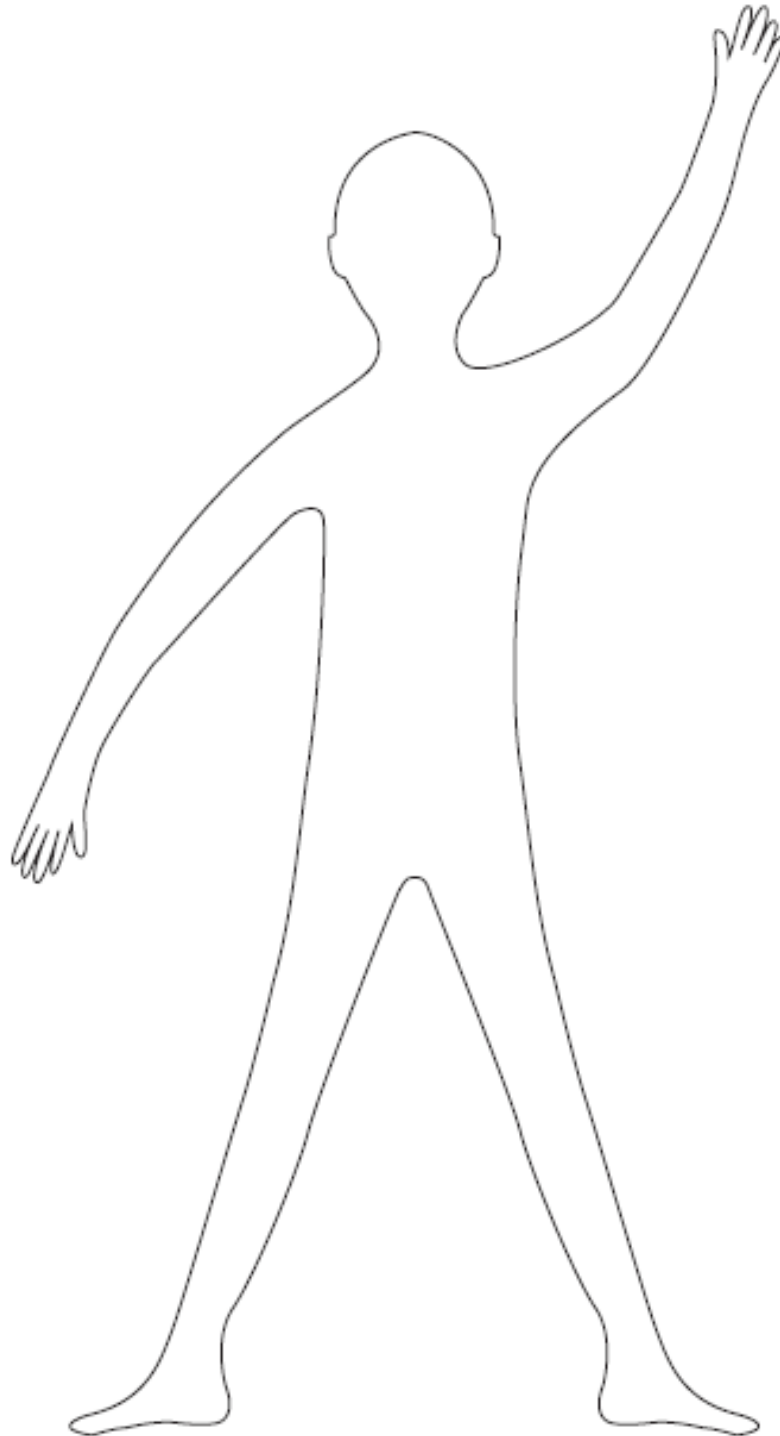
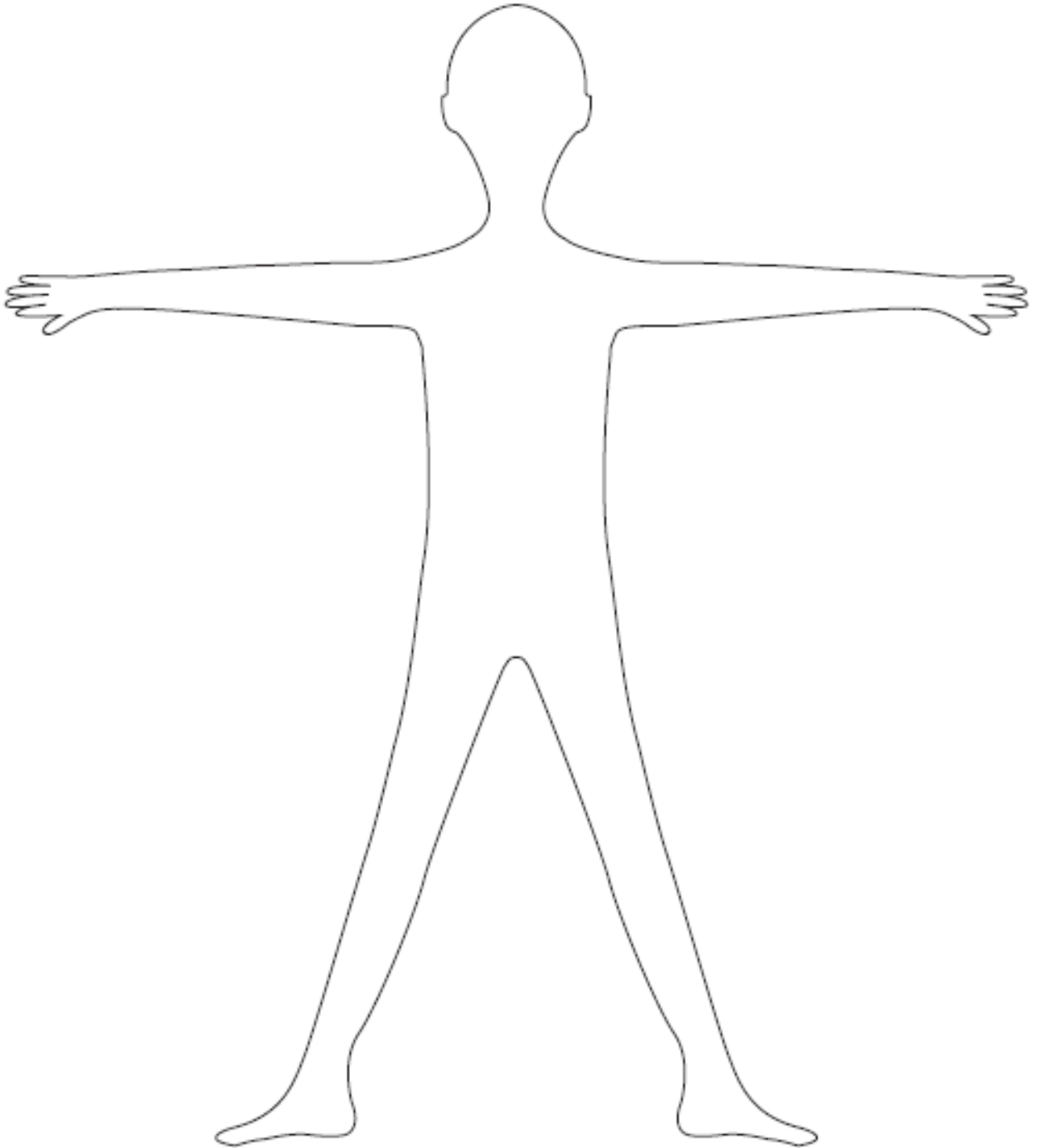
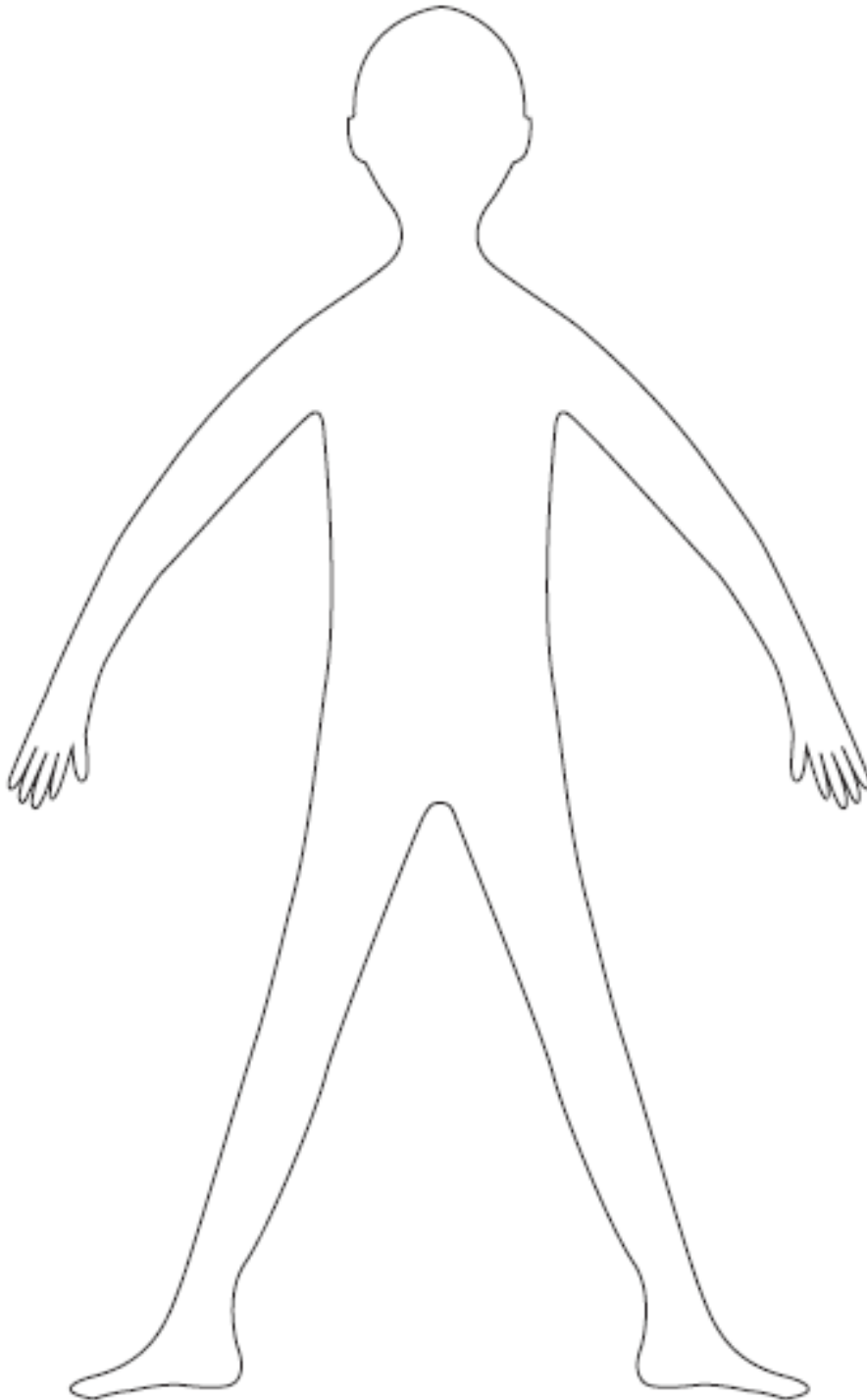


Figure 2





Addendum C: Consent form

All participants were required to sign the consent form below evidencing their knowledge of the study details and giving the necessary permission to allow the researcher to use all data derived from their participation.



UNIVERSITEIT • STELLENBOSCH • UNIVERSITY
jou kennisvennoot • your knowledge partner

STELLENBOSCH UNIVERSITY CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE IN RESEARCH

1. *[Insert title of the study.] [If the study involves using different consent forms for different populations, identify the population group as the subtitle of the study.]*

You are asked to participate in a research study conducted by *[insert names and degrees of all investigators]*, from the *[insert department affiliation]* at Stellenbosch University. *[If student, indicate that results will be contributed to research paper, thesis or dissertation.]* You were selected as a possible participant in this study because *[explain succinctly and simply why the prospective subject is eligible to participate]*.

1. PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

[State what the study is designed to assess or establish.]

2. PROCEDURES

If you volunteer to participate in this study, we would ask you to do the following things:

[Describe the procedures chronologically using simple language, short sentences and short paragraphs. The use of subheadings helps to organize this section and increases readability. Medical and scientific terms should be defined and explained. Identify any procedures that are experimental.]

[Specify the subject's assignment to study groups, length of time for participation in each procedure, the total length of time for participation, frequency of procedures, location of the procedures to be done, etc.]

3. POTENTIAL RISKS AND DISCOMFORTS

[Describe any reasonable foreseeable risks, discomforts, inconveniences, and how these will be managed.]

[If there are significant physical or psychological risks to participation that might cause the researcher to terminate the study, please describe them.]

4. POTENTIAL BENEFITS TO SUBJECTS AND/OR TO SOCIETY

[Describe benefits to subjects expected from the research. If the subject will not benefit from participation, clearly state this fact.]

[State the potential benefits, if any, to science or society expected from the research.]

5. PAYMENT FOR PARTICIPATION

[State whether the subject will receive payment. If not, state so. If subject will receive payment, describe remuneration amount, when payment is scheduled, and proration schedule should the subject decide to withdraw or is withdrawn by the investigator.]

6. CONFIDENTIALITY

Any information that is obtained in connection with this study and that can be identified with you will remain confidential and will be disclosed only with your permission or as required by law. Confidentiality will be maintained by means of *[describe coding procedures and plans to safeguard data, including where data will be kept, who will have access to it, etc.]*.

[If information will be released to any other party for any reason, state the person/agency to whom the information will be furnished, the nature of the information, and the purpose of the disclosure.]

[If activities are to be audio- or videotaped, describe the subject's right to review/edit the tapes, who will have access, if they will be used for educational purpose, and when they will be erased.]

[If researcher is planning to publish results of study, describe how confidentiality will be maintained in publication]

7. PARTICIPATION AND WITHDRAWAL

You can choose whether to be in this study or not. If you volunteer to be in this study, you may withdraw at any time without consequences of any kind. You may also refuse to answer any questions you don't want to answer and still remain in the study. The investigator may withdraw you from this research if circumstances arise which warrant doing so. *[If appropriate, describe the anticipated circumstances under which the subject's participation may be terminated by the investigator without regard to the subject's consent.]*

8. IDENTIFICATION OF INVESTIGATORS

If you have any questions or concerns about the research, please feel free to contact *[identify research personnel: Principal Investigator, Supervisor, Co-Investigator(s)]. Include day phone numbers and addresses for all listed individuals. For greater than minimal risk studies, include night/emergency phone numbers.*

9. RIGHTS OF RESEARCH SUBJECTS

You may withdraw your consent at any time and discontinue participation without penalty. You are not waiving any legal claims, rights or remedies because of your participation in this research study. If you have questions regarding your rights as a research subject, contact Ms Maléne Fouché mfouch@sun.ac.za; 021 808 4622] at the Division for Research Development.

SIGNATURE OF RESEARCH SUBJECT OR LEGAL REPRESENTATIVE

The information above was described to *[me/the subject/the participant]* by *[name of relevant person]* in *[Afrikaans/English/Xhosa/other]* and *[I am/the subject is/the participant is]* in command of this language or it was satisfactorily translated to *[me/him/her]*. *[I/the participant/the subject]* was given the opportunity to ask questions and these questions were answered to *[my/his/her]* satisfaction.

[I hereby consent voluntarily to participate in this study/I hereby consent that the subject/participant may participate in this study.] I have been given a copy of this form.

7 Name of Subject/Participant

Name of Legal Representative (if applicable)

8 Signature of Subject/Participant or Legal Representative Date

SIGNATURE OF INVESTIGATOR

I declare that I explained the information given in this document to _____ [*name of the subject/participant*] and/or [his/her] representative _____ [*name of the representative*]. [He/she] was encouraged and given ample time to ask me any questions. This conversation was conducted in [*Afrikaans/*English/*Xhosa/*Other*] and [*no translator was used/this conversation was translated into* _____ by _____].

8.1 Signature of Investigator

Date