What Kaaps brings to the table: A sociolinguistic analysis of the intersection between language, food and identity in *Vannie Kaap* memes

By

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DECLARATION

By submitting this thesis electronically, I declare that the entirety of the work contained therein is my own, original work, that I am the owner of the copyright thereof (unless to the extent explicitly otherwise stated) and that I have not previously, in its entirety or in part, submitted it for obtaining any qualification.

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Abstract

This thesis examines food and language as a related topic. Gerhardt (2013) claims that every language group has its unique traditional food and, as such, this thesis investigates this claim with specific reference to non-standard linguistic varieties. I analysed memes[1] from the *Vannie Kaap* Facebook page with the purpose of identifying the kinds of identities constructed when using Kaaps to talk about food. The theories of Pennycook (2004) and Butler (1990), which guided my thesis, were used to examine the ways in which language is used to perform different identities. Following this is a discussion on the methodology and data collection instruments. I used thematic analysis to analyse the different text in the memes. This thesis also drew on sociolinguistic theory which is particularly useful when analysing society's effect on language, including concepts such as 'context', 'cultural norms' and 'expectation' on the way language is used. The theme that became apparent included how food and the consumption thereof was used to highlight issues of social positions within society. Other themes included the significance of food within Kaaps culture, and comparing foods as a strategy to address challenging issues in society. Also relevant to the discussion is the theme of Kaaps as a culture of consumption.

My findings suggest that non-standard varieties indeed exhibit their own unique traditional foodways. I further note a generational shift, that is, a shift away from traditional, home-cooked meals to the purchasing of traditional fast foods. My findings highlight the significance and creativity that Kaaps speakers possess by using their language to make political and social commentary through comparing political and social issues to food. These kinds of strategies of resistance against societal norms are what lead to emancipation from stigmas, thus providing speakers with a sense of solidarity and belonging. Taken together, the memes depict how Kaaps speakers use food and language as a means of liberation, emancipation and empowerment.

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[1] According to the Oxford English dictionary, the term "meme" refers to a piece of text, image, video, etc., usually satirical and which is spread rapidly by internet users.

Opsomming

Hierdie tesis ondersoek kos en taal as verwante onderwerpe. Aangesien Gerhardt (2013) voorstel dat elke taalgroep ook hul eie unieke tradisionele kos het, word hierdie voorstel ondersoek met spesifieke verwysing na nie-standaard taalvariëteite. Ek het spesifiek die memes wat voorgekom het op die *Vannie Kaap* Facebook blad geanaliseer met die doel om te ondersoek hoe Kaaps gebruik word om identiteit te konstrueer, wanneer daar oor kos gepraat word. Die teorieë van Pennycook (2004) en Butler (1990), wat my tesis gelei het, was gebruik om te ondersoek hoe taal gebruik word om identiteit te "perform". Na my teoretiese bespreking volg die hoofstuk oor metodologie en data insamelings metodes. Ek het tematiese analise gebruik om die memes te analiseer. Ek het ook gebruik gemaak van sosiolinguistiese teorie om my temas te interpreteer. Die temas wat ek geïdentifiseer het lê veral klem op die gebruikspatrone rondom kos en hoe kos gebruik word om mense te posisioneer. Ander temas het daarop gedui dat kos 'n belangrike deel van identiteit konstruksie is vir die wat Kaaps praat, en dat kos dikwels gebruik word om sosiale en politieke kwessies aan te spreek. Ook belangrik is die klem op 'n verbruikerskultuur.

My bevindinge dui daarop dat nie-standaard variëteite definitief gepaard gaan saam met unieke eetkultuur. Verder blyk daar ook 'n skuif te wees tussen generasies, waar die jonger generasie beweeg van huiskos na wegneemetes. My bevindinge dui ook op die belangrikheid wat Kaaps sprekers heg aan kos en Kaaps en die verwysing na kos om politieke en sosiale kommentaar te maak. Hierdie strategieë van weerstand teen sosiale norme is wat lei tot bevryding van stigmas en wat sprekers laat met 'n gevoel van samehorigheid en solidariteit. Alles in ag genome dui die memes daarop dat Kaaps sprekers taal en kos gebruik om hulself te bevry en bemagtig.

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Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1 Personal rationale for the study

Growing up and living in Bonteheuwel, on the Cape Flats in the Western Cape province of South Africa, it never dawned on me the significant social role that food plays in the Coloured community. This all changed when I moved away from the Cape Flats to the Northern Suburbs of Cape Town. Here, there is no "open-door policy" of going to the neighbours to borrow an onion, some sugar or a cup of rice; Muslim neighbours do not come around during the Fast or after Eid to bring homemade *barakat* (blessings), and that one aunty who is known for her *koesister* on a Sunday after church does not exist in this area. Here, it is "each to his/her own". Despite this difference in the two communities and the changes that occurred over the years, the beloved traditional foods remain unchanged and continue to appear on tables, while recipes are still passed down from generation to generation. Even though personal histories in the Coloured community differ, in my opinion, what ties them together and grounds them are the foods − and the rituals that are linked to the serving thereof − they have in common.

This year, I had the opportunity to spend one week in Russia on an academic exchange. The food served at the hotel where I stayed was good, however, I struggled to acquire a taste for Russian cuisine as, to me, everything lacked salt and/or spice, and almost everything was boiled. The food was healthy, of course, as it had negligible amounts of oil, yet it served as a culinary reminder that I was far away from home. Conversation during mealtimes with individuals from different countries would mostly be centred on how different the Russian food is, and on food preparation in their respective country or culture. There was great interest amongst us in trying these new foods but, at the same time, a longing for something more familiar. I remember reading Annie Lamott's (1997) account of her love for bread: the smell, the taste, and the image thereof. To her, the pleasure of food is both symbolic and physical, and the taste is linked to specific memories and images (Lamotte 1997: 1). It is this account that sparked my personal interest in learning how individuals construct their identity through food and talks about food. Food is not only personal, or a signifier of community, but also an object of investigation in academic research.

1.2 Theoretical background to the study

Food is central to our wellbeing and survival. The types of food we consume are dependent on many factors such as demography, geography, education, season, culture, ethnicity, religion, disposable income, social networks, globalisation, urbanisation, time, and the consumer. Over the past decade, food consumption has increased drastically due to accessibility, availability and choices. The way in which we eat asserts our diversity, organisation and hierarchy. It also declares our sameness or sets us apart from others who eat differently. Food is a social phenomenon in that it is almost always shared: mealtimes are symbolic of families, settlements or villages coming together to share meals. It forms an important component when celebrating events such as birthdays, weddings, funerals, baptisms and confirmations, amongst others, whether big or small. It is a way to extend hospitality, to distribute and give, and to express altruism. Our ability to cook our food is what sets us apart from animals. In this sense, food and its preparation is a symbol of our humanity (Fox 2014: 1).

Over the past few years, it seems as if more time has been dedicated to communicating about food. There has been a growing interest in food preparation; food preferences; the taste, safety and hygiene and nutritional value of foods, and the ease of food preparation. More people have become food conscious and, as a result, there has been an increase in posts, blogs and vlogs about food. The result is the so-called "foodie" phenomena. We are now consuming more than we have ever before. This form of consumerism can be seen as a major dividing force within a capitalist society. The types of foods purchased, prepared and consumed are attached to specific statuses. The media is one of the biggest forms of pressure as it glamorises certain foods, the types of foods that are safe and healthy to eat, and shapes how consumers perceive food (Wilson, Henderson, Coveney, Meyer, Webb, Calnan, Caraher, Lloyd, McCullum, Elliott and Ward 2014).

Eating and talking is one of the traits we all have in common, and eating provides an important link to our heritage. Culturally speaking, food is very significant as it can serve as a link to our families and nations. For example, food has the ability to act as a bridge that aids migrants in discovering their place in a new society. In addition, linguists and other social scientists have argued that identity is constructed through language. Therefore, according to Gerhardt (2013: 5), every social group has its own unique language and traditional food. Research on language and food has, however, mostly viewed language in a monolithic way and has not focused on different language varieties. Hence, this thesis focuses on how the non-standard variety of Kaaps is used to talk about food.

Afrikaans is one of the eleven official languages of South Africa, and there are three dominant varieties of this language spoken in the country. First is Oosgrens Afrikaans, as identified by Costa, Dyers and Mheta [(2014), in Dyers (2015: 64)]. This variety was spoken by the Dutch settlers and was selected for standardisation in what is now known as the Eastern Cape. Second is Oranjerivier Afrikaans which came into being as a result of the indigneous Khoisan speakers coming into contact with the Dutch settlers in the north-west region of South Africa. Third and finally is Kaapse Afrikaans (later known as *Kaaps*) which was spoken by the slave population in and around Cape Town. The Kaaps variety is a highly stigmatised variety of Afrikaans, as it is primarily linked to the working-class area of the Cape Peninsula. The name *Kaaps*, which translates to "Cape" in English, rightly indicates that the language originated in Cape Town. The theoretical alternatives for Kaaps are "Cape Afrikaans" or "Cape Vernacular Afrikaans" which both allude to the fact that Kaaps is a form of Afrikaans (Dyers 2015: 65).

Interestingly, the name *Kaaps* is not a recent name: it was used by locals as well as foreigners as an abbreviated version of *Kaapse-Hollands* when referring to the South African form of Dutch, during the period of Dutch and English rule in the Cape, particularly in the era before the establishment of the Boer republics and the Great Trek. The name *Kaaps* became prominent in many alternatives for *Kaapse-Hollands*, including *Kaapschen tongval* ("Cape tongue/dialect") and *Kaapsch Taaleigen* ("own Cape language"). Kaaps, and its connotation as a variety spoken by the working class, is thus related "by name with the Cape-Dutch as earlier layer of the Afrikaans language" (Hendricks 2016: 8). Kaapse Afrikaans is described by Hendricks (2016: 8) as being deeply under the influence of English as it incorporates English and Afrikaans lexemes. Furthermore, it "Afrikaansifyies" English words, borrows lexemes from English, has a hyper-informal slant, is subject to continuous renewal and change, and is mainly spoken by individuals from the lower social classes as well as by those ascribing to the upper- or middle classes. In Chapter 2, I will present a more in-depth focus on the distinguishing features of Kaaps.

Kaaps is traditionally, but by no means exclusively, used by people of colour, and is therefore termed a "colour variety" (Hendricks 2016: 11). Yet it is distinguishable from other colour varieties such as: (a) the various sub-varieties of the geolect Orange River Afrikaans, which includes the colloquial Afrikaans of Bushmanland, Rehoboth, Namaqualand, Richtersveld, Riemvasmaak and Griqua Afrikaans; (b) Tsotsi Afrikaans or Flytaal, a South African urban

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township argot mainly spoken by Black males in various urban areas[2]; and (c) Black Afrikaans, a variety which is geographically dispersed and shows traces of influence from one or more Black languages (Hendricks 2016: 11).

1.3   Statement of the problem

In the majority of published research on food and language, food or food preparation is used only as the contextual setting in which discourse occurs. For example, Leung (2009) investigated the linguistic repertoires of blue-collar immigrant workers at a Chinese bakery in Philadelphia's Chinatown. Another similar example is a study conducted by Franzziskus (2013) who analysed the multilingual practices in a hypermarket. In both examples, food and language is not investigated as an interrelated topic; the setting is merely incidental and sets the context in which talk occurs.

Since food is usually referred to simply as part of the background, it is meaningful to investigate the relationship between food and language. Not only is there a scarcity of studies that view food and language in a reciprocal way, there is even more of a dearth of studies which focus on food talk used with the non-standard varieties of language. Studies of this sort can contribute to our knowledge of food as a semiotic system, and language and its interaction with other systems (such as food) to construct identity. My study will therefore investigate the use of Kaaps, a marginalised variety of Afrikaans, in food discourses. An additional motivation for this study is that it provides an opportunity not only to record Kaaps in use but also to gain insight into the way in which the variety is used when talking about food. Due to its stigmatised background, a present-day study could contribute in heightening the status of Kaaps as a legitimate variety of Afrikaans.

1.3.1   Research questions

- How are discourses on food articulated in Kaaps drawn on to construct identity?
- What kinds of identities are constructed when talking about food?

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[2] Tsotsi Afrikaans mixed codes of a variety of different languages for its lexis and is dependent on Afrikaans for structure.

1.3.2   Research aims

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

i)   To analyse whether food and talks about food using the Kaaps variety aid in the discursive construction of identity;

ii) To investigate how talks about food are used as a means of performing one's identity; and

iii) To investigate how Kaaps speakers are provided with a sense of solidarity and belonging through consuming and talking about food.

1.4   Theoretical point of departure

Theoretically, this thesis will build on recent literature which has created a framework in which the concepts of 'food' and 'language' are seen as separate but intersecting systems of meaning making and identity construction (Gerhardt, Frobenius and Ley 2013: 5). What is novel in this thesis is the focus on Afrikaans and, more specifically, a previously marginalised variety thereof – Kaaps. The concepts which will be discussed more thoroughly in my theoretical chapters are thus 'Kaaps', 'identity', 'language' and 'food'. I will give a brief overview of these concepts here to provide the reader with a sense of the direction I am taking in this thesis.

Van der Rheede (2016: 118) notes that, despite the fact that Kaaps is a strong marker of identity and an important medium of communication on the Cape Flats, it is still viewed as a language variety with inferior status to English and Standard Afrikaans. Dyers [(2008), in Van der Rheede (2016: 118)] notes that Kaaps is a powerful index of in-group identity and the exclusion of non-Kaaps speakers. The Kaaps language community should be understood as a community that was profoundly scarred by apartheid and colonialism. Regardless of the fact that Kaaps speakers hold anecdotal information about their lineage – which may include European and/or Khoi-Khoi and/or slave ancestry – they do not possess adequate knowledge about their actual backgrounds. This leads to a lack of pride in their own identity and ultimately a lack of pride in their mother tongue, Kaaps (Van der Rheede 2016: 118). Based on this, my research aims to determine whether perceptions of Kaaps have changed over the years or whether this poor self-image and lack of pride still exist. I aim to investigate this by specifically focusing on the use of Kaaps in food discourses.

According to Ferris, Peck and Banda [(2014), in Van der Rheede (2016: 118)], the poor self-image suffered by Kaaps speakers affects their attitude towards using the variety in public spaces.

This can be traced back to the enforcement of racial categories during the apartheid era. The apartheid system made South Africans aware of their imposed race classification and what it denoted in society. Race became a marker of political, social and economic power and privilege, or the absence thereof. Currently, we are able to recognise that race, similar to identity, "is a social construct and not a biological fact" (Van der Rheede 2016: 118). However, racial stereotypes are still rife in South Africa and continue to be markers of identity.

Another marker of identity is the types of food we consume. Despite the fact that food is necessary for survival, the amount of food we consume, with whom we consume it, and its preparation and disposal are influenced by our culture and is a marker of our identity [Ferraro (1998), in Spencer-Oatey (2012: 3−7)]. Therefore, my research aims to pay close attention to discourses such as race, culture, socio-economic status and class that are drawn on to the construction of identity when Kaaps is used to talk about food.

1.5   Research design

1.5.1   Type of study

A qualitative study was conducted to investigate the discourses that construct identity when Kaaps is used to talk about food. I collected data in the form of electronic media namely, memes from the *Vannie Kaap* Facebook page. This page markets itself as Kaaps by, for example, giving definitions of Kaaps words and expressions. The memes I collected referred to food or the consumption of food. An example of the text from one such meme is "Brasse that buys you dite are brasse for life" ('friends that buy you food are friends for life').

1.5.2   Data analysis

The first stage of the data analysis was conducted using thematic analysis. This form of analysis systematically identifies, organises and offers insight into patterns or themes within a dataset (Braun and Clarke 2006: 86). By focusing on emerging themes within my dataset, thematic analysis enabled me to observe, analyse and organise my data in detail. It further allowed me to describe patterns or themes that became apparent in my data. The themes that are identified in this thesis closely align with my research questions and topic. I followed Braun and Clarke's (2006: 86) six-phase approach as an outline guide to demonstrate this process. I did not follow this approach in a linear manner but rather continuously moved back and forth between the data

analysis, the coded segments of the data, and the entire dataset that was processed. From the identified themes, I used sociolinguistic theory to further make sense of my data.

1.6   Chapter outline

In order to understand the history and origin of Kaaps, it is necessary to discuss Kaaps as a marginalised language and how Coloured identity is constructed, highlighting the linguistic and the socio-cultural aspects of this linguistic variety. This is all laid out in the next chapter, Chapter 2, of this thesis.

Chapter 3 provides an overview of the discursive construction of identity. The first section of this chapter looks at the way in which the concept of 'identity' has progressed over the years and has come to be understood as performative. The second section of this chapter will be centred on literature relating to food and language. In discussing food and language as an interrelated topic, I will focus on food as a cultural marker, the way in which race and social position indexes food, and the socialisation perspective thereof.

Chapter 4 entails a description of the research design and methodology of my study, in addition to explaining the procedure of my data collection process. This chapter also details how thematic analysis is used to analyse, transcribe and code my dataset.

In Chapter 5, I present and discuss my data, and illustrate the main themes through the application of thematic analysis. The themes that were apparent in my data analysis include (i) everyday politics and social issues through the lens of food, (ii) food used as a comparison, (iii) the significance of traditional food, (iv) Kaaps as a culture of consumption, and (v) the racialisation of food.

Chapter 6 provides an in-depth analysis and discussion of the themes highlighted in Chapter 5. It also provides an account of the main trends of my data analysis. These trends include a shift away from traditional cooked meals towards takeaway foods. I also discuss how food is used as a social and political strategy.

Finally, Chapter 7 concludes the thesis by providing an overview of the findings drawn from the data analysis. It also lists the limitations of this study and makes recommendations for future research.

Chapter 2

A sociolinguistic perspective of Kaaps in a multilingual setting

2.1   Introduction

The focus of this study is specifically on the Coloured community, one of the most diverse ethnic groups in South Africa. I refer to *Kaaps* as the variety spoken by Coloured speakers residing in Cape Town. Language plays an important role within this speech community. According to Gumperz (1971: 91), identity is constituted through the language that individuals use. In the Coloured community, the Kaaps variety is an instantly recognisable marker of identity. Members of this group also display varying degrees of multilingualism in English, Afrikaans and isiXhosa, depending on their location, level of literacy and education. Given the socio-political history of South Africa, the Coloured population within Cape Town developed as a group with a particular identity which distinguishes them from White Afrikaners with whom they share a language (Dyers 2008: 51). Kaaps is intimately connected to being Coloured. It is mainly, but by no means exclusively, spoken by people of colour (Hendricks 2016: 11).

This chapter will not focus on the linguistics aspects of Kaaps but rather on its characteristics and social functions. Kaaps is the oldest variety of Afrikaans and dates back to the seventeenth century (Hendricks 2016: 11). Members of the Coloured community in South Africa are apprehensive as to whether they should identify as African, South African, Black, Khoisan, Coloured, of slave descent, or whether they should be in accordance with the principle of non-racism to decide which combination of these forms were appropriate in the different contexts they moved within (Adhikari 2009: xviii).

This chapter will discuss Kaaps as a sociolinguistic variety. The first section will focus on understanding Kaaps within a South African context. To do so, it is necessary to delve into the political and marginalised history of this variety. The second section of this chapter discusses Kaaps as a stigmatised language, and the linguistic aspect of Kaaps. It also details the numerous attempts put in motion by small groups of scholars and community activists to challenge the ideological hold of Kaaps on Coloured speakers in a bid to reconstruct Coloured identity.

2.2   The origin of Kaaps

Before South Africa became a democratic country in 1994, Afrikaans and English were the only official national languages. Afrikaans can be traced back to a variety of sources spread across different continents, such as Africa, Asia and Europe. In 1652, the Vereenigde Oostindishe Compagnie (VOC) established a refreshment station at the Cape where its main purpose was to refresh food supplies for the ships sailing between Europe and the East [McCormick (2006: 92), in Parker (2015: 17)]). The dominant language spoken by the VOC officials was High Dutch. The seafarers, slaves, soldiers, traders and the VOC officers were fairly familiar with the seventeenth-century Dutch and Lower German dialects which all contained more or less the same non-standard Germanic language base (Du Plessis 2012: 1). Malay, on the other hand, served as a lingua franca among the slaves, political prisoners, and Southeast Asians from that region. Due to the language contact in the Cape, a local Dutch-based pidgin gradually evolved into what is known as *Kaapse Hollands* or Cape Dutch. This linguistic variety was primarily spoken in Dutch households by the domestic servants, slaves and settlers [McCormick (2006: 92), in Parker (2015: 17)].

As the Dutch East Indian Company was not invested in providing formal schooling, the advancement of Standard Dutch was minimal. *Kaapse Hollands*, on the other hand, thrived and spread vibrantly among locals. This later became standardised as the "standard Afrikaans" we know today. With the development of political change came a broader acknowledgement of perspectives that recognise the coexistence of various threads in the advancement of Afrikaans [Ponelis (1993) in Parker (2015: 18)]. According to McCormick [(2006: 93), in Parker (2015: 18)], it is now recognised that the use of Dutch as a first language co-existed with lingua francas such as pidgin- and second-language varieties of Dutch.

After the British dominated the Cape in 1804, the status of *Kaapse Hollands* decreased and English became the new lingua franca, also the language used in churches and schools. This caused immense friction between the British and Dutch which later led to a rise in Anglicisation campaigns. Linguistic consciousness and White Dutch ethnic identity was a major consequence of the British being in control (Parker 2015: 18). The linguistic awareness of the Dutch not only allowed them to have a sense of identity and establish distinctive race and class boundaries – through which the term *Afrikaner* obtained a social, political and cultural meaning – but also provided them with a sense of group solidarity to stand up against British supremacy. Afrikaans thus became a marker for White ethnicity (Parker 2015: 18).

Dialect distinctions between Standard Dutch and South African Dutch, and those varieties spoken within southern Africa, persisted during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. The migration of many Dutch-speaking families from the Cape during 1720 and 1840 – these families were known as the *trekboere* ('nomadic farmers') – led to the development of two additional strands of Dutch/Afrikaans. Some of these families settled in the Eastern Cape province, while others moved north-west where they became hunters and stock farmers (Dyers 2015: 57). The two dialects that developed as a result of this migration are indicative of the geographical situation of its speakers. The first is Oosgrens Afrikaans, the variety of Afrikaans chosen as the standard and spoken by the Dutch settlers in the Eastern Cape. The second is Oranjerivier Afrikaans, which developed as a result of the speakers of Khoekhoe coming into contact with the Dutch in the north-western part of South Africa (Dyers 2015: 57).

African languages also had an influence on Afrikaans in the nineteenth century when the *trekboere* came into contact with speakers of African languages indigenous to the interior of South Africa. The cultural contact was not as significant as with the case of the slaves and the Khoi, and thus the influence of these African languages on Afrikaans was minimal in comparison to the former groups. The linguistic influence mainly consisted of words taken from the Zulu, Nguni and Xhosa languages. These influences can still be felt and, considering a multicultural context like that of South Africa, it is inevitable that we find an increase in loanwords from these African languages, such as *tokkelossie* and *aikona*, making their way into Afrikaans (Du Plessis 2012: 6).

As a result of religious freedom, the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century saw the establishment of an additional variety of Cape Dutch/Afrikaans. This linguistic development was located in the Muslim community in Cape Town and was referred to as "Muslim Afrikaans". The roots of this variety can be traced back to the slaves that were brought to the Cape from countries such as Indonesia, Madagascar, India and Angola. Most of these slaves could speak the Malay dialects, including Malay-Portuguese, a variant of Portuguese and Buginese. Malay influenced both the development of Afrikaans and Dutch, and to such an extent that Malay words are still found in Dutch today (Du Plessis 2012: 5). Muslim Afrikaans is one of the oldest varieties of Afrikaans in the Cape. Vast numbers of slaves were converted to the Islamic faith where they learnt to understand the Koran through writing activities. These writing activities required them to copy out text and other religious traditions. This led to a higher increase in literacy among slaves than European soldiers and sailors as the Muslim teaching required them to be able to read and perform religious texts. The writing exercises

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were completed in Cape Afrikaans or Kaaps, the language of everyday speech, but using the Arabic alphabet. During the nineteenth century, the Arabic alphabet was modified by Abu Bakr Effendi, a Kurdish scholar, to accommodate the Afrikaans sounds (Du Plessis 2012: 5).

Even though Dutch is recognised as being responsible for the birth of Afrikaans, the Standard Afrikaans spoken today can also be seen as a product of many linguistic influences, including that of the British, Khoi, political prisoners, sailors shipwrecked off the Cape coast, slaves and individuals indigenous to the interior of South Africa. The language contact from these influencers added more to the variety which ultimately led to the colourful progression of Afrikaans as it was mixed with pre-existing dialects, phrases and accents (Dyers 2015: 64). The language contact in the Cape resulted in three main dialects, namely (i) Oosgrens Afrikaans, spoken by the Dutch settlers and ultimately selected for standardisation, (ii) Oranjerivier Afrikaans, developed by the Khoisan speakers who came into contact with the Dutch settlers in the north-west region of South Africa, and (iii) Kaapse Afrikaans (known as *Kaaps*) which was spoken by the slave population in and around Cape Town (Dyers 2015: 65).

2.3   Kaaps as a marginalised variety

According to Van der Waal (2012: 449), the establishment of Standard Afrikaans occurred during the development of linguistic ethno-nationalism, and was developed as a form of resistance against hegemonic English. It was also created as a form of racial collective identity, thus separating the vernacular spoken by the working-class Coloured population from the ordinary White Afrikaners. In this sense, Afrikaans emphasised and accentuated the continuity of Dutch, and demeaned the dialects spoken by people of colour. The standardisation of Afrikaans led to the conscious exclusion of the dialects spoken by the working-class Coloured population. Non-standard varieties of Afrikaans, primarily spoken by the Coloured community, were seen as impure, and were rejected as substandard (Van der Waal 2012: 449).

The Group Areas Act, used by dominant Afrikaner nationalists to separate the Coloured population from the Whites, aided in the exclusion of non-standard varieties (Van der Waal 2012: 150). The Coloured population was removed from their homes in Bo-Kaap and District Six – suburbs situated south of the Castle of Good Hope – and placed on the Cape Flats, a barren land which was considered a racial dumping ground. The non-standard variety of Afrikaans, Kaapse Afrikaans [referred to as *Kaaps* ('Cape') or *Kombuistaal* ('Kitchen language'); (Pinchuck and McCrea 2007: 71)], was originally spoken by the slave population

in Cape Town. It originated historically in Bo-Kaap and District Six, and further spread among its residents on the Cape Flats.

The apartheid regime, which was established in 1948 by the National Party, campaigned strongly on behalf of Afrikaans. Van Heerden (2016: 31) refers to Valley and Valley (2009) who states that Afrikaans, initially a language for the Khoekhoe population and slaves, had now become an instrument used by the oppressor. The standardisation of Afrikaans served as an apartheid symbol through which language became a source of political ideology [Van Rensburg (1999), in Van Heerden (2016: 31)]. All decision-making processes were entirely administered by White Afrikaners, and cultural bodies and governing institutions were controlled by White organisations, such as cultural associations, churches and political parties. The only variety of Afrikaans that was given prominence during the apartheid era was Standard Afrikaans. This standard was recognised both in South Africa and abroad. As a result, many other different varieties of Afrikaans went unacknowledged, and these varieties – spoken by non-whites with no political influence – were disregarded and marginalised (Van Heerden 2016: 32).

After 1975, the history of Afrikaans became a violent one as White supremacy enforced Afrikaans as a medium of instruction to about 50 percent of Black schools as an ideological attempt at cultural hegemony. This meant that no other languages or varieties of a language other than Afrikaans were to be used in classrooms (Van Der Waal 2012: 150). Soon after, in 1976, the Soweto uprising took place. Many freedom fighters died and suffered immense trauma at the hands of the South African police during these anti-Afrikaans protests. This became an iconic event in South African history which later led to Black liberation. The African National Congress (ANC) came into power in 1994 and re-evaluated the position of Afrikaans. This language no longer received any special status and English gained a stronger position in the public domain. In 1996, the South African Constitution recognised eleven official languages (Van Der Waal 2012: 150).

According to Joseph (2004: 225), the notion of 'the standard as hegemonic' is the understanding that the standard is "a fiction" implemented by institutions. The realisation of the standard as a fiction and the maintenance thereof entails establishing institutions – namely, schools and grammar, dictionaries, systems of explanation and authoritative text – to uphold this standard. The fiction of the standard variety is evident in the historical establishment of Standard Afrikaans, as Afrikaans intellectual leaders of education, culture, churches and language contributed to its creation. The influence of these different spheres

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propelled Afrikaner nationalism and, in doing so, created the function, form and purpose of the White Afrikaans speech community. As a result, speakers of Standard Afrikaans were held in high regard as their language was viewed as prestigious (Van Heerden 2016: 29).

According to Ponelis [(1998), in Hendricks (2016: 33)], Afrikaans can be metaphorically viewed as a family of varieties. Yet Kaaps as a member of this family was suppressed and disparaged as colloquial code for most of its existence, resulting in it being marginalised and stigmatised. Kaaps was purposely avoided during the standardisation and linguistic description of Afrikaans, and circumvented as a medium of teaching during the twentieth century up until the peak of apartheid. These forms of marginalisation, as an establishment of Afrikaner nationalism, not only encouraged the stigmatisation of Kaaps but also promoted the image of Kaaps as being inferior to Standard Afrikaans.

Kaaps is also portrayed as a comical language and as the socially inferior "other", often mocked as a *gammat* language filled with many Gatiepie jokes, where Gatiepie is linked to the Blackface figure of American pop culture. Speakers of Kaaps are viewed as naïve, half-skilled, shufflingly submissive, and incapable of fully understanding or appreciating the complexities of the variety (Willemse 2016: 75). Van Heerden (2016: 43-44) refers to Van Rensburg (1999: 81) and Ponelis (1994: 107) who label Standard Afrikaans as *suiwer* ('pure') or *opregter* ('genuine'), and the non-standard variety as *plat taal* ('flat language'), *onbeskaafde taal* ('uncivilised language') and/or *kombuistaal* ('kitchen language'). Other derogatory labels include *verbasterdetaal* ('hybridised-' or 'bastardised language'), *gamtaal* ('language of the Ham') and the language of "low social class" (Schuster 2016: 16). This demonstrates the way in which the standard was perceived as "superior", proper, and the most correct form, while the non-standard was viewed as culturally backwards and cognitively inferior. This depicts the negative attitudes against the non-standard Kaapse Afrikaans. The propagandising of Afrikaans led to the ideology that all speakers of the non-standard variety were of a lower class. Willemse (2012: 80) claims that standardisation is the root cause for stigmatisation. Standardisation continues to reject the creole nature of Afrikaans despite the fact that it was purified of Khoi, slave and Malay influences.

The repercussions of this history lingered many years after South Africa became a democracy. As Willemse (2012: 80) notes, speakers of the non-standard variety are unwilling to interact in their vernacular, and then express themselves poorly when using their second language. The judgement experienced when speaking a non-standard variety leads to feelings of

disempowerment. This is one of the post-apartheid burdens, experienced by Black and Coloured speakers of Kaaps (Williams 2016).

The fact that people are unwilling to converse in Kaaps is further evident in a study conducted by McCormick (2006: 66), in which she recorded data of children's spontaneous speech while playing, of adults in meetings, and of families at home. She found that many parents who speak Afrikaans or a non-standard variety of Afrikaans chose to speak English to their children and not their vernacular language. These children therefore end up acquiring a second-language variety of their mother tongue. This is as a result of the idea that one needs to possess the ability to speak English in order to obtain employment. English is considered the language of business and is viewed as sophisticated. Those that belong to the Coloured community and possess the ability to speak English use it to their advantage, positioning themselves higher up the hierarchy, when conversing with Afrikaans speakers. Therefore, English was regarded as the language of supremacy and associated with the middle class [McCormick (1995), in Paterson (2008: 8)].

2.4   The speakers of Kaaps

Not only was Kaaps a marginalised language, its speakers were too. Typically, Kaaps is associated with Coloureds. Although they are not the only speakers of Kaaps, they certainly make up the biggest percentage. Coloured individuals are also regarded as the "forgotten nation" (Coetzee 2016). The complexity, heterogeneity and diversity of Coloured individuals' experiences with regard to Afrikaans are not acknowledged (McKaiser 2016), and it may come across as though South Africa is viewed from only two perspectives: Black and White. Coloured people can often relate to Black people in terms of shared poverty, inequality and social issues. In addition, both communities experienced the same oppression, but many argue that the Coloured community remains an overlooked social grouping. When political issues such as class, race and culture need to be addressed, only one of two viewpoints are considered: that of the over-privileged White or the under-privileged Black (Petersen 2015). According to Dido (2005), people of colour faced an identity crisis, as race classification during the apartheid era was not as fluid as the classification of Black and White. According to Dido, the classification of "Coloured" was an ambiguous category marker, as some individuals were "too white" to be considered Black and others "too dark" to be considered White. Even within the Coloured community, a race hierarchy exists: a person of colour can be classified as either Black or White based on social status, the acceptance of this evaluation

by the group concerned, and physical traits, e.g. Coloured people with blue eyes and straight hair could be classified as White (Patterson 1953: 7).

The term "Coloured" was not a term constructed as a means for racial classification by the apartheid regime. Instead, the earliest use of the term at the Cape can be traced back to the slaves and their descendants from different parts of Africa and the Southeast Asian islands. Social and political identities established during the period of slavery led to the emergence of Coloured identities (Erasmus and Pieterse 1999: 169). Bickford-Smith (in Erasmus and Pieterse 1999: 169) states that during the early 1890s, White discrimination was fought against by overt Coloured organisations which were active among slave descendants in Cape Town. The term "Coloured" became a suitable self-classification for many slave community members, setting them apart from "Natives". It was also convenient for the slave community to ascribe to this classification as this distinction made sense during a time of communal and occupational ties, existing kinship, and because new labour division started to form a tri-partite division of Cape Town's social formation into "Native", "Coloured" and "White" as migration of the natives to the city increased (Erasmus and Pieterse 1999: 169).

Contrary to this, "Coloured", under the hand of apartheid, was used as a racial classification and seen as "of mixed race". Despite the fact that Coloured people have, to a great extent, shared in the culture of Whites – that is, White Afrikaans speakers – they have simultaneously been excluded from the economic, social and political benefits offered by White culture (Erasmus and Pieterse 1999: 169). Erasmus and Pieterse (1999: 179) stress that the process of creolisation should not be attributed to what apartheid has come to be known as: "race mixture". Erasmus views the term "creolisation" as a "way in which Colouredness has historically come into being as a cultural identity in South Africa". She believes that this take on creolisation moves discussions away from viewing Coloured identity as a racial assumption supposedly linking racial identity and cultural expression.

Erasmus and Pieterse (1999: 180) state that all identities, including the Coloured identities, are created and given meaning in specific social contexts. The content of this meaning is dependent on its socio-political, spatial and historical contexts. Amina Mama [(1995: 2), cited in Erasmus and Pieterse (1999: 180)] claims that conceptualisation of subjectivity is necessary in the construction of identity. She refers to this as the discursive process in which the subject takes on multiple identities. Conceptualising formations of identities as a procedure consisting of active subject involvement aids in addressing the idea that Coloured identities are not

merely imposed by apartheid politicians and/or imposed by White slave owners and passively accepted by Coloured people. Rather, it facilitates a conceptualisation that is responsible for the fact that people of colour acted and continue to act out an important role in giving meaning to their identities (Erasmus and Pieterse 1999: 181).

2.5 Linguistic markers of Kaaps

Previous studies conducted on Kaaps primarily focus on the use of code-switching and code-mixing or the phonological features of the variety. Therefore, this discussion is limited to these two features.

According to Dyers (2015: 65) some typical features of Kaaps include:

Deletion of final sound or syllable

For example, in Standard Afrikaans the final /r/ is usually an audible sound, whereas the Kaaps variety omits the final /r/, resulting in words such as *maar* ('but') being pronounced as *maa* [ma:]. From my corpus of *Vannie Kaap* memes, one meme features the phrase *Kyk hier* ('Look here') written as *Kyk'ie*. This written form is attempting to mirror the phonological feature of deleting the final /r/ sound.

The inclusion of English lexical borrowing into Kaaps

In older literature [for example, McCormick (2002), in Paterson (2008: 9)], the prevalence of mixing and switching between Afrikaans and English is foregrounded as a feature of Kaaps. More recent theoretical tools would probably refer to this practice as "translanguaging" (see Chapter 3 for a discussion). The following is a good example from my corpus of this kind of translanguaging practice: "Lamming with my white brasse today. Nai een ding, witmense is geseënd in potjiekos. (Chilling with my white friends today. One thing you can't deny, white people are blessed in (preparing) potjiekos)" In this meme, lexical items from both Afrikaans and English are used in a seamless fashion.

The presence of certain characteristic expressions

An example from Dyers (2015) includes *Kom ons* [ma:ts] ('come let's march', meaning "let's go").

Giving old words new meanings

Common examples of this include *duidelik* ('clear') or *gevaarlik* ('dangerous') by extending the meanings of both of these lexical items to 'good' or 'nice'.

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Syntactic features

This includes the use of the definite article *die* ('the') before names of localities, and the doubling of prepositions. For example, *in* can serve as a preposition and postposition as in "*ek bly in die Bo-Kaap in*" ('I live in Bo-Kaap').

Morphological features

An example includes the diminutive marker *–tjie* [ki] being pronounced as /tʃi/. For example, *broertjie* ('younger brother') [brʊrki] becomes [brʊtʃi] (Klopper 1983: 89). Another example is the embedding of the Afrikaans past tense form *ge-* with an English present tense verb, as in *ge-organise* ('organised'), and the redundant insertion of a post-morpheme to an adjective, for example, *bietere* ('better').

Klopper (1983: 88) accounts for the derivation between the standard and non-standard by claiming that English might contribute to the pronunciation in the stigmatised variety Kaaps with the unrounded affricative /j/, the /r/ omission, and the /tʃi/ in the diminutive marker *–tjie* (as previously mentioned). These articulations are similar to those of the English variety. However, similar traits, excluding the affricative /j/, are also found in Whites' use of Standard Afrikaans and Kaaps, thus this explanation is not plausible. Instead, the omission of the /r/ in Kaaps can be seen as a characteristic of Germanic languages [Van Loey (1959), in Klopper (1983: 89)]. Furthermore, the affricative /j/ in Kaaps seems to be a derivation from the Cape Malay variety, as *jeruk* (orange) and *jahe* (ginger) are both pronounced with the hard affricative /j/ (Klopper 1983: 89).

The non-standard Afrikaans variety has been sustained over the years due to its flexibility and creativity. Code-mixing and code-switching have become identity markers in this speech community. Kaaps makes considerable use of lexical borrowing of English words into the variety. Conversely, there is very little lexical borrowing of Afrikaans words into the English lexicon. A speaker of English is likely to code-switch to Afrikaans or use Afrikaans terms to display feelings of disgust, anger or other such strong emotions. McCormick [(2002), in Paterson (2008: 9)] refers to these Afrikaans terms as having "strong emotional colouring". Furthermore, McCormick [(1995), in Paterson (2008: 10)] claims that linguistic repertoires such as non-standard English and non-standard Afrikaans, and English-Afrikaans code-switching forms part of the "vernacular". This vernacular is considered warm and intimate, and provides individuals with a sense of membership and solidarity in the community. Despite the segregation of specific races – and thus languages on a large scale – during the

apartheid era by the enforcement of laws such as the Group Areas Act, the Immorality Act, the Bantu Educations Act and the Separations Act, code-switching and code-mixing continued to flourish in the Coloured communities, bearing in mind that these legislations were put in place to promote Afrikaans and minimise the influence of English in non-White schools across the country (Kamwangamalu 1998: 279).

2.6   Kaaps and language activism

Taken together, Kaaps and its speakers were marginalised, regarded as low-status, and often seen as comical. This led to the speakers of the variety feeling ashamed to use it in public spheres. It is on this basis that many language activists and productions of Kaaps aim to empower and liberate its speakers from pre-existing stereotypes and stigmas associated with it.

Adam Small, one of the pioneers of the promotion of Kaaps, states that

> Kaaps is a language in the sense that it carries the whole fate and destiny of the people who speak it: the whole fate, their whole life 'with everything therein'; a language in the sense that the people who speak it, give their first cry in this life in this language, all the transactions of their lives are concluded in this language, their death rattle is rattled in this language. Kaaps is not a joke or a comedy, but a language.

[Small (1973: 9), in Willemse (2016: 75)]

Small effectively depicts the variety as a strong identity marker. In the play *Kanna Hy Kô Hystoe*, which was written in Cape Flats Afrikaans, the main character, Kanna, uses Standard Afrikaans to heighten his status and display social position, and uses Kaaps as a means to identify with members of the community (Hendricks 2012: 96).

The derogatory references to Kaaps as *plat taal* or *kombuistaal* do not in any way reflect the rich linguistic reality of Kaaps as part of a range of varieties forming Standard Afrikaans. Language movements in Cape Town have been working on creating linguistic awareness of Kaaps in a bid to overthrow these labels. One of these language movements is *AfriKaaps*, which started out as a stage production before the creation of a documentary to attempt to reclaim Afrikaans. This movement aims to reconstruct Coloured identity through their documentary which captures learners' views on language – specifically, their thoughts on *AfriKaaps* as a language movement. This is done by emphasising more positive aspects of identity in relation to Kaaps speakers. The production revisits the history of the formation of

Afrikaans, and finds ways to promote the dignity and respect of marginalised speakers who long to bask in their linguistic citizenship in all spheres of society. It further encourages these speakers to reconstruct their identity and to combine several identities into the concept of 'Colouredness' (Williams 2016). The production demonstrates that through performing the stage production of *AfriKaaps*, one is able to co-construct identities, resulting in the re-appropriation of the previous Coloured identities and simultaneously illustrating agency in overcoming colonial concepts of 'identity'. Since 'language' and 'identity' are inseparable concepts, the production aims to embrace Kaaps and its origins and, in doing so, Coloured speakers of Kaaps can finally claim that they are truly South African and are therefore able to perform the African aspects of their identity (Schuster 2016: 61). As a mechanism to spark conversation, and to create spaces to form new identities, the production incorporated stereotypes of Kaaps or old constituents of identity and enforced them over current lived identities. Today, the production team of *AfriKaaps* is embarking on several initiatives to deconstruct the ways in which Afrikaans invalidates multilingual speakers in a post-apartheid era. Heal the Hood is one such initiative, where the creators of *AfriKaaps* visit learners at schools on the Cape Flats on a weekly basis to introduce them to and instil the value and power of Afrikaans and broad multilingualism. By emphasising multilingualism and empowerment through language, they challenge teachers to incorporate newer forms of teaching and re-address their rigid curricula (Williams 2016).

Other language activism includes hip-hop. This form of activism can be traced back to the apartheid era in South Africa and continues to flourish today. The first group to practice hip-hop activism was Prophets of Da City (POC). Additional music groups followed who perform in their vernacular and promote the non-standard dialects of Afrikaans. These include Black Noise, Brasse Vannie Kaap and, more recently, Jack Parow, Emo Adams and Youngsta CPT (Van Der Rheede 2016: 117). Their music depicts a positive image of the style and speech practices of Kaaps speakers. As a result, they linguistically empower many young Black and Coloured speakers of Kaaps on the Cape Flats as well as having a significant impact in other districts (Williams 2016).

Additional theatre productions using the vernacular, namely *Joe Barber*, musicals like *Ghoema* and *District Six*, and the comedy shows of Marc Lottering, all acted as a catalyst in heightening the status of Kaaps. The use of Kaaps in different spheres of media and entertainment is a key driver for artistic and commercial reasons. As Stone (1995: 280) claims, a dialect is a sacred marker of membership within a community and provides its

speakers with a sense of belonging. Dyers [(2008: 53), cited in Van Der Rheede (2016: 118)] echoes this as she states that Kaaps provides its speakers with in-group identity, a sense of exclusion to those who do not speak the variety, and a powerful index of micro-networks. Even though schools pigeonhole multilingualism into a variety of separate languages, some progress has been made at university level. At the University of the Western Cape, the Centre for Multilingualism and Diversities Research held its first series of lectures focused on hip-hop with the theme of "Heal the Hood". These lectures lead to greater understanding of the socio-cultural conditions in which Kaaps is used as well as the local hip-hop culture (Williams 2016).

The increase in literature and public performances in Kaaps is indicative of how its speakers are not just practising but also finding their voice in what Stroud [(2001) in Dyers (2015: 62)] labels "linguistic citizenship": citizenship employing language and multilingualism as a political tool. This is as a result of the growing self-confidence of speakers to use Kaaps publically, given that it was a previously marginalised language. Similar productions and awareness campaigns could aid in the promotion of a stronger self-image among its speakers, which in turn leads the way to economic development, amongst other benefits to the community.

Chapter 3

The relationship between language, food and identity

3.1.   Introduction

Recently, there has been a growing interest in the interaction between language and identity. Over the years, the relationship between language and identity has been redefined and reconceptualised. As early as the 1960s, sociolinguists have started to note the unique relationship between language and sociology. Since then, much attention has been placed on the social-cultural-identity-language grouping known as "socio-cultural linguistics" (Warren 2012: 34). Bucholtz and Hall (2010: 18) define "socio-cultural linguistics" as the interdisciplinary field that focuses on the interaction of culture, society and language.

As an effect of globalisation, identity has been discussed and contested across multiple disciplines, such as sociology, psychology, philosophy and political science. Each discipline has its own view of and approach to identity construction, and even within these disciplines there are different points of view about identity. Therefore, with the multi-disciplinary interest in identity and identity construction, it becomes challenging to provide a complete analysis on all of the various perspectives. As such, the first section of this chapter only focuses on the major trends of identity theory before narrowing my investigation, making it specific to my research topic. This section investigates the academic study of how identity has progressed over the years and how it has come to be understood as performative.

Since we are constructed socially, biologically and psychologically by the food we choose to consume, food becomes a significant marker of an individual or collective identity. It is a way of communicating culture, capital, wealth and concomitant status within numerous contexts. Food carries with it a multitude of meaning in different contexts and eras (Fischler 1988: 275). Since food and food practices reveal aspects of society and its people, an analysis from this perspective is a good starting point to investigate the construction of one's identity. Therefore, the second section of this chapter will discuss food and language in a reciprocal way, and will elaborate on the link between food and identity. This chapter continues with a discussion on food and language as an interrelated topic by emphasising food as a cultural marker, the way in which race and social position indexes food, and food from a socialisation

perspective. I will use relevant literature to locate the use of Kaaps during food talks within the broader scope of language and food as an interrelated topic.

3.2.   Identity construction

Wodak, De Cillia and Reisigl (2009: 11) distinguish between two sub-sections of the term "identity": *selbigkeit* and *selbstheit*. *Selbigkeit* is a German term which translates to "the same". Here, identity is seen as a unitary whole or the unchanging core to one's identity. This notion addresses the shared attributes or the "we-ness" in which members of a group coalesce. In other words, a car bought in 1986 of which some parts have been replaced in 2018 still remains the same car. Contrary to this, *selbstheit* identity refers to one's "uniqueness". Wodak et al. (2009: 13) describe this as an individual's subjectivity which is used to assess his/her existence and position in relation to others and internalised by the self. *Selbstheit* identity is the subjectivity of an individual which directs oneself or allows human agency. Together, *selbigkeit* and *selbstheit* identity constitute a fluid notion of a person's existence. They both create a continuity and structure in an ever-changing environment. These environments have a significant part to play as they are the basis for creating what is referred to as a "social identity". In some instances, this connection can be cultivated by the preparation and eating of traditional or familial dishes. Accone (2004: 2) notes the relationship between the notion of "we-ness", "uniqueness" and food when he reminisces about his grandfather's traditional way of preparing food. When his grandfather prepared food in the traditional way, it was not only a means of displaying affection but also a cunning way of reminding Accone of his Chinese heritage. For Accone's grandfather, the traditional way of cooking and consuming traditional Chinese cuisine served as a way to construct a specific cultural identity during the hostile apartheid era. Here, the symbolic process of preparing and eating a particular dish became a marker to divide "them" from "us", while at the same time stratifying intra-social relations.

3.3.   Language as an index of identity

An early view on identity and language held that one's language indexes the identity one ascribes to. This means that the language resources and the practices one uses is indicative of the identity category one ascribes to (Labov 1972: 36). This form of social identity is mutually produced, destructed, reproduced and transformed through language and other semiotic systems. One's nation can be seen as an example of social identity. Members of a community may not know, meet or hear from the majority of their fellow citizens, yet they

know they belong to a particular national community. This is not only because they speak the same language, listen to the same music, read the same newspaper, watch similar television programs or eat the same food. Rather, nations are perceived by boundaries and members are "cut off" from neighbouring nationals. They share a particular history, a "collective memory", which Wodak et al. (1999: 115) describe as the recollection of historical events which are believed to be significant for the members of that specific community.

Labov (1972: 3) illustrates this notion in his well-known 1960 publication which investigated the sound changes of diphthongs in Martha's Vineyard, an island off the east coast of the United States. These sound changes include /aw/ and /ay/. In his study, he used a sample of 69 local residents. Labov claims that social pressures were not only operating upon languages in the past but also from social forces in the present. His findings suggest that the local residents' pronunciation of these two diphthongs had changed in contrast to the initial movement in articulation of the previous two centuries. He attributed this shift in articulation to the change in social patterns. For example, the incorporation of these sound-changing diphthongs into their vocabulary allowed locals the ability to identify with other natives, which in turn provided a sense of solidarity and unity. This sense of belonging stems from the threat to the local residents' happiness and livelihood on the island. Hence, according to Labov (1972: 36), language becomes a reflection of one's identity.

3.4.   Language and identity being mutually constituted

As research developed, it was found that language not only indexes one's identity, but that identity is also constructed through the language that one uses. Wodak et al. (1999: 154) claim that a single national identity does not exist; instead, different identities are constructed according to context, that is, according to the situational setting of the act, the social field, and the topic being discussed. Therefore, national identities are not entirely stable, consistent and absolute. On the contrary, they should be understood as vulnerable, fragile, dynamic and often incoherent.

Gumperz (1971) takes a more interactional sociolinguistic approach to the construction of one's identity. His work focuses on how speakers gesture and make sense of meaning in social interaction. He disregards the "information theory" of communication which holds that socio-cultural knowledge is grounded within verbal interaction and behaviour. Instead, Gumperz claims that meaning is gained from conceptualisation cues, namely gestural, visual and lexical choices. These cues aid in encoding the propositional content of utterances (Barker and Sibonile

2010: 170). Gumperz (1971: 91) further re-establishes the relationship between language and social patterns by claiming that linguistic features represent a reality that is independent of language and social patterns. In other words, language establishes identities that are independent and unrelated to language itself. Therefore, identities are not immutable and absolute; new ones can be constructed, old ones contested or undone, or they can merely be maintained through language. These identities are thus continuously evolving. The interaction between different individuals holds claim to a collective identity and, as a result, we construct ourselves or take on a different identity. Hence, Gumperz states that language is not a product of one's identity but is an integral part of it.

3.5.   Language as being performative

Bell and Gibson (2011: 561) describe identity as a term that is often used and least specified in sociolinguistic theorisation. It includes both a structured and agentive dimension. Identity is the result of the social environment and the strictures that an individual has experienced. In this sense, it is part product. Furthermore, it is also part process, as it is negotiated and constructed rather than simply being there. It contains divergence and similarity, so individuals can either disassociate themselves from or relate to others. Numerous researchers view language as being performative. The idea of performativity was established in linguistics by the philosopher J.L. Austin, who claims that performativity allows for new ways of thinking about relationships between language and identity. Austin's speech-act theory of performativity relates to the notion of performativity as a situated practice, instead of focusing on theatricality or exhibition (Bauman 2011: 713). He makes a distinction between speech acts that do what they say, and performatives as an act of doing. Performativity has become an important concept in anti-fundamentalist conceptualisations of identity, sexuality and gender. Specifically influential here is the work of Judith Butler. Butler (1988: 519) defines speech acts as verbal assurances that refer to a communicative connection, and to the establishment of a moral relationship between speakers. Therefore, these speech acts not only represent something, but can also be understood as actually doing or performing something. Butler's (1988: 13) "performative" can be understood as the discursive practice that produces that which it names or enacts.

Butler's (1988: 519) conceptualisation of the performative aspect of language is centred on sexuality. She claims that gender is not a fixed identity or locus of agency in which various acts proceeds. Rather, she regards gender as an important aspect of the self, and considers gender as flexible and constantly confirmed and established through language and

communication. Her 1990 publication claims that gender identity is constructed through pre-arranged gender performances of male and female, with the aim of conforming to heteronormativity (Butler 1990: 33). She puts forward the idea that gender performativity can be understood as a strategy of resistance. An example of this is the exaggerated reappearances of gendered customs which are apparent in the sexual stylisation of feminine or masculine identities and also in the cultural activities of drag and cross-dressing (Butler 1990: 137).

The study of speech-act theory has also led to an additional view of performativity as a form of performance studies, such as drama, rituals and music. Performativity reinforces the idea that identity can be consciously enacted, by performing a part, or subconsciously deployed, by performing a task (Bauman 2011: 713). However, Pennycook (2004: 8) disproves the notion that conscious enactment is easy. He understands performativity as acting out or performing acts of identity as a continuous chain of social and cultural performances. Pennycook further argues that language use is a form of identity "that calls language into being". Therefore, performativity allows for new understandings of how language and identities become refashioned.

The concept of 'performativity' has been reconceptualised over the years. According to Chomsky [(1965), in Warren (2012: 38)], performance is associated with language in use. Yet Chomsky's definition does not account for linguistic competence such as the knowledge of abstract rules of a language. Hymes (1974), on the other hand, builds on this weakness by introducing the notion of 'communicative competence', where speakers possess the ability to perform linguistically in an intentional manner. On the basis of this, Goffman's (1981) dramaturgical approach states that speakers are agentive, and therefore any form of spoken language is performed. He claims that speakers of a language are social actors: they have an awareness of alternative choices as well as their social implications. This definition of performance is based on a metaphor of theatre life. However, this definition still does not account for the audience's viewpoint and the instances that individuals acknowledge and classify as performance. Hence, Coupland's (2007: 575) "high performance" and Bauman's (1977) concept of 'verbal art' become particularly useful in understanding performativity from a sociolinguistic perspective. According to Bauman (1977), performativity can be understood as the spatial separation between the area stage occupied by performers, and the audience. In this sense, performance is then the act of an individual's expressions that are put on display, allowing for audience evaluation and scrutiny (Bell and Gibson 2011: 556).

Coupland (2011: 575) refers to "high performance" as a highly stylised event such as staged performance and media. High performances have the ability to draw attention to performativity. This serves as a reminder of both the linguistic usages, and the personal and social identities they are comprised of and which are performed. Thus, performances are fluid rather than static products. This is evident in Barret's (1995) study which investigates African American drag queens' highly stylised languages that are represented in glamorous drag shows to construct and display a distinctive identity. In constructing this identity, African American English, hyper-feminine, and gay male speech are combined by performers to entertain the audience. Barret (1995: 152) refers to drag queens as men who dress up as women performing for artistic, theatrical and comical motives. The focus of his research was not centred on how drag queens express queerness using specific linguistic markers (e.g. high pitch). Instead, he investigated the way in which drag queens index queerness by proficiently shifting between a variety of linguistic styles and stereotypical forms that denote other identities, i.e. African American women and White men. In other words, queerness is not situated within particular identities, but rather is performed in certain contexts (Cameron 2001: 491). Often it is used to add humour, emotional colouring or as a means of identifying with others. Gee (2010: 44) refers to this as a "social language" – the act of alternating between different varieties to express different social identities and enacting various socially meaningful practices.

Bell and Gibson (2011: 555) claim that performance provides an "opportunity to deal with multi-layered data where stylisation is rife". According to Coupland [(2007), in Bell and Gibson (2011: 560)], stylisation is the "mannered adoption of another's voice", and carries with it the idea that language includes symbolism, character or reference of its uses in previous situations. It also projects from known repertoires by detaching them from the immediate context, thus drawing attention to it. Stylisation often requires the performer to be able to enact or produce these accents and the audience to have an understanding of their references. The performance of language acts as a lens through which the creative and self-conscious can be viewed, often involving the kinds of language left out of the sociolinguistic world which are aimed at natural and un-self-conscious speech.

Bell and Gibson (2011: 559) make a further distinction between "staged performance" and "everyday performance". Staged performance usually occurs on a stage or stage-like area, namely spaces in front of a camera or microphone. It often takes on a particular genre, such as religious services, concerts, or plays, and in settings dedicated to such performances, such as places of worship, concert halls, or theatres. Everyday performances occur when individuals

in everyday interaction or conversation shift into performance mode, namely quoting from examples or reported speech. Coupland (2011: 708) defines "everyday performance" as mundane performance, where a speaker spontaneously steps into a performance style, creating a performer-audience situation. Both "staged-" and "everyday performance" have identifiable performer and audience roles. However, they can be distinguished in terms of physical, venue, preplanning, setup and social expectations.

Performed language is transmodal as it interacts with wider modalities, ranging from music to visuals, needed to create the semiotic horizon which also embodies cultural values and trends (Bell and Gibson 2011: 557). According to Pennycook (2004: 16), transmodal performance can be viewed as a blend of verbal and nonverbal communication such as music, the management of gaze, gestures and the like. There tends to be a clear separation between the performers in staged performance and the audience. The audience uses non-linguistic responses at their discretion, such as clapping or laughing, while all attention is focused on the performer that holds the floor. Each community is unique and thus has their own metapragmatic framework through which the performer may signal to an audience, both verbally and by non-linguistic means, such as special registers, management of gaze, gestures and breath pauses. Staged performance is more likely to be evaluated and scrutinised than everyday performance. Furthermore, reflexivity is heightened in staged performance as social stereotypes are overtly put on display which in turn creates a space for critical reflection of one's self and society (Bell and Gibson 2011: 558). The audience is able to follow the storyline that the performer enacts, and expects the performer to displays different characters and personas. This type of audience engagement serves as a reminder that stance-taking is a reciprocal process. Bauman (2011: 712) defines "stance-taking" as the performer's ability to invoke the performance frame by taking up a reflexive position. It is often imitated, rehearsed, translated, and quoted. The performers also recontextualise cultural text, where meanings emerge and are reframed in each new context. Bauman and Briggs [(1990), in Bell and Gibson (2011: 561)] terms this notion "discursive culture". This discursive model of culture sees performance as central to the continuity of culture, and highlights the constant tension between the pre-given and the new. It sees culture as a type of collective memory that exits through its re-contextualisation, re-performance and re-reading.

Enregisterment forms an important part of performativity. Bell and Gibson (2011: 561) refer to enregisterment as the process through which a performable style becomes recognised, acknowledged and engraved in the minds of the public as indexing certain personas or

characterological figures. An example of this is the "establishment of Received Pronunciation as prestige accent in England". Personas or characterological figures can be biographical, members belonging to iconic groups such as British Broadcasting Cooperation (BBC) anchors, or fictional individuals. They symbolise socio-cultural values and, in doing so, they take on a register with those traits.

Additional forms of staged performance include radio shows, films and popular music recordings. These are examples of mediated performance. Goffman's (1981) [in Bauman (2011: 716)] work on performance focuses on the evaluation of competence and incompetence of radio presenters. His work represents a benchmark in the study of media performance. Presently, there is a shift away from traditional means of viewing media, such as broadcasting, to media being largely accessed through the internet, making mediated performance largely digitalised. Mediated performance associates linguistic resources with different personas or characterological figures. This type of performance can also have a significant socio-cultural effect with the content producing semiotic and social trends. The discourse of the genre not only infiltrates but also influences other language uses through quotations and repetition.

In this digital era, one cannot consider identity without taking new forms of technologies into account. Meyrowitz [(1985), in Cerulo (1997: 397)] was one of the first researchers to investigate the relationship between technology and identity. His study focused on the way in which electronic media reframes the sites of social interactions. He states that new communicative technologies facilitate the deterioration of the relationships between social and physical places. In this way, communication technologies mesh private and public, signalling new kinds of performances, and form new collective configurations by locating the self in new hybrid fields of action. For example, the television empowers thousands of minorities. These are people who consider themselves unfairly isolated to the rest of the world. In this case, television fosters the rise of many disabled people and marginalised communities by giving them access to information despite their physical and other constraints.

Altheide [(1995) in Cerulo (1997: 398)] builds on this notion of 'communication technology' by claiming that new communication media enable new communication processes. These include new ways of presenting, selecting and organising information. As a result, these processes modify, reshape and dismantle current practices, and shape and activate new ones. Electronic communication media establish new environments for self-identification and development by creating new opportunities for collective membership and mobilisation.

Online communities have become more tangible and real as they build a sense of "we-ness". Similar to staged performance, social actors of online communities are able to express views and opinions to a particular audience. The audience or reader may use linguistic or non-linguistic responses at their discretion, in this case, through the use of commenting, "liking" a post or replying to a post using a GIF (a type of image file format that supports static and animated images). Interacting around certain activities or topics reinforces the closeness and bond between community members (Groenewegen and Moser 2014: 468).

According to Gündüz (2017: 85), social media platforms are spaces where individuals "showcase" their living experience. They also mirror a range of perspectives related to our position in both the physical and virtual social worlds. These factors allow individuals to perform different characters or identities in the social arena. Electronic media allow for identity expression, experimentation and exploration. Individuals are able to present themselves to others and determine the way in which they would like to be perceived in addition to assisting them in interacting and connecting with others.

3.6   Translanguaging and identity construction

According to Lewis, Jones and Baker (2012: 641), the concept of 'translanguaging' was first used in Welsh educational contexts by Cen Williams (1994). The concept was more extensively used after the publications of Baker's "Foundations of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism", and Garcia's "Bilingual Education in the 21st Century". Baker defines "translanguaging" as "the process of making meaning, shaping experiences, gaining understanding and knowledge through the use of two languages" [(Baker 2011: 288), cited in Lewis, Jones and Baker (2012: 641)]. From its original usage in education, translanguaging was extended by many authors and now refers "to both the complex discursive practices of bilinguals, as well as to pedagogical approaches that use these complex practices" (Garcia and Kano 2014: 258). In this section, my interest is not in translanguaging from an educational context; rather, I focus on translanguaging as a discursive practice of bilinguals to construct identity. More recently, Otheguy, Garcia and Reid (2015) define "translanguaging" as "the deployment of a speaker's full linguistic repertoire without regard for watchful adherence to the socially and politically defined boundaries of named (and usually national and state) languages". My use of "translanguaging" is more in line with this definition.

Translanguaging has also been explicitly linked to identity In order to make these links, Wei (2009) introduces "translanguaging space". Wei (2009: 1223) sees translanguaging as the

movement between "different linguistic structures and systems" as well as different modalities. He emphasises that speakers do not only move between these systems, structures and modalities but also beyond them. Translanguaging "includes the full range of linguistic performances of multilingual language users for purposes that transcend the combination of structures, the alternation between systems, the transmission of information and the representation of values, identities and relationships" (Wei 2009: 1223). Through the practice of translanguaging, a multilingual individual can create a social space by bringing different aspects of their history, contexts, ideologies, cognitive abilities, etc. into one performance. This space is what Wei (2009: 1223) calls a "translanguaging space" which is simultaneously created through translanguaging but also for the act of translanguaging. In translanguaging spaces, new identities are created. In his study of Chinese/English bilinguals, Wei found that translanguaging was used in creative and playful ways to emphasise particular parts of their identity.

The use of translanguaging practices to construct identity in digital spaces has also been investigated by Schreiber (2015), who argues that writing in the digital environment is creative, and utilises a great variety and mix of linguistic and other semiotic resources. This kind of writing accurately depicts everyday life in multilingual societies (Schreiber 2015: 69). In order to investigate multilingual online writing, Schreiber (2015: 72) conducted a qualitative analysis of one student's online activity as well as interviewing this student. According to Schreiber (2015: 83), unlike previous research where particular identities are linked to particular languages, his participant does not see himself as "having separate linguistic identities". Although he is aware that his online audience is diverse in terms of the linguistic varieties they have access to, he does not switch between languages to accommodate them. Instead, he relies on the multimodal nature of online communication, using multiple modalities, such as posting links, to communicate effectively. According to Duff (2015: 74), digital practices have a profound impact on linguistic identity construction and belonging.

As I will be dealing with identity construction in the digital space and in a non-standard variety, 'translanguaging' is a useful concept with which to interpret my data. The following section aims to provide an analysis of the ways in which food establishes social position and the hierarchical ordering thereof. It also aims to provide an account of the social aspect of food and the way in which food practices index individual or cultural beliefs, which are ultimately linked to identity, morality and our traditions, in order to better understand the link between discourses around food and their relationship to identity.

3.7   Food as a cultural marker

Food is central to our culture, society and our sense of identity. It is a universal phenomenon and is found across various societies as it is essential to human life. Food is not only vital to our wellbeing but is also an important aspect of social events. Our eating practices can be seen as embedded with daily and annual rituals (Wiggins 2002: 315). For example, food is the main component at formal and ritualistic celebrations, namely weddings, baptisms and confirmations, and at less formal events such as family gatherings (Holmes, Marra and King 2013: 191). Food allows us to relate to others through the acts of sharing, giving and withholding it. The ways in which we represent food and our diverse food practices abound across cultures, with varying degrees of symbolic significance.

In recent studies, social and cultural meanings associated with food have become more significant in comparison to its biological meaning. Food and the consumption thereof reflect a cultural behaviour. In other words, we learn the meanings that certain foods carry by the different cultures we ascribe to (Sills 1968: 508). Each culture has its own unique language use and foodway, thus we are similar or different depending on the way in which we speak or eat. Anderson [(1971: 57), in Fellner (2013: 261)] defines "foodway" as a whole interrelated system of food preparation, conceptualisation and evaluation, consumption, procurement, nutrition and distribution of food shared among members of a particular society. A number of definitions for "culture" has been put forward, however, the following definition by Kroeber and Kluckholm (1952: 181) is most applicable to this study:

> Culture consists of patterns, explicit and implicit, of and for behaviour acquired and transmitted by symbols, constituting the distinctive achievements of human groups, including their embodiment in artefacts; the essential core of culture consists of traditional (i.e. historically derived and selected) ideas and especially their attached values; culture systems may, on the one hand, be considered as products of action, on the other, as conditional elements of future action.
>
> [Kroeber and Kluckholm (1952: 181), in Spencer-Oatey (2012: 14)]

In my opinion, this definition is most useful as it provides a holistic view of the term. Here, culture is seen as behaviour that is consciously acquired through learning and interacting with individuals of the culture in question. These include responses to our biological needs, namely food, which are often influenced by our culture. Previously, food was seen as something that individuals need to consume in order to survive and stay well. However, how often we eat,

what we eat, the amount of food consumed, with whom it is consumed, withholding food, the set of rules surrounding food which are regulated, and how food is embedded in our daily and annual routines (e.g. lunch and Easter, respectively) are all influenced by our culture [(Ferraro 1998), in (Spencer-Oatey 2012: 3−7)]. In this way, the consumption of food is directly linked to social, cultural and historical practices.

As previously mentioned, there has been an increase in food as an area of study, with a multitude of research having been conducted on food across different disciplines, such as psychology, sociology and philosophy. Among some of these studies that will be discussed in this section are: how food indexes informality and reduces the intensity of serious topics; the way in which the types of food we choose to eat reveals psychological, economic and social characteristics; and how food indexes power relations within society.

The study conducted by Holmes et al. (2013: 191) demonstrates how food talks occurring within a specific Pakeha[3] workplace minimises formal boundaries, which in turn contributes to achieving workplace objectives. Holmes et al. (2013: 193) note that discourse around food is often associated with maintaining and creating workplace relationships. Talks about food tend to occur at workplace boundaries, i.e. at the start and/or end of meetings, amidst meeting topics, and at the beginning and/or end of the day. Due to the peripheral nature of food talk, it is often regarded as off-record, informal and irrelevant. Conversely, talks about food that occur at a non-boundary position are likely to reduce the formality of the talk.

According to Holmes et al. (2013), talks about food may be a deliberate attempt to reduce the seriousness of intense topics and contribute to informality. It also helps establish good work relations among colleagues, and is an effective tool for managers to diminish rigid meeting boundaries and reduce tension after a difficult discussion. However, food talks can also generate interactional trouble. Since talks about food occur as a socially-sanctioned meeting topic, thus indexing informality, it becomes problematic when it forms part of the agenda as a serious and formal meeting topic. Participants in the study presented a lack of ease when this occurred, resulting in defensive strategies, humour, and funny insults to cope with their discomfort.

Holmes et al. (2013: 206) claim that food topics are managed differently in Maori meetings where it is an agenda topic in settings where hosting clients is an essential component of a business. The preliminary findings of this study, according to Holmes et al. (2013: 205), focused on mainstream

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[3] "A White New Zealander, as opposed to a Maori" (Soanes and Stevenson 2004: 1029).

Pakeha and thus the result cannot be generalised to include the Maori and other cultures of New Zealand. Holmes et al.'s (2013) study is important to my thesis as it notes the value of food talks, and also illustrates how food talks differ in discourse across different contexts.

3.8   Race, class and social position as indexes of food

Food can be used as a means to position oneself and express status or class in food practices. According to the Bourdieusian theorisation of social classification, social class is determined by how and where we locate ourselves socially in relation to others based on economic capital, social capital and cultural capital. We can also potentially extend this notion to the foods that people choose to eat (Paddock 2016). Food is not necessarily consumed for what it does but for what it means. In this way, food in general can be seen as a marker of social position and indicative of social inclusion or exclusion (Marshall 2005: 71).

This notion is evident in Alkon and McCullen's (2010) study which focuses on White cultural dominance within two farmers' markets in California. Since the organic farming industry comprises mainly Whites, they tend to dominate farmers' markets. Slocum [(2007), in Alkon and McCullen (2010: 940)] claims that when White individuals gather around property similar to farmers' markets, these spaces become coded as "racialised spaces". Non-White farm workers, who are usually responsible for the growing and/or harvesting of the produce, do not always accompany these White farmers to the markets. This creates an image of all farmers being White and renders non-White farm workers invisible. By exalting and acknowledging farm owners instead of farm workers, this valorises the role of Whites in this food industry.

The findings of Alkon and McCullen's (2010) study depict farmers' markets as a symbol of family and community, and a space where customers share an interest in food, thereby establishing a sense of belonging. However, Slocum [(2007), in Alkon and McCullen (2010: 947)] claims that it is often assumed that shared spaces are favourable environments, where race, gender and class are not generally taken into consideration as influencers of allegiance and belonging to a specific community. Disregarding an individual's subjective experiences and assuming a sense of togetherness risks conflating spatial and social relations by neglecting to address class divisions and race that exist within place-based communities. A strong correlation exists between race and income, therefore the high cost of gourmet and organic foods sold at the two markets involved as the settings for the study, reinforces its Whiteness. This high cost makes patronage of these food markets near impossible for many low-income individuals, so the target

market is thus mainly Whites who are more affluent. This explicitly sets a social division between the rich and the poor (Alkon and McCullen 2010: 954).

Across cultural geographies, food is considered a semiotic resource. Social relations, social models and social groups are performed and mediated through semiotic resources and social practices. Food practices constitute one such example as they also index cultural beliefs which are linked to identity, morality as well as tradition (Karrebæk 2012: 2 and 18). The meanings attached to food are dependent on the manner in which food is used. These meanings are often not fixed but differ depending on their context. The value of food is grounded more in the food practices than the function or nutritional value of the ingredients (Marshall 2005: 72). Given the political background of discrimination of Kaaps, the study conducted by Karrebæk (2013) provides valuable insight into how food is used in order to position oneself in social spaces, how it is linguistically evaluated, and how it establishes social identity.

For Karrebæk's (2013) study, data was collected during lunchtimes at a primary school in Copenhagen, Denmark over two years. The registers that were analysed included the Halaal register and the Health register. The participants for this study included approximately 20 new schoolgoers, aged between 5 and 7 years old, with a range of ethnic backgrounds. These ethnic backgrounds included Pakistani, Danish, Icelandic, Turkish, Moroccan, Iraqi and Chinese. Video and audio recordings were used to capture interactions of the children in class, during breaks and after-school activities, with lunchtime recordings constituting a considerable amount of the data. The school principal and two educators were also interviewed on multiple occasions.

According to Karrebæk (2013: 31), teachers focused largely on health as a moral guideline for what to eat. Attention was mainly placed on the high nutritional value of rye bread, with teachers treating it as a compulsory food item in the children's lunchboxes. Conversely, white bread was viewed as unhealthy and was not preferred. Children who did not have rye bread in their lunchboxes hoped to go unnoticed by teachers, and those children who preferred to eat other foods instead of rye bread had to do so in secrecy. In this way, social divisions among the learners were created by hierarchically ordering food items. The Muslim learners evaluated food items in terms of *halaal* ("accepted") and *haraam* ("unaccepted"), thus relating to the religious register. This register created a second social division amongst the learners as it was only adhered to by the minority of these learners. This register was also not considered in the classroom discourse and its existence was hardly recognised institutionally.

The fact that teachers chose to ignore the religious register as well as the cultural model associated with it resulted in a covert creation of a hierarchical ordering between this and the health model (Karrebæk 2013: 32). The hierarchical ordering of food further caused a social division between the children who brought rye bread and those who did not.

The different understandings of health and food items among the children that stemmed from their diverse backgrounds changed as soon as they entered school. In other words, the children had to acquire new indexicalities. Rye bread is a traditional food item in Denmark, thus for the majority of the class it indexes national belonging, and for the minority it indexes integration and the acceptance of what is presented as the core values of the school. Since my study focuses on Kaaps and how it is used to talk about food, this study helps put into perspective the way in which enregisterment, the meaning and/or the nutritional value associated with specific foods which are learnt at a young age can contribute to long-term understanding of social identity (Karrebæk 2013: 33). Karrebæk's (2013) study shows how individuals are conditioned to these learnt behaviours and how they are performed in different social situations. Similar to the study by Alkon and McCullen (2010), it also aids in depicting how food can be hierarchically classified and used to mark one's social position within society.

3.9   A language-socialisation perspective of food

As previously mentioned, food is deeply embedded in culture in various ways. Specifically, food-related activities, consuming and sharing of food at mealtimes form an integral component in children's socialisation processes, conveying values and norms, and promoting social bonds within different cultures. Through these practices, individuals acquire a sense of how to feel towards and relate to other individuals in the social world, to food, and food-related objects in ways that reflect distinctive cultural characteristics (Burdelski 2014: 234). Mealtimes and traditional events are settings where food is considered a cultural place, consequently appropriating members of a society. Studies have proven that parents and caregivers socialise children at traditional events and mealtimes, and provide opportunities for parents and caregivers to teach their children how to feel and display affection towards others and food, and how to use language, e.g. saying "please" and "thank you". Each society has its own unique food practices and ways in which members are socialised (Burdelski 2014: 235).

Burdelski's (2014) study takes a closer looks at snacktimes and mealtimes in preschools and households. He identifies three important practices across these settings, namely talking about food, finishing all of one's food, and proper behaviour at the table. When analysing the practice of talking about food, he noted that teachers and caregivers often use and encourage children to use the adjective "delicious" after the first few bites as a sign of politeness. This serves as a positive assessment tool for food evaluation. Other ways to positively evaluate food is through the use of intensifiers, such as "really", and diminutives, such as "little mushroom". Commenting and assessing the size and appearance of food socialises children to these interactional norms and cultural values. In the second practice, finishing all of one's food is taught as a sign of respect not only towards food but also towards those who prepared it. Caregivers encourage children to finish their meals by using a range of strategies ranging from politeness ("Can you please finish your food?") to imperative requests ("Eat it up."). Other strategies draw on religion, higher status and western images, thereby instilling fear by implying that the child will suffer if, e.g., the gods/spirits (religion) or grandparent (higher status) become angry because the food on the child's plate is not all eaten, or that Santa Claus will not visit at Christmas time if any food is left over. In the final practice, behaving properly at the table is an important aspect, specifically within the Japanese culture. Children are taught at a young age to sit up straight at the table, wash their hands after meals, not to use chopsticks as toys, and to eat without messing (Burdelski 2014: 251).

The three abovementioned practices demonstrate how young children are socialised into food practices using both verbal and non-verbal resources and strategies. The study revealed that children are not mere recipients of socialisation but rather agents who socialise others into food practices and challenge others' attempts at socialisation (Burdelski 2014: 253). This article specifically focuses on how these practices are socio-culturally organised in Japanese culture but are also recognisable in various other communities. Therefore, this article is particularly useful to my study as it helps to understand how one is socialised into a set of practices that constitute mealtimes and, at the same time, how one is socialised to relate to food and others, and to express feelings about food. Furthermore, it aids in unravelling how one is able to socialise peers into these practices, and how one contests and resists the practices into which other individuals may attempt to socialise them.

3.10   Food and identity

Food links to our identities in an important way: it not only establishes the borders of one's personal identity, but also the borders of one's culture and community. There is also the idea

that food, the etiquette surrounding its preparation, and the consumption thereof provides one with a set of rules which aids in the construction of identity (De Beer 2012: 18). Our identities are not only constructed through the foods we eat, but also by the kinds of food we choose to consume. Our awareness of the kinds of foods we consume and how much we consume shapes who we are (Fischler 1998: 277). Fischler (1998: 279) claims that we become what we consume through the principle of incorporation, that is, to incorporate a food – both in the literal and figurative sense – and some or all of its properties.

Food can be seen as linked to our personal identities. Those choosing to live a healthy lifestyle will base their food choices on factors such as long-term health benefits, their own vitamin and mineral intake, and the nutritional value of food. These choices assist in the construction of a "health conscious identity" and influence how these persons go about each day (Lindeman and Stark 1999: 143). Other food choices that may be influenced by our personal identities include the emotional experience when the food item is consumed. For example, those who base their food choices on a healthy identity will experience guilt when consuming chocolate, while those who do not ascribe to a healthy lifestyle may experience feelings of pleasure (Desmet and Schifferstein 2008: 291). Our choice of food is also based on our financial means. Malton and Narkedien (2013: 9) claim that people adapt as food becomes expensive. Previously, crayfish was affordable and plentiful, and was the main ingredient of a traditional Monday night meal. Today, it is only served on special occasions. Thus, cultures are born of adaptation. Our food choices are also based on the types of foods available and the ease of food preparation (Devine 2005: 121).

Food and culinary practices are also central to the concept of a collective identity. Kaaps cuisine can be seen as located within a community, its history and social dynamics. It is a group effort where stories become part of the process. These stories around food also define what counts as food. For example, within the Kaaps community, a salad is not considered a meal. It may be satisfying to eat a salad but it is still not a meal as it does not form part of the community's history (Fischler 1988: 280). According to Fischler (1988: 280), it has been observed that in certain situations, culinary features of migration of minority cultures are maintained even though the original language of that nation has changed. For example, various cuisines are retained, i.e. the food preparation processes and use of specific ingredients particular to Kaaps culture is retained. Examples of Kaaps dishes include pickled fish (curried fish), *frikkadel* (meatballs wrapped in cabbage), *bobotie* (meatloaf flavoured with spice, raisins and topped with egg), syrupy *koeksisters*, sumptuous *aknies*, *bredies* (stew) and curries. Kaaps cuisine dates

back to a period of slavery where Muslim slaves came from Indonesia, India, the Middle East, and other parts of Africa (Baderoon 2002: 7). Even though the languages of these countries are not retained in Kaaps culture, the culinary features are. By maintaining these features, cultures are protected against outside contact or acculturation (Fischler 1998: 280).

According to Baderoon (2007), "food is a subject layered with stories – fantasies, jokes and memories". In her 2007 study, she examines the meaning of Muslim food and its practices in Cape Town. The history of Muslim food stemmed directly from domestic and farm slave labour from the 17th to the 19th century. During this period, there was an availability of indigenous produce, as well as spices and rice brought by the Dutch who travelled the spice and slave trading routes from the East. This saw the development of Creole food practices, merging indigenous, European, and Asian elements. Muslim foods are underrepresented in restaurants, thus there is minimal knowledge of the history and contexts of, and changes to the cuisine.

Since it is believed that language and identity are inseparable, the stories, jokes, fantasies and memories shared during the preparation and consumption of food adds to the construction of one's identity. Baderoon (2007: 115) notes that the social aspect of Muslim cuisine remains largely unknown to those who do not belong to the Muslim community. Baderoon analysed 18 people's personal stories of Muslim food in a quest to uncover the contemporary contexts of this cuisine, the symbolic and political nature of this food, the food preparation, and the changes (if there were any) which occurred in this cuisine over time.

Baderoon's (2007: 123) findings suggest that Muslim cuisine is not static but continuously changes with time, carrying with it traces of its history. The looming presence of a fast-food culture has led to feelings of loss of the sociality associated with previous food traditions. A reason for emotional feelings of loss could be attributed to the great significance of consuming foods that one remembers from childhood; as Baderoon (2002: 123) says, "it becomes sort of an identity". One the other hand, since Kaaps cuisine is "already a combination, a definite mix", traditions are never really lost. This is evident when people were forcefully removed from their homes during the apartheid era, and encountered different patterns of hospitality. The past has brought a sense of rediscovery and proximity to previous traditions.

Baderoon (2007: 130) also claims that there is a gender divide in cooking. The idea that "cooking is a woman's job" remains apparent. She further notes that the control of food acts as a method for negotiating power between the mother-in-law and the new wife (Baderoon 2007: 130). Previously, cooking and motherhood strongly constituted one's identity as a

woman, and the performativity of these gender roles was indicative of one's reputation as a "good woman". In contrast to this, her findings show a trend in younger women's preferences in cooking with a cookbook. She attributes this to a "generational shift" between the older cooks feeling uncomfortable cooking according to recipe books, compared to members of the younger generations who prefer to cook using recipes from cookbooks.

In a similar study also conducted by Baderoon (2002: 13), older cooks claimed that cookbooks are not truly authentic, noting that these books provide instead an easy version of the meal. Thus, they display apprehension towards and are generally sceptic about using cookbooks. Older cooks believe that the preparation of food should be physically taught. Baderoon (2002: 14) notes the significance of recipes being verbally carried down through the generations, which usually occurred during the preparation of food, or telephonically when family members had moved away from home. However, the findings also demonstrate that there is a shift away from younger women's willingness to cook and prepare food towards buying ready-made food.

The ability to prepare, and learning to prepare food powerfully expresses one's creative ability. Baderoon (2002: 11) claims that consuming the same foods in the same manner creates communal relationships. Food has the ability to maintain a sense of community and family, assists in enabling one to overcome feelings of homelessness, and can claim a link to history, all of which is a part of eating, sharing, making and talking about food. These features can also be seen as an aspect of identity construction. Food involves time, place and language, and therefore cannot be limited to the lifestyle section in the media where it is frequently regulated (Baderoon 2002: 14).

Chapter 4

Methodology

4.1   Introduction

In this chapter, I discuss how I went about collecting my data, and why I chose the specific site that I did. I will provide contexualisation of the *Vannie Kaap* Facebook page, then discuss my chosen method of analysis, namely thematic analysis. Thematic analysis is a widely used qualitative method which I chose to use as it provides me with a flexible and accessible approach to analysing my data. This chapter examines the process of thematic analysis by critically analysing its definitions and disagreements regarding how it is viewed. Furthermore, I describe the six-phase approach to conducting a thematic analysis as proposed by Braun and Clarke (2006). Lastly, this chapter outlines both the advantages, disadvantages and potential downfalls of thematic analysis.

4.2   Data collection

A qualitative study was conducted to investigate the discourses that construct identity when Kaaps is used to talk about food. I collected electronic data in the form of memes from the *Vannie Kaap* Facebook page. The page was established in 2015 on Facebook and has since expanded to other social media platforms, such as Instagram. The brand is centred on highlighting aspect of the lives and culture of the Coloured population. The founder of the page prefers to stay anonymous so that "he can eat his gatsby in peace" (Petersen 2017). This page markets itself as Kaaps by, for example, giving definitions of Kaaps words and expressions. The Facebook page has over 333 000 followers and the Instagram account is followed by about 74 400 Instagram users. The amount of followers on both sites is continuously increasing. Due to the popularity of these sites, *Vannie Kaap* has also extended its brand through the manufacturing of merchandise such as t-shirts, cups, hoodies, cellphone covers and the like branded with Kaaps phrases and sold at their *Vannie Kaap* store in Woodstock, Cape Town.

The memes I collected refer to food or the consumption thereof. Once I analysed all the memes posted on the *Vannie Kaap* website, I identified 100 memes which reference food, as well as those that indirectly referred to food such as a subtle mention of body weight as a result of food consumption. Of the 110 memes I collected, I ended up selecting 50 memes for closer analysis.

The memes I discarded were as a result of them not forming part of the main identified themes, the content of some being too similar to one another, or because very vague reference to food was made. I thus chose the memes with a much more explicit mention of food.

4.3   Method of analysis

Thematic analysis is particularly useful to my thesis as it systematically identifies, organises and offers insight into patterns or themes within my data. It allows me to focus on emerging themes within my dataset and permits me to observe, analyse and organise my data in detail. This form of data analysis allows me to make sense of important themes that become apparent in my dataset. I follow Braun and Clarke's (2006: 86) six-phase approach as a guideline to demonstrate the process.

The first phase entails familiarising oneself with one's data. This required me to immerse myself fully in my data by reading and re-reading it in an active way. I did this by making notes, annotations and comments on my data during the process of reading and re-reading. Once I became familiar with my data, I was able to recognise ideas and concepts that were related to my research questions.

The second phase of Braun and Clarke's six-phase approach is where one generates initial codes, allowing one to identify codes with particular features within one's dataset. In my case, these codes were specifically related to traditional Kaaps dishes such as "koesister", "koeksister", "gatsby", "breyani", "pickled fish", "polony", etc. Other codes I identified made specific reference to discourses of race, culture and class, such as "Coloured", "Cape Town", "diet", "eat", "afford" and "couldn't afford". Through identifying codes in my data, I was able to assess the basic segments or elements of the raw data in a meaningful way. The process of generating codes involved me re-reading my dataset and coding each data item before coding the next section. I coded as many potential patterns or themes as possible, even those that were not in line with my research questions. The memes I collected mainly consist of short phrases, however, a few of the memes incorporate an image alongside the phrase. In these instances, I viewed the images within the particular context before trying to understand what the image aimed to communicate. Once I identified the situated meaning, I analysed the way in which the elements fit together and how they form patterns to create a certain sort of style for the whole image.

The third phase involved searching for themes. This involved me sorting the different codes into possible themes. Even though this Braun and Clarke (2006) call this phase "searching for

themes", my themes were not just discovered but rather constructed. In other words, I analysed the codes and then considered the way in which the different codes formed the main themes. Some of my themes formed main themes, while others formed sub-themes – so, themes within a theme – and still others were discarded.

The fourth phase – reviewing themes – required me to refine my themes. Upon evaluation, it became apparent that some themes were not themes as some did not contain enough information to constitute a theme. During this process, I also condensed some of my themes to form a single main theme. By the end of this process, I ended up with four main themes. Once I had a satisfactory thematic mapping, I reviewed my themes once again in relation to the entire dataset. This entailed me re-reading all the data and aligning it to my research questions. In doing so, I found an additional theme. At the end of this process, I established five main themes that I will discuss further in Chapter 5.

The fifth phase of defining and naming themes enabled me to identify and evaluate each theme, and to determine the various aspects of my dataset that each theme captures. This phase allowed me to gain a good idea of my main themes, how they are woven together, and the stories they tell.

Producing the report – the sixth and final phase – entailed me conveying the story of my data to the reader in a way that convinces them of the validity of my analysis and findings. It provides evidence of the themes, and makes arguments that relate to and answer my research questions.

4.4   Advantages of thematic analysis

One benefit of using thematic analysis is that the method is both flexible and accessible. It provides a methodologically- and theoretically-sound "recipe" for undertaking thematic analysis. This type of analysis does not require comprehensive theoretical or technical knowledge of other qualitative approaches, thus making it an accessible form of analysis. There are also multiple ways of classifying emerging themes within a dataset. This form of flexibility within thematic analysis allows for themes to be determined in numerous ways (Braun and Clarke 2006: 81).

Since analysing and determining themes across languages does not require any adherence to a specific explanatory framework or theory of language for human experiences, thematic analysis can be conducted in various ways. It is also not a linear process, thus allowing the researcher to move back and forth between the different steps of the six phases. Thematic analysis is well

suited to both small and much larger datasets (Braun and Clarke 2006: 81). This form of analysis can be used to highlight differences and similarities within a dataset, and also makes room for subtle themes that are not as prominent within the data. Furthermore, it is open to social and psychological interpretation. It is a particularly useful form of analysis for novices as it is a quick and easy method to learn (Braun and Clarke 2006: 81).

4.5   Disadvantages of thematic analysis

According to Pavlenko (2007: 166), thematic analysis lacks a theoretical premise. As a result, there is no clear explanation as to where conceptual categories originate and how they relate to each other. Multiple definitions for thematic analysis have been put forward, however, there is still no clear consensus on a sole definition and on how one should go about conducting this type of analysis (Braun and Clarke 2006: 79). There is also no established procedure for connecting and linking codes and themes together. Furthermore, this form of analysis grants the researcher minimal power to interpret themes that do not fit into main themes or that occur repeatedly. Even though flexibility within thematic analysis can be considered an advantage, it can also be challenging for the researcher to focus on specific aspects of the dataset at a time. Due to the exclusive nature of focusing on what is in the text and the possible themes that are likely to emerge, the data that is excluded, which could potentially be informative, is simply disregarded. Moreover, thematic analysis does not allow the researcher to pay much attention to the speakers' use of language, which ultimately adds meaning to their experiences. Therefore, it takes away from the subjective dimension of qualitative analysis (Pavlenko 2007: 167).

4.6   Addressing the weaknesses of thematic analysis

In this section, I list five potential shortcomings of thematic analysis – as noted by Braun and Clarke (2006: 94) – with the aim to avoid them in my study. I also address the weaknesses identified by Pavlenko (2007) detailed in the previous section.

Firstly, Braun and Clarke (2006: 94) identify one potential weakness as the inability to analyse the data adequately. A dataset should not consist of extracts that merely paraphrase their content. It should also not consist of a collection of extracts grouped together. Rather, the extracts should be intended to support the analysis and to make sense of the data.

The use of the data collection questions as themes is a second disadvantage as, technically, no analytical work is being carried out in order to identify themes across the dataset. A third

shortcoming is that using thematic analysis may result in themes that overlap, are incoherent, inconsistent or do not appear to work. In order to avoid conducting a weak, unconvincing analysis, "all aspects of the theme should cohere around a central idea" (Braun and Clarke 2006: 94). A fourth shortcoming is the inconsistency between a dataset and the claims made about it. It is important for the researcher to ensure that the data extracts correspond with the analysis, and that the interpretations do not support another analysis. The fifth and final shortcoming is an incongruity between the analytical claims and theory or between the form of thematic analysis and the research question. It is the researcher's duty to ensure that the transcriptions, analysis and interpretations of a particular dataset matches those of the theoretical framework. A good thematic analysis provides a detailed account of its purpose, the way in which it was conducted, and clearly states its theoretical assumptions (Braun and Clarke 2006: 94).

In this chapter, I explicitly stated how I went about conducting my thematic analysis, and how I decided which data to use and which to discard. In this way, I aimed to address the first three identified weaknesses by Braun and Clarke (2006). With a closer analysis of the memes that fit into my themes, I aim to address the fourth weakness. Lastly, I believe that the interpretative framework of data analysis within which thematic analysis is located is not dissimilar to the theoretical premise on which my thesis is built. This last point brings me to Pavlenko's (2007) criticisms that thematic analysis lacks a theoretical framework, and that it does not pay due attention to the way in which language is used. I address this criticism by explicitly linking my themes with sociolinguistic theoretical concepts on identity construction, such as 'performativity', 'enregisterment' and 'authenticity'. By using these concepts, not only do I link my thematic analysis to a specific theoretical framework, but I also pay close attention to how language is used to construct identity.

# Chapter 5

Data analysis

5.1   Introduction

The use of thematic analysis allowed to me to analyse my data and investigate a variety of codes. These codes enabled me to find central themes in my data which aligned with my research questions. In order to interpret these themes, I drew on sociolinguistic theory, specifically enregisterment, stylisation and authenticity. After transcribing, translating and familiarising myself with the data, I was able to identify a range of codes which could be linked to my research questions. I searched on the *Vannie Kaap* Facebook page for all memes with references to food, and then identified the types of foods spoken about. I then analysed the ways in which food or specific types of foods were referred to. It is on this basis that I established the following main themes that are present in my data:

Theme 1:   *Social positioning of food*: this theme captures the way in which food is used to socially position oneself in relation to another based on the types of food that are consumed;

Theme 2:   *Everyday politics through the lens of food*: this theme expresses the way in which food is used to talk about challenging issues in society;

Theme 3:   *The significance of traditional food*: this theme encapsulates the importance of consuming traditional foods which in turn expresses their value within the culture;

Theme 4:   *Kaaps as culture of consumption*: this theme emphasises how consuming in excess can be view as a cultural marker of Kaaps speakers.

Theme 5:   *The racialisation of food*: this theme displays both the subtle and explicit references to race in food discourses.

5.2   Theme 1: Social positioning through food

As previously mentioned, Kaaps was viewed as a language variety spoken by the working class, while Standard Afrikaans and English are languages spoken by the Coloured middle-class (Mitchell 1993: 16). The reference to Kaaps as *kombuistaal* ('kitchen language') and *plat taal* ('base-' or 'flat language') has led to the language and its speakers being stigmatised, and the variety classified as being of low social status. This theme looks at how talks about

food address these stigmas and the perceived shame of "illegitimacy" in the construction of Coloured identity. This section focuses on how speakers perform or exhibit self-worth, self-awareness and ownership of culture with the implied connotation of their language, Kaaps, having a low social status. This theme is first realised in Meme *i* below.
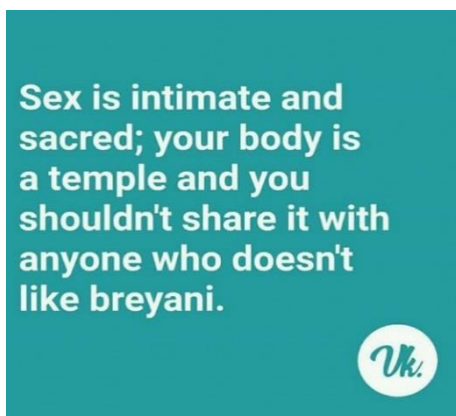
Meme i

Firstly, this meme talks about how intimate and sacred one's body is by using the phrase "your body is a temple". This phrase is intertextually related to a biblical verse in 1 Corinthians 6:19. In Christianity, biblical verses are important as they provide a guideline for believers to live according to God's will. Following the Christian teaching, this verse means that one's body is sacred, and it therefore needs to be respected and taken care of. The meme further states that one should not share one's body with anyone who does not like breyani. Breyani is a Kaaps favourite, consisting of rice, meat (mutton, chicken, beef, fish or prawns), spices and egg. Following Butler's (1990: 25) view of performativity, one's sexual identity, through which one's body is shared, can be understood as an act of "doing". This notion is recognised here as the speaker states that one should not have sex with anyone who does not like breyani. The speaker also expresses self-worth by not just sharing his/her body with anyone. The speaker further positions individuals who do not eat breyani as out-group members.

Meme *ii* below again emphasises the importance of breyani in Kaaps culture.

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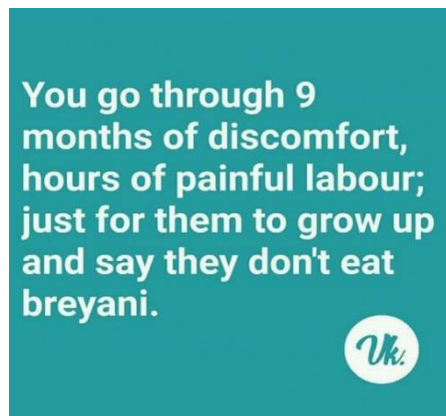
Meme ii

Sharing and consuming this meal provides a sense of community, belonging and identity. Therefore, not being able to share such a traditional meal with one's offspring may evoke feelings of disappointment, especially after having experienced the discomfort of carrying a foetus for nine months and the consequent pain of labour. The meme implies that this discomfort and pain was all in vain when the child grows up and does not like breyani.

Food carries with it a particular history. The preparation of food allows narratives and history to be told. It creates a space for bonding among those preparing food and recipes to be passed down the generations (Baderoon 2002: 6). This is all discredited when one does not like breyani. Therefore, the speaker in Meme *ii* expresses disappointment at the fact that his/her child does not identify with the same kinds of food that s/he does.

The idea that food plays a vital role in the construction of identity, and in creating a sense of solidarity and belonging is emphasised in Meme *iii* below.

Meme iii

In this meme, the speaker greets everyone except those that eat a gatsby (a large bread roll filled with hot chips and mutton, steak, vienna sausages, chicken and calamari) with a knife and a fork. This statement illustrates the procedure and Coloured tradition of eating a gatsby with one's hands, not cutlery. Usually, good table manners are characterised by eating a meal by using a knife with one's right hand and a fork with one's left (or vice versa if one is left-handed), no elbows on the table while eating, and cutting food into bite sizes. It is also noted that a good appearance, nice personality and a keen mind does not outweigh poor table manners (Author unknown 2014). Dining etiquette can be used as a marker of one's social standing in society. In other words, an individual with poor dining etiquette may be viewed as uncivilised, unsophisticated or having a low social status in society. Yet this meme reinforces the solidarity that is found amongst Kaaps speakers by excluding those who use eating utensils. This meme goes against societal norms and emancipates the fact that gatsby's are consumed without the use of utensils. This theme is also apparent in Meme *iv* below:

Some questions to ask before marrying them:

1. Do they want children?
2. How do they handle finances?
3. Will their parents or exes interfere in your relationship?
4. How do they handle conflict?
5. Do they eat their gatsby with a knife and fork?

Meme iv

This meme lists a few important questions to consider when choosing a life partner. The last question, "do they eat their gatsby with a knife and a fork?", is listed as an essential question to ask oneself (or one's significant other) before considering marriage. This clearly illustrates the importance of a having a partner that fits into Kaaps culture, and further demonstrates the importance of group solidarity and belonging in the Coloured community.

The theme of socialisation through food is further realised in Meme *v* below.

Meme v

Slangetjies, as it is known as on the Cape Flats, is a snack usually consisting of a mixture of peanuts, cashews, redskin peanuts and sev noodles with Bombay spice. *Slangetjies* is Afrikaans for "little snakes", referring to the appearance of the sev noodles. Bombay Mix is a favourite at celebrations in the Kaaps community and is usually placed on the table for guests to enjoy while waiting for the main meal to be served. This mix is usually affordable but in this meme the Woolworths version of Bombay Mix is priced at R102.99, which is very expensive. Even though the Bombay Mix from Woolworths might look the same as the usual inexpensive mix, the former is viewed as being of higher quality, and thus so are the individuals who are able to purchase this food. These versions of Bombay Mix are also a metaphor for Coloured society: the inexpensive Bombay Mix represents the Coloured working class, while the pricier Woolworths version depicts the middle- and/or upper class, which is characterised by skilled jobs, quality education and greater financial stability. This meme uses "slangetjies" to emphasise the difference in social position in society. The phrase "when you finally meet" indicates that it is not a usual occurrence to, on the literal level, encounter a bag of Bombay Mix at this price, and on the metaphorical level, encounter persons from a higher social position within a specific community such as that of Kaaps. The speaker demonstrates self-awareness with the phrase "attended private school", which implies that the speaker belongs to a community that does not have access to private schooling. It further socially positions the "slangetjies" that "attended private school" higher up the hierarchy and therefore it is considered as part of the out-group.

Memes *vi* to *ix* once again play into the working-class label and stigma of the Kaaps community as a low-status community. Consider Meme *vi* below:

Meme vi

In this meme, the speaker states that even if s/he were to eat only "stampmielies and boentjies" (samp and beans) – an affordable dish in Coloured culture – for 10 years, s/he would still not be able to afford a newer version of the iPhone. Here we get the sense that the speaker would like to own an iPhone but cannot afford one. Another meme which builds on this notion of the working class is Meme *vii* below.

Meme vii

When the question "based on your financial status, which Apple device can you afford?" is posed, the speaker replies "Bompie….I can afford an apple bompie" (iced apple juice). Apple bompies are usually about R1 at house-shops. A house-shop is a micro-convenience store operating in a residential area that sells essentials such as bread, milk, sugar, sweets, chips and the like. This once again places those with Apple devices as out-group members and plays into the working-class category. Another meme exemplifying in-group and out-group membership, based on what one can and cannot afford, is Meme *viii* below:

Meme viii

Meme *viii* states that one should not be ashamed to live in Cape Town and not be able to afford going up Table Mountain. However, the speaker claims that it is a shame if one is from Cape Town and has never tasted a masala steak gatsby. The speaker implies that even though Table Mountain is unique to Cape Town and is part of the Seven Natural Wonders of the World, it is not an important aspect of his/her identity. Rather, the speaker implies that a masala steak gatsby not only forms part of the Cape Town identity but also Coloured identity and therefore one should feel a sense of shame and disgrace if one has never experienced this. In Meme *ix* below, the speaker reminisces on the shame of eating "chokers" or peanut butter sandwiches during school lunch breaks.
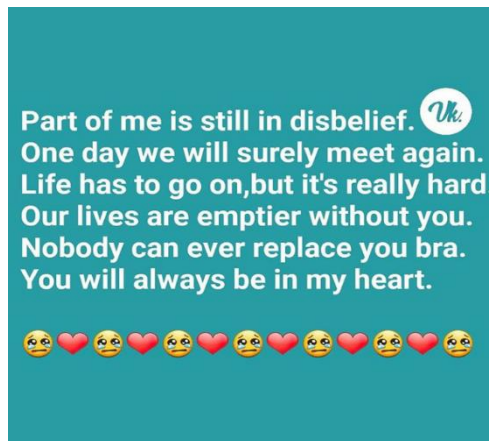

Meme ix

Since peanut butter was considered a cheap food item – in comparison to cheese or tuna, for example – whoever ate it was thereby associated with the lower- or working classes. The speaker reflects on eating this food source and is reminded about how good it actually is. Even though Memes *vi* to *ix* express the stigma that the Kaaps community forms part of the working class, it attempts to bring the message across that there is no shame in living an inexpensive lifestyle, while also providing the Coloured community with a sense of empowerment and liberation from these negative connotations.

These findings align with those of Marshall (2005: 71) who claims that food is not only consumed for what it does but also for what it represents. Therefore, food can be seen as a marker of social position and indicative of social inclusion and exclusion. Similar to the *AfriKaaps* production, which incorporates stereotypes of Kaaps, so too do the memes that constitute this theme of social positioning through food. As demonstrated by the various examples above, the memes incorporate old constituents of Kaaps identity through talks about food, and enforce them over current lived identities. Therefore food offers speakers of Kaaps an opportunity for self-expression, and also creates a space in which to form a new self. Through identifying with and showing cultural ownership to a previously marginalised group classified as having low status, a sense of empowerment and emancipation from stigmas is created. These memes spark conversation and may be the assertion that Coloured speakers of Kaaps need in order to feel that they are truly "Coloured" in their identity.

5.3   Theme 2: Food as social commentary

The theme of "food as social commentary" captures the way in which food is used to talk about some of the more difficult social issues that people may be dealing with. Kaaps is a fun and expressive language, and the memes which exemplify this theme draw on this aspect of Kaaps to speak about challenging issues − whether personal, cultural or political − by referring to food in a metaphorical way. This is a feature of Kaaps that is found throughout its history, where humour in Kaaps is often used to provide social commentary [see Adikhari (2007) on the political commentary of *Straatpraatjies*].

This theme is realised in *Vannie Kaap* memes which address the 2018 listeriosis outbreak in South Africa. In January 2018, the foodborne listeria virus claimed the lives of 180 people and 940 became ill in what can be described as the deadliest outbreak recorded in history. The main source of the virus was traced to cold meats, namely polony. Due to the severity of this outbreak, all cold meats were removed from supermarket shelves country-wide, and consumers were advised to return any cold meats in their possession to their nearest grocery stores (Kubheka and Reuters 2018). Meme *i* below expresses the sadness that the Kaaps community felt at not being able to use polony.

Meme i

Polony is considered a staple in Kaaps culture and is used in many favourite dishes such as gatsby's, *smoortjies* (a combination of braised onions, tomatoes and polony), polony chip rolls, and sandwiches. At first glance, when reading this meme, it seems to be directed at someone who has passed away. This can be inferred by the phrases "part of me is still in disbelief" and "our lives are emptier without you". The text illustrates the emotion of losing a loved on. Cameron's (2001: 13) notion of discourse analytical theory is particularly useful here when analysing this meme as this notion explicitly focuses on how and what language communicates when it is used in certain contexts. Since this meme was posted during the 2018 listeriosis outbreak, we can deduce that this text was written to describe the grief of not being able to make dishes with and eat polony. The word "bra" ('brother') implies that the speaker had a close relationship with this entity, in this case polony. A closer analysis reveals that the first word of every sentence spells the word "polony". Here, the loss and the strong emotions felt when losing a loved one is compared to the loss of polony. The sad-face and heart emojis visually reinforce the extent to which the listeria virus has affected favourite Kaaps dishes. Meme *ii* below continues to address the listeriosis outbreak.
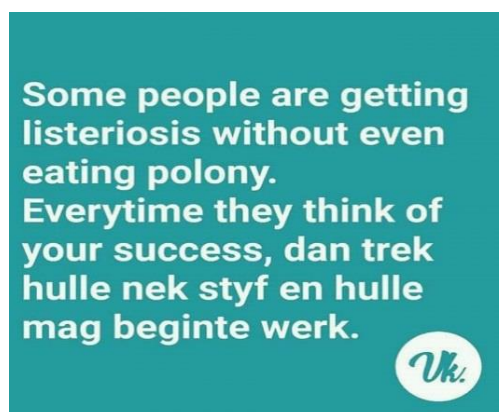
Meme ii

Meme *ii* uses humour to discuss jealousy among members in the Kaaps community. It states that some people are affected by the listeria virus without even coming into contact with it. The phrase "dan trek hulle nek styf en hulle mag beginte werk" ('then their necks get stiff and their stomachs become runny') implies that they are experiencing the deadly symptoms of the virus by just thinking of the success of others. Here, the contamination of food is used as a comparison to jealousy.

Taking a different turn, Meme *iii* below indicates an awareness of societal issues faced in the Kaaps community. One of these issues faced on the Cape Flats is that of drug abuse.


Meme iii

Many people have been affected or have felt the effects of drug abuse in the community. In Meme *iii*, *koeksisters* are compared to *tik* or crystal methamphetamine. This drug is characterised by experiencing feelings of pleasure when under the influence. While many people are addicted to *tik*, the speaker states that *koeksisters* are his/her addiction. This implies that instead of using *tik*, the speaker eats *koeksisters* to experience the same type of "high" that *tik* provides. Similar to Holmes et al.'s (2013: 205) statement that talks about food can reduce the seriousness of intense topics and contribute to informality, this theme reveals that food also serves as a way to address serious issues in an informal manner.

The theme of food as social commentary is further reinforced in Meme *iv* below, which addresses the relationship one should have with food instead of a significant other.

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Meme iv

According to Maslow's [(1943), in McLeod (2018)] hierarchy of needs, the need to be loved and desired could be considered one of our most fundamental and basic needs. Thus, not having a partner to love can lead to feelings of isolation and loneliness. Meme *iv* addresses this need for love by stating that being single is not a bad thing. Instead, the best part about being single is that one has more food for oneself. Consider Memes *v* and *vi* below:
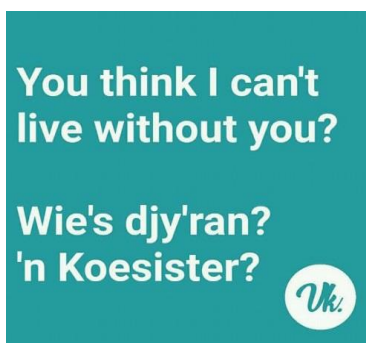
Meme v
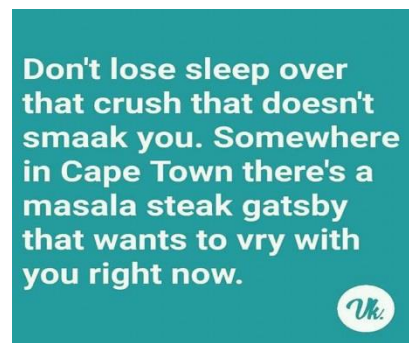
Meme vi

Meme *v* poses the question "You think I can't live without you?", followed by two rhetorical questions: "Wie's djy'ran?" (who are you?), "'n Koesister?". This meme implies that it is easier to move on from a relationship with an individual, but that there is no moving on from the relationship one has with food. Meme *vi* builds on this notion by encouraging people not to lose sleep over a crush that does not reciprocate these feelings through the statement "masala steak gatsby wants to vry [French kiss] with you right now". In other words, a masala steak gatsby will always be receptive to receiving love and will fulfil the need for love and affection. Memes *iv* to *vi* therefore address the issue of constantly seeking validation and love from another person, and attempt to bring across the message that consuming food has the ability to fill this void.

This theme is also realised in Meme *vii* below which uses food to discuss politics.

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Meme vii

With South African former president Jacob Zuma leaving behind a legacy of fraud, corruption, money laundering and racketeering charges, the country has lost faith somewhat in governing institutions. This is evident in Meme *vii* which states that some people are trying hard to find fault with the new president of South Africa, Cyril Ramaphosa (elected in December 2017). However, in the second phrase, the speaker claims that the president's speech was well conducted as the speaker compares the speech to a tasty gatsby. The words "stry tog" ('just argue') infer that the addressee cannot counter the argument that the speech was "vrek lekker" ('really good' or 'faultless').

In this theme, it is evident that Kaaps is used to make political and social commentary through foodways. In other words, the memes address political and social matters by comparing these issues to the procurement, consumption, evaluation, system of food preparation, conceptualisation, nutrition, and distribution of food within a particular society. Similar social and political commentary is also apparent in language movements in the Cape. This includes the *AfriKaaps* stage production, which incorporates stereotypes of Kaaps or old constituents of identity and enforces them over current lived identities. Another example is Adam Small's play *Kanna Hy Kô Hystoe*, written in Kaaps, in which the main character Kanna uses Standard Afrikaans to display and indirectly comment on his social position within society, and switches to Kaaps as a means of identifying with members of the community.

5.4   Theme 3: The significance of traditional food

This theme captures the ability of food to improve one's mood. People of colour value food, and it is also a means to instil values, manners and etiquette. This theme demonstrates the significance of food within Kaaps culture.

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According to Baderoon (2007: 137), favourite dishes carry traces of history. Therefore, when we taste certain foods, we are able recall the comforting childhood memories that revolve around these foods. Food provides a sense of comfort, and it has the ability to calm a person in stressful situations. This is evident in Meme *i* below which serves as a reminder to always take *koesisters* with wherever you go as eating one or more can calm you down when people work on your nerves.

Remember, wherever you go always take enough koesisters with you; cause when people start working on your blerrie nerves, you can eat a soothing koesiester to calm yourself down.

Meme i

Meme *ii* below continues to builds on this notion.

Het djy gewiet?
(Did you know)

Eating a koesister on a Sunday keeps negativity away on a Monday.

Meme ii

The "did you know?" rhetorical question format states that eating a *koesister* on a Sunday keeps all negativity away on a Monday, thereby reminding the reader to eat a *koesister* if they want to have a good Monday. Mondays, specifically "blue" Mondays, are usually associated with feelings of sadness and dismay as one has to return to school or work after the weekend. The speaker implies that these negative feelings will disappear if one eats a *koesister* on a Sunday. Similarly, as illustrated by Meme *iii* below, consuming a gatsby or *koesister*, as gathered from Memes *i* and *ii*, is not just a means to satiate one's hunger:
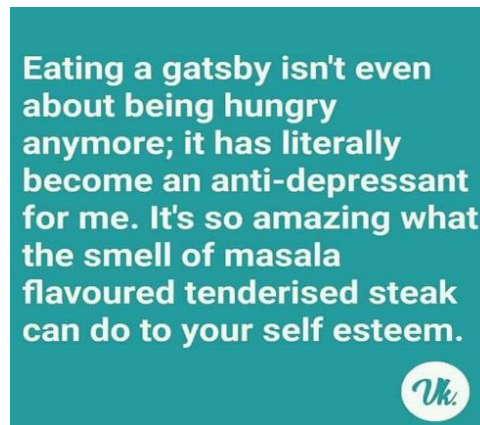
Meme iii

According to the meme above, these foods also have the ability to act as anti-depressants and can make one feel good about oneself. This aligns with Desmet and Schifferstein's (2008: 291) research which claims that we choose food based on our mood. For example, consuming certain foods can evoke both positive and negative emotions. In this case, consuming gatsby's and *koesisters* evokes only positive feelings and diminishes negative emotions.

The theme of the significance of traditional food persists in Meme *iv* below, which illustrates the value placed on gatsby's in the Kaaps community.


Meme iv

This meme compares driving home from Aneesa's (a takeaway shop known for its Kaaps cuisine) with a gatsby, to driving home from the hospital with a newborn baby. Here, the food is compared to being protected in the same manner that one would safeguard and comfort a newborn. Meme *v* below once again addresses the 2018 listeriosis outbreak:
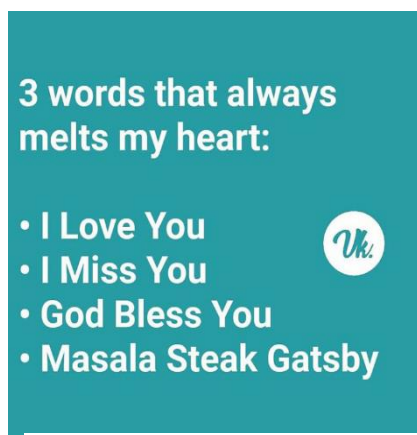
Meme v

This meme emphasises the effect that the listeriosis outbreak had on Kaaps food, as the speaker states that s/he thought it was going to be a good year yet the beloved vienna chip roll is out to kill him/her. The fact that the speaker states that this is no longer a good year demonstrates how upsetting it is not to be able to include cold meats into a meal like the vienna chip roll.

Another meme that illustrates how important certain foods are in the Kaaps community is Meme *vi* below:
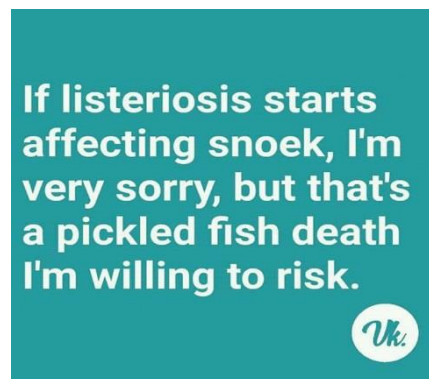
Meme vi

This meme specifically highlights the importance of pickled fish to this community. Pickled fish is traditionally prepared during Easter, and consists of snoek – a species of snake mackerel generally caught off the west coast of South Africa – in a flavoursome curry sauce. In this meme, the speaker states that if the listeria virus starts affecting snoek, s/he will continue to eat it as it is worth dying for. This aligns with Baderoon's (2002: 123) claim that early familiarisation with food is likely to persist into adulthood. Food consumed at a young age carries along with it significance and value. Thus, eating contaminated pickled fish is a risk the speaker is willing to take.

In Meme *vii* below, a masala steak gatsby is used in the same heart-warming way as phrases such as "I love you", "I miss you" and "God bless you", while Meme *viii* reiterates the importance of gatsby's in Kaaps culture. The image that accompanies the text in Meme *viii* emphasises the devastation that is experienced when someone does not like gatsby's. It is also a representation of the devotion that people of colour have towards gatsby's.

Meme vii

Meme viii

Meme *ix* below is not quite a meme but rather advertises the new Lucky Star gatsby.

Meme ix

The fact that this new gatsby is added to menus at takeaway shops demonstrates the caption that accompanied this image: "Blikke vis belong in a smoortjie…not a gatsby!" ('tinned fish belongs in a smoortjie' […]) suggests that you cannot have a Lucky Star Gatsby. Here, the *Vannie Kaap* page polices the boundaries of what constitutes an "authentic" gatsby.

The continuous reference to *koesisters* illustrates the significant value this food item adds to Coloured culture. However, Meme *x* below stresses the importance of not confusing a *koeksister* with a *koesister*.

Meme x

This is an interesting point in the data since, on multiple occasions on the *Vannie Kaap* page, reference is made to *koeksisters*. Typically, Kaaps speakers pronounce *koeksister* as *koesister* with the deletion of the second [k] sound. However, what exactly *koesister* refers to is debatable. Usually, a *koesister* is more a doughnut-like, deep-fried pastry flavoured with cardamom and a few other spices, gently sweetened with syrup and covered in desiccated coconut; a *koeksister*, on the other hand, refers to the plaited, deep-fried and seriously syrupy equivalent. However, if the two dishes have always been referred to in these different ways, it not clear.[4] Interestingly, other members of the Coloured community who did not grow up in Cape Town, recall that they made the distinction between the two dishes as a *doughnut* and a *koeksister*, and only learned about *koesister* when they moved to Cape Town. Historical sources on the development of particular dishes in the Cape (Claassens 2006: 324) also show that it is difficult to distinguish between these two baked confectionery items. *Vetkoek*, *bollas*, *koesisters* and *koeksisters* seem to have had similar origins, and all borrow from various cooking traditions (Claassens 2006: 324).

In Meme *x* above, the speaker claims that one blocks one's blessings when one calls a *koesister*, of Malay origin, a *koeksister*, of Afrikaner origin. The meme tries to create a boundary between these two sweet baked treats and simultaneously between Standard Afrikaans and Kaaps. However, the meme page itself (with its multiple uses of *koeksister*) and historical sources are

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[4] This distinction between a *koesister* and a *koeksister* was obtained through personal communication.

contradictory in providing a clear boundary between the two baked treats. Similarly, one can argue that a sharp dividing line does not exist between Kaaps and Standard Afrikaans but that particular distinctions are used for various purposes, such as identity construction. Meme *xi* below explains the origin of the name *Malva pudding* on the Cape Flats.
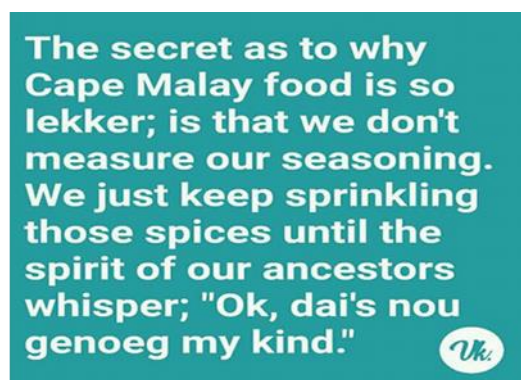

Meme xi

It states that "Someone once said: 'Yor, ek is mal vir pudding'" ('I am crazy about pudding'). This play on words demonstrates the playfulness of Kaaps culture in terms of language. Memes *x* and *xi* below are also the only two memes in my dataset where food and the features of Kaaps are explicitly linked.
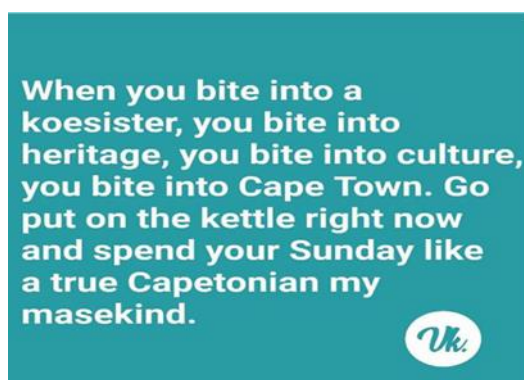
Meme xii

Meme xiii

Despite the occasional reference to traditional Kaaps foods such as pickled fish, polony and breyani, it is important to note that the speaker constantly reverts to *koesisters* and gatsby's. *Koesisters* are not just consumed for pleasure – "when you bite into a koesister, you bite into heritage, you bite into culture, you bite into Cape Town", as stated in Meme *xii* above. Meme *xiii* above also depicts the connection between food and heritage by making explicit reference to ancestors. This meme claims that the secret as to why Cape Malay food is so good is that one does not add seasoning according to specific measurements: one simply adds the spices

until the spirit of the ancestor says when to stop. This meme also aligns with Baderoon's (2002: 13) finding that the older generations display apprehension when it comes to cooking according to a recipe, as recipes do not allow for authenticity in traditional dishes.

Thus, eating a *koesister* and sprinkling seasoning with abandon can be seen as being performative. When these actions are performed, one not only puts on a display of certain aspects of one's identity, but also one's heritage, culture, and in some instances, one's city.

5.5   Theme 4: Kaaps as a culture of consumption

The theme as indicated in the title of this section encapsulates Kaaps as a culture that has a high food consumption. The continuous reference to these foods illustrates the extent to which food is valued in Kaaps culture.

Big food portions are important in Kaaps culture. This is expressed in Meme *i* below which states "Sorry ouens, but size does matter, e.g. A Gatsby cut in 6 is no longer a gatsby, is net 'n klompie chiprolls" ('Sorry guys, but size does matter. e.g. A Gatsby cut in 6 is no longer a gatsby, it is just a bunch of chip rolls'). This implies that gatsby's cut into six are small portions and are the equivalent to six chip rolls. It also implies that one is not doing this food item justice by dividing it into this many servings. The masala steak gatsby is proven to be the most popular type of gatsby in Kaaps culture. This is illustrated in Meme *ii* below. This meme shows that gatsby's are always a good idea for lunch. Even though it is coincidental that the two phrases contain the same amount of letters, it has no correlation to what one should eat for lunch. But in Kaaps culture, gatsby's for lunch is a good idea and serves as a reason to eat a big, filling meal. Meme *iii* reads "ek's vrek honger, ek's vrek moeg" ('I'm flipping hungry, I'm flipping tired'), and aims to provide an autobiographical account of Kaaps culture. This meme reinforces the notion that Coloured people are either very hungry or very tired, and it implies that there is a constant need to eat.
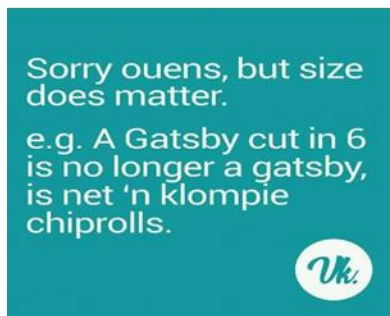
Meme i
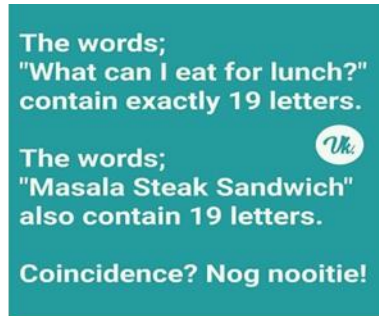
Meme ii

Meme iii

As previously mentioned, food is an important factor in Kaaps identity. In Kaaps culture, consuming all of one's food is a sign of respect, and an indication that one has enjoyed the meal. Meme *iv* below captures this notion:

Meme iv

This meme states that you get excited when you thought you had finished your gatsby but then find some of the contents remaining on your plate. The image that accompanies this statement is a person of colour with a large, knowing, satisfied smile on his face. This image depicts the happy feeling of finding remaining food on one's plate. Meme *v* below echoes this sentiment:

Meme v

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In this meme, the question "Bra, you've already eaten 8 daltjies, [chilli bites], how many more do you want?" is posed. In response to this, a meme of popular music producer DJ Khalid, together with his famous phrase "Another one", is used. This demonstrates that one can never really get enough of Kaaps cuisine. Meme *vi* below demonstrates the love for food and consuming food:
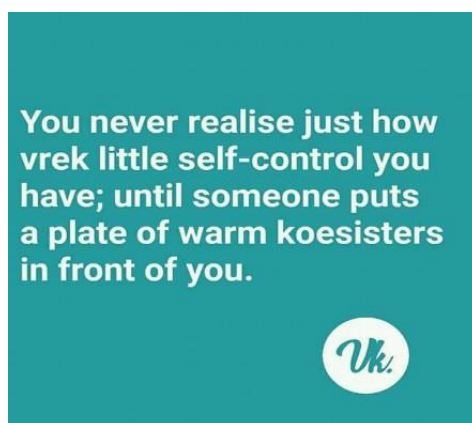
Meme vi

In Meme *v*, "You never realise just how vrek little self-control you have; until someone puts a plate of warm koesisters in front of you" demonstrates the love for food and consuming food. *Koesisters* are a delicacy in Coloured culture and therefore, when they are placed on the table, one cannot help oneself but to reach for one or more, as they usually are eaten up very quickly. The love for *koesisters* is once again clear in Meme *vii*, titled "How to find a Coloured like me".

Meme vii

This meme is slightly different to the others as it takes the form of a comic and uses sequential frames. In the first frame, a serial killer appears wearing the mask of Jason Voorhees from the horror/thriller movie series *Friday the 13th*, and another person can be seen hiding behind a wall. The second frame depicts the serial killer as being unable to find the victim. In the third frame, in an attempt to find the victim, the serial killer yells out "just ate the last koesister". The victim replies in the fourth frame "Are you then djas?!" ('Are you then mad?!'). This comic-meme illustrates how significant and valued *koesisters* are in Kaaps culture. Instead of being scared and remaining quiet, the victim is angered to find out that the last *koesister* was eaten by the serial killer. Here, the love for consuming food is chosen over safety. Meme *viii* below builds on the notion that love is experienced when consuming *koeksisters*.
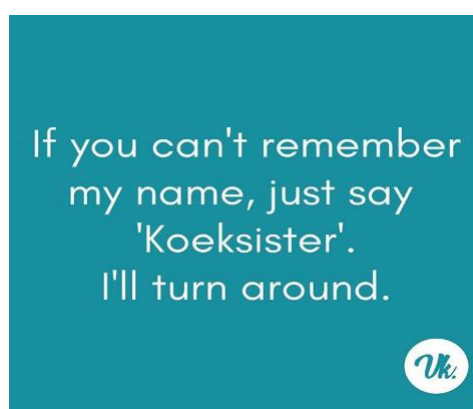
Meme viii

This meme states that "If you can't remember my name, just say 'Koeksister'. I'll turn around". This statement illustrates the extent of the love that the Coloured community has for *koeksisters*. It shows that members of this community will always react when then they hear the word *koeksister* and so, even though one may not know the name of this speaker, one can call them by this "name" and s/he will look around. Meme *ix* below reiterates this notion of 'consumption':
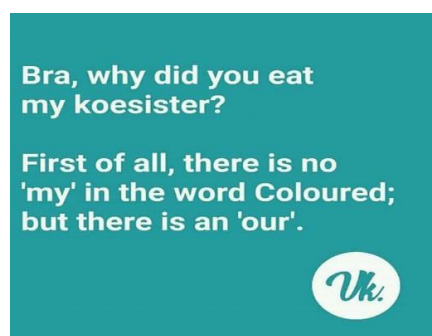
Meme ix

This meme poses the question, "Bra, why did you eat my koesister?". The respondent justifies his actions by stating that "there is no 'my' in Coloured; but there is an 'our'". It also expresses the sentiment that food should be shared, and displays the altruism of Kaaps speakers. It seems as if *koeksisters*/*koesisters* are selected by the meme producers as a symbol of Coloured identity, foregrounding this dish in the culinary tradition of Kaaps speakers, and Coloureds more generally.

This constant need to consume high-calorie and starchy foods makes it difficult to diet and lose the weight gained from this relentless consumption. This is evident in Meme *x* below:

Some days I drink herbalife shakes and go to gym.

Other days I eat a whole gatsby by myself, followed by 17 koesisters.

It's all about balance my masekind.
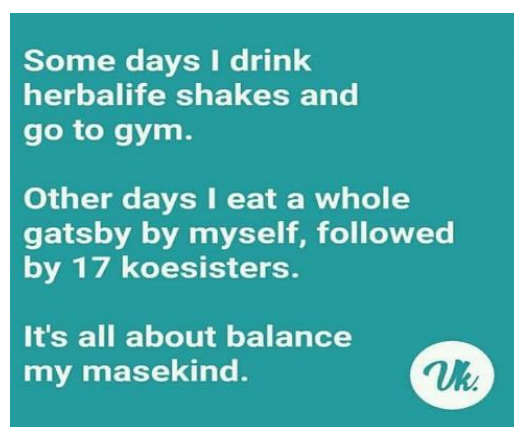
Meme x

This meme states that on some days, the speaker acts in healthy ways by consuming diet shakes and going to the gym, while on other days s/he eats a whole gatsby and 17 *koesisters*. The speaker interprets the phrase of maintaining "a balanced diet" quite literally. This illustrates that Coloured people cannot change their eating habits as this is part of their identity. Meme *xi* below builds on the notion that it is difficult to diet:

Life's too short to be worried about another diet. Tsek, pass me another koesister.
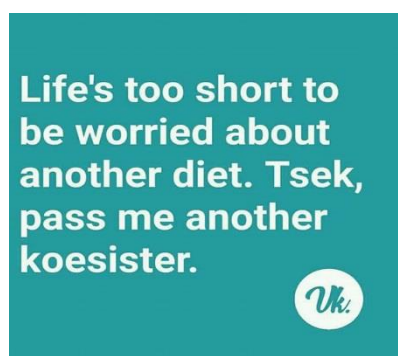
Meme xi

This meme states that life is too short to be worried about dieting, with the speaker then asking for another *koesister*. This once again demonstrates the importance of consuming food in abundance. Meme *xii* below depicts the conflict that a person of colour goes through as the

meme tries to clarify the difference between "want" and "need". It sums up by saying that we want to have a good body but there is also a big need to eat *koeksisters*.
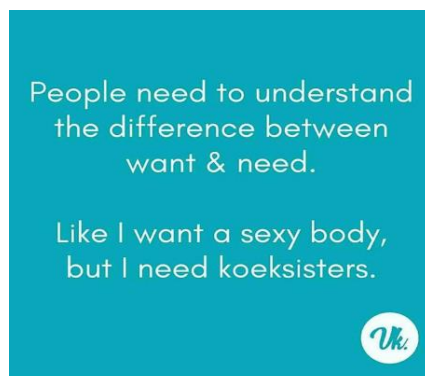
Meme xii

The speaker in Meme *xiii* below tries to justify bad eating habits and the need to consume in excess by convincing him-/herself to love one's stomach fat because it will be around for a long time.

Meme xiii

Meme *xiv* below further shows the need to be healthy as it states that in order to achieve a desirable slim and trim body in 2018, one has to cut down on eating *koesisters* and gatsby's.
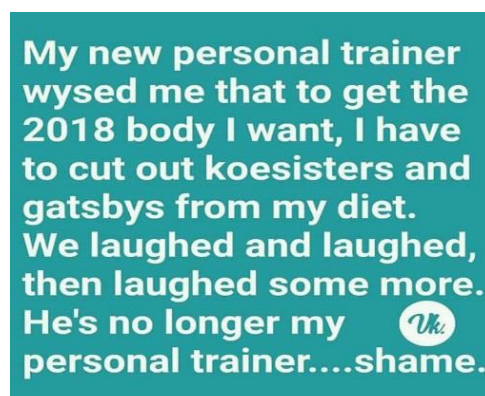

Meme xiv

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The phrase "We laughed and laughed, then laughed some more" illustrates that the speaker is amused, as there is no way that these two foods can be cut from his/her diet. This once again demonstrates that consuming these foods is more important than remaining healthy. In Meme *xv* below, the speaker tells those on a diet to "just give up now" as Christmas is around the corner.
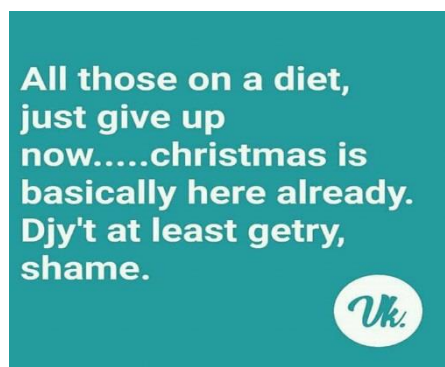
Meme xv

Christmas is usually celebrated with plenty of food. Therefore, the speaker is able to predict that those ascribing to Kaaps culture will consume in abundance. The speaker thus tells everyone in advance to stop their diet because they will overeat at Christmas. The speaker goes on to say "Djy't at least getry ('you at least tried'), shame". The use of "shame" in Memes *xiv* and *xv* is not used in the ordinary sense to indicated feelings of humiliation or embarrassment. Rather, it is used to express sympathy and admiration for those at least trying to live a healthy lifestyle. This also illustrates the speakers' awareness of living a healthy lifestyle, however, this awareness is trumped by the desire and need to consume food.

The idea that our identity is constructed through consuming food and the manner in which we consume the same foods creates a sense of belonging. Here, eating in abundance is a performance of Kaaps culture, in which we display and define our relationship with others and the way in which we identify as individuals. Following Pennycook's (2004: 8) notion of 'performativity', the memes in this section demonstrate how performativity can be understood as a way of acting or performing one's identity as a continuous chain of social and cultural performances. Furthermore, it is indicative of the way in which the consumption of food, as identity performance, can be utilised as an approach of resistance against societal norms in South Africa. In other words, the memes go against societal norms of having, e.g., the ideal body type, and instead create the idea that gaining excess weight due to eating in abundance is acceptable. The memes that constitute this theme indicates a willingness towards identity expression. They also produce an understanding of food as emancipating and unifying the Kaaps community.

5.6   Theme 5: The racialisation of food

The theme of the racialisation of food captures the reference to race when talking about food. According to Willemse (2012: 80), the repercussions of the oppressive and marginalised history of the Coloured population still lingers. The memes in this section exemplifying this theme present both explicit and implicit ways in which this issue is addressed. Here, I refer to "racialisation" as a process that assigns cultural and physical differences to groups or individuals (Barot and Bird 2010: 601), while Alkon and McCullen (2010) define "racialised spaces" as a cluster or gathering of a specific race, e.g. White bodies, around a particular space. In this sense, the *Vannie Kaap* page can be viewed as a racialised space.

This theme is realised in Meme *i* below which states that "there's only one race […] geel rys ('yellow rice')". The text is accompanied by an image of two children of difference races at the top of the meme, in juxtaposition to a bowl of yellow rice at the bottom.

Meme i

This image sends the message that Kaaps identity is not classified according to skin colour but is rather performed according to the consumption of Kaaps cuisine. However, it is also interesting to note that there is no explicit image of a Coloured child present in the image. As such, it can be inferred that the *geel rys* ('yellow rice') is in fact a reference to Coloured, and that the speaker is arguing that everybody is Coloured (or mixed) anyway. Another subtle reference to race is evident in Meme *ii* below.

Meme ii

This meme builds on the previous theme of Kaaps as a culture of consumption. It reads "Standing by your taanie's bedroom at 2 am […] 'Mummy, is daai my kos innie microwave?'" ('Standing at your mother's bedroom […] "Mommy, is that my food in the microwave?"'). This meme emphasises the fact that it is always a good time to eat, regardless of the time of the day (or night). Yet the image that is used to accompany the text of this meme is a White young adult.

Meme *iii* below ties in with Theme 4: The Significance of Traditional Food, as it is a depiction of father instilling values, manners and etiquette to his son.
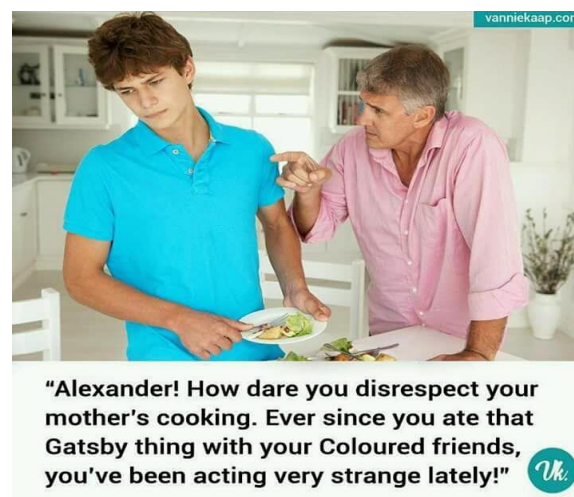
Meme iii

This meme illustrates a White father reprimanding his son for disrespecting his mother's cooking by performing aspects of Coloured identity, this after he ate a gatsby with his Coloured friends. This demonstrates that Coloured culture is intriguing and captivating to the point where those that belong to other races are influenced by certain aspects of this culture, such as the consumption of traditional Kaaps foods. Unlike the previous memes illustrating this theme that make reference to race in a subtle way, Meme *iv* below overtly states the difference between White and Coloured people.

Meme iv

The phrase "Such a tragic loss, really sad" expresses that White people are more concerned about the sad reality of losing a loved one, whereas the phrase "Vir wat het hulle die breyani soe sterk gemaak?!" ('Why did they make the breyani so strong?!') demonstrates that Coloured people are more concerned about the way in which food is prepared. It also demonstrates that food does not play such a significant role in other cultures as it does in Coloured culture. Meme *v* below takes a slightly different approach by acknowledging White history and ancestry for their good skills when it comes to preparing *potjiekos*[5].

Meme v

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[5] Literally 'small-pot food' denoting a stew which is usually cooked outdoor on an open fire in a three-legged, cast iron pot.

Considering South Africa's history of oppression, it is expected that memes concerning differences in race would be apparent in my data. The memes that constitute this theme are not all explicit but they clearly set Coloured culture aside from other races, and illustrate how Coloured identity is performed. It is also interesting to note that only one Black person was referenced in this theme; the rest of the images made reference to White people and how they perform certain aspects of Coloured identity. Therefore it can be argued that Coloured people are juxtaposed with or distinguished from White people specifically, and that the cultural identity of the former is based on their distinction from White people.

Chapter 6

Discussion

6.1   Introduction

After reviewing the data presented in the previous chapter, it is evident that food plays a vital role in the construction of identity within Coloured culture. The memes taken from the *Vannie Kaap* Facebook page talk about food in a humorous, fun and expressive way to create a sense of solidarity and belonging among its members, and to emphasise the significance of food within Kaaps culture. In this sense, the *Vannie Kaap* Facebook page can be viewed as a foodscape. According to Adema, (2006: 12), foodscapes are articulated spaces with which food is associated. These include spaces where food is prepared, cooked, and displayed, and performances related to food and food practices. The word "foodscape" is a blend of "food" and "landscape", and expresses the relationship that individuals have with food in both personal and social contexts. Similar to this definition, the *Vannie Kaap* page is a space where food is continuously being referred to. Thus, the page is not only a medium that aims to promote Kaaps but it is also a virtual foodscape. Although the notion of 'foodscapes' has been taken up in research in sociology, anthropology and architectural design (Dolphin 2004; Sobal and Wansik 2007; Johansson, Mäkelä, Roos, Hillén, Hansen, Jensen, and Huotilainen 2009), the uptake of this notion in linguistics – even within the rapidly growing field of linguistic landscapes – has been slow. Additionally, foodscapes are mostly connected to physical landscapes, while virtual landscapes are mostly absent from studies. This is a surprising omission considering how dominant food is in digital spaces such as Instagram. My thesis thus contributes to the expansion of the study of foodscapes by taking a sociolinguistic perspective and by focusing on a specific example of a virtual foodscape. In the rest of this chapter, I will discuss the kinds of sociolinguistic insights gathered from looking at this particular foodscape.

6.2   *Vannie Kaap* and the construction of identity

The memes consisted of reoccurring themes about the role of Kaaps cuisine in performance and identity construction along with its contribution to providing a sense of unity within Kaaps culture. These memes also demonstrated a sense of cultural ownership, self-worth and self-awareness. This study revealed the importance of food in group identification as the memes expressed that certain foods are not only consumed for what they do but for what they

mean. Thus, food can act as a marker of social class and may be indicative of social exclusion and inclusion. Two sociolinguistic concepts in particular can provide insight into how exactly this is achieved. The first is 'stance', and the second is 'enregisterment'. Kiesling (2009: 3) defines stance as "a person's expression of their relationship to their talk", and their "expression of their relationship to their interlocutors". This entails that speakers make specific linguistic choices to take a stance or to position themselves against their interlocutors. In Meme *iii* of section 5.2 ("Theme 1: Social positioning through food"), for example, the word *except* is essential to stance taking. Those who eat their gatsby's with a knife and a fork are constructed as persons with whom the meme creator does not want to be associated nor have an intimate relationship. This particular method of stance taking − constructing certain individuals as exceptional in that they do not eat the kinds of food as the meme creator or do not consume it in the same way − is evident specifically (although not exclusively) in Memes *ii* to *iv* of section 5.2. The speaker places non-eaters of breyani and those who do not abide by the traditional way of eating these foods as out-group members.

Due to the marginalised background of Kaaps, the role that food plays in solidarity and in-group identification provides individuals that ascribe to this community with a sense of comfort in who they are and the position they hold in society. Bucholtz and Hall (2010) state that both "sameness" and "difference" are essential to identity construction. The members of a group are constructed as similar to other members of this group, but as different to people outside of this group. This is an essential part of identity construction on the *Vannie Kaap* page. However, what is particularly interesting is that this out-group/in-group dynamic is realised essentially through the discursive construction of food consumption practices. Only one example in the dataset could be found where the discursive construction of linguistic practices of food (the naming of a *koeksister* as "koesister") is used as a stance-taking device to emphasise sameness and difference.

Furthermore, the memes play into the working-class stigma of the Kaaps community by expressing the inability of not being in a financial position to afford things such as iPhones, Bombay Mix from Woolworths or going up Table Mountain. It therefore separates the wealthy from the underprivileged. The memes reinforce the same social position that Coloured people held during the apartheid era, as it repeats the idea of the Coloured population being part of the working class. Agha (1999) claims that repertoires become enregistered through "processes and practices whereby performable signs become recognized (and regrouped) as belonging to distinct, differentially valorised semiotic registers by a population". In a later publication, Agha

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(2005: 38) describes enregisterment as the "processes whereby distinct forms of speech come to be socially recognized (or enregistered) as indexical of speaker attributes by a population of language users". Through the repetitive use of Kaaps, the way in which food practices and consumption are referred to, and in particular the consistent reference to foods such as polony, peanut butter (and also the mention of *tik*), Kaaps once again becomes an index of the working class. Kiesling (2009: 9) refers to an index as a type of sign (which can be linguistic or non-linguistic) that gains meaning from "the context of an utterance". Indexical meaning often entails the co-occurrence of something (Kiesling 2009: 9) in that a particular sign often occurs with a particular type of person, i.e. that sign "will be taken to index that group". This can include small features such as accent or larger linguistic variation such as dialects, with Kaaps being an example of both.

Agha (1999) also claims that different languages can be enregistered at particular moments for particular purposes. Agha (2005: 38) states that in the process of enregisterment, "revalorization, retypification, and change" all form part of the process. The use of Kaaps is retypified and revalorised as a Coloured, working-class feature. However, change is also evident in the process of enregisterment undertaken on the *Vannie Kaap* page as, instead of working class characteristics – such as the use of Kaaps and the consumption of food associated with the working class – being seen as "shameful", they are instead celebrated thereby instilling in its audience a sense of pride. Therefore, although the old stereotype of Kaaps being the language of the Coloured working class is being used, the stereotype that this is something to be ashamed of is subverted.

Similarly, Alkon and McCullen's (2010) research reveals that farmers' markets selling organic foods attracts a particular social class. This explicitly sets a social division between the rich and the poor. However, my data shows that through identification and cultural ownership to a previously marginalised group, a sense of empowerment and emancipation can be created from the related stigmas. This aligns with Slocum's claim [cited in (Alkon and McCullen 2010)] that disregarding an individual's subjective experience and assuming a sense of belonging risks conflating spatial and social relations by neglecting to address class divisions within place-based communities. In other words, addressing issues of class division, similar to the memes, allows for the combination of spatial and social relations.

The memes also reflect the idea of having a relationship with food as an essential part of identity construction. As discussed in section 5.4 ("Theme 3: The significance of traditional

food"), the speaker encourages the readers to form a relationship with foods such as *koesisters* and gatsby's. There is much reference to these two types of food, and they are depicted as sources of comfort, anti-depressants, calming mechanisms, and approaches to reducing negativity when consumed. As such, much value is placed on these two types of food. The memes reflecting the significance of food can be viewed as what Bell and Gibson (2011) term "everyday performance", where the speaker spontaneously draws attention to the aesthetic form of their utterance during everyday talk.

The memes display an agentive dimension of stylisation. Coupland [(2007), in Bell and Gibson (2011: 560)] defines stylisation as the "mannered adoption of another's voice". The stylisation of the speaker's voice is that of the Kaaps variety. This style is used to display the vernacular of the Cape Flats. The speaker in the memes incorporates acts of high performance, where code-switching and code-mixing are used to construct a particular identity. By using a highly stylised language, the speaker embodies a different persona to construct an identity with which the reader or viewer is able to identify. This demonstrates the idea that language incorporates aspects of character, symbolisms and/or reference as it moves through various contexts (Bell and Gibson 2011: 560). The memes also share historical and cultural information of Kaaps culture. This results in the creation of a new vernacular space on electronic media platforms, and allows for the re-contextualisation of one's own identity.

The memes can be seen as a form of what Bauman (1977) calls "verbal art" or as examples of Coupland's (2007) "high performance", which are essentially acts of expression put on display and opened up for evaluation and scrutiny by the audience, in this case, the reader. High performances have the ability to draw attention to performativity. This is not only a reminder of the linguistic usages, but also the personal and social identities they are comprised of and which are performed. In this sense, performances are fluid rather that static products. In the memes, the speaker uses highly stylised languages to display and construct a distinctive identity. In constructing this identity, Kaaps, non-standard English and English-Afrikaans code-switching are combined by the speaker to entertain the reader. Through the use of these language varieties, it is evident that the speaker indexes in-group identity by proficiently shifting between a variety of linguistic styles and stereotypical forms that denote other identities. In other words, "in-groupness" is not situated within particular identities, but is rather acted out in certain contexts.

The memes also express a sense of anger towards individuals that do not abide by the traditional way of eating foods, such as eating a gatsby with a knife and a fork (section 5.2, meme *iii*), cutting the gatsby in too many portions (section 5.5, meme *i*) or eating the last *koesister* (section 5.5, meme *vii*). Meme *vii* in section 5.5 even goes as far as illustrating a Coloured person risking their life by not remaining silent after a serial killer shouts that he ate the last *koesister*. This sense of anger could be seen as stemming from the inauthentic performance of precepts. Bucholtz (2003: 408) notes that authentication is established through the assertion of the genuineness and credibility of one's own or another's identity. Denaturalisation, on the other hand, is the phenomenon where someone is judged to not be authentic or "real". The concept of 'authenticity' is further realised in the meme that introduces the new Lucky Star gatsby (section 5.4 meme *ix*). The creator of this meme rejects the idea of having a fish gatsby, as he explicitly states that tinned fish belongs in a *smoortjie* (combination of braised onions, tomatoes and polony). *Vannie Kaap* thus polices the boundaries of who and what an "authentic" Coloured person is.

In summary, I argue that through stance taking, enregisterment, stylisation and authentication, *Vannie Kaap* constructs the identity of an ideal *Vannie Kaap* reader as Coloured, working class and Kaaps speaking. However, they also deconstruct the ideas that the use of Kaaps, or the food consumption practices which the readers engage in, is something to be ashamed of. Instead, these features are celebrated as essential parts of Kaaps heritage, pride and identity.

6.3   *Vannie Kaap* and the construction of taste

The data further displayed the desire to consume food in abundance. The memes demonstrate the lack of self-control when traditional foods are placed on the table. They also express the self-awareness of living a healthy lifestyle by exercising and eating healthy food. Yet this is surpassed by the need to consume traditional high calorie foods in large quantities. In line with what Marshall (2005) notes, the value of food is grounded in the food practices and not the nutritional value thereof. The speaker goes against the western notion of having a desirable, slender body, and encourages the reader to love his/her extra body fat. In this way, the memes produce an understanding of consuming food as part of performing identity, and as an approach to unifying and empowering the Kaaps community. This aligns with Bourdieu's theory which states that the upper class is more concerned with nutrition and presentation of food whereas the lower class presents a "taste of freedom" (de Morais Sato, Gittelsohn, Unsain, Roble and Scagliusi 2014: 180).

In his influential book *Distinction*, Bourdieu (1984) sets out a theory of taste which he connects to three related concepts, namely 'cultural capital', 'habitus' and 'field'. Bourdieu (1984: 192) found that working-class meals were characterised by "plain eating" and "plain speaking", and by abundance and freedom. According to Bourdieu (1984: 194), middle-class and upper-class meals are not characterised by freedom but by formalism, e.g. by dividing meals into courses, choosing cutlery and crockery for specific parts of the meal, and emphasising quality rather than quantity. He argues that this formalism serves to disengage food from its bodily dimensions. In the case of working-class culture, "food is claimed as a material reality, a nourishing substance which sustains the body and gives strength" (Bourdieu 1984: 197). A focus on food's nourishing qualities and the consumption of food in large quantities thus positions members of the Coloured community as "real". As such, by claiming not to eat gatsby's with cutlery and eating for pleasure, the in-group members of *Vannie Kaap* are positioned as "against embarrassment, mincing and posturing, airs and graces" (Bourdieu 1984: 198). Therefore, class position can be seen as being constructed through the discursive construction of foodways.

6.4   *Vannie Kaap* and the use of humour

The memes also use humour to address topics that may be challenging to talk about, thereby providing a way to talk about serious topics in an informal way. They address different social classes, the growing gap between the rich and the poor, and issues such as food contamination (section 5.3, Memes *i* and *ii*). However, constantly using humour as an approach to address challenging topics, as noted by Holmes et al. (2013), could be problematic when formality is necessary, and may result in a community that is not taken seriously. In my opinion, the humour used in the memes helps form stronger bonds within the community, builds resilience, displays creativity and puts things into perspective. Using humour in Kaaps to imperceptibly subvert authority, give social commentary, and create a sense of belonging is a long-standing tradition in the Coloured community (Oostendorp 2018). Kaaps was used in *Straatpraatjies*, a newspaper column that appeared in the African Political Organisation newspaper between 1909 and 1922. According to Adhikari (1996: 2), *Straatpraatjies* was written in "a variety of Cape Vernacular Afrikaans, spoken in particular by the coloured working classes". Through the use of wit and humour, and by the use of the vernacular, social issues could be addressed in this column. Another such tradition in the Coloured community is the *moppie*, a humorous song sung by the Cape Malay choirs which usually addresses some topical social issue. *Vannie Kaap* thus draws

on this tradition within the community but connects it explicitly to food. This is revealed in section 5.3, particularly in the Meme *iii* ("Koesisters are my tik"). Memes similar to this create the notion that consuming food is a much more attractive option than drugs. The humour used in the memes is an approach to reframe problems that might otherwise seem unbearable and destructive towards relationships.

6.5   The absence of references to traditional food

Both Baderoon's 2002 and 2007 studies revealed that storytelling and food preparation play a significant role in Kaaps culture. After the analysis of her comprehensive articles on Kaaps (specifically Cape Malay) cuisines, I expected to encounter in my data talk of traditional foods such as *bredies* (stews), curries, bread pudding, *frikkadels* (meatballs), custard and canned fruits, the preparation thereof, and storytelling during mealtimes. Upon analysing my dataset, the foods referenced the most were: "koesister", "gatsby", "breyani", "daltjie", "chip roll", and "polony". The continuous reference to these foods illustrates how much they are valued in Kaaps culture. The relative absence of references to food such as *bredies* and curries can be interpreted in more than one way. Firstly, one could argue that it indicates a generational shift, with a movement away from food that takes longer to prepare, and a higher consumption of quick and affordable foods such as takeaways like gatsbys, chip rolls and *koesisters*. Malton and Narkedien (2013: 9) claim that cultures are born of adaptation; people adapt as food becomes expensive. They use the example of crayfish previously being affordable and plentiful, and constituting a traditional Monday night meal. Today, however, it is only served on special occasions. Therefore, the scarcity of certain foods and the increase in food prices can be seen as reasons for the shift away from the preparation of traditional foods. This finding can also be attributed to the fact that *Vannie Kaap* memes are marketed towards young Coloured adults and those in their early adulthood phase, as these two groups make up the majority of the total followers. In this sense, the *Vannie Kaap* page can also be seen as a racialised space as many of its followers ascribe to the Coloured identity.

Another possible interpretation is that the *Vannie Kaap* page is primarily aimed at a Christian audience due to its references to Christmas and Easter, whereas Baderoon's (2002) study was focused on Muslim identity. If one follows this line of reasoning, one can say that the references to different kinds of food construct different religious identities. However, not all of these memes on *Vannie Kaap* make reference to food: the page also makes multiple

references to Eid/Labarang and to the month of Ramadan. As a member of the Coloured community, I also know that Christians consume curry and breyani very regularly, and that feasts are often shared in the community regardless of religion. Perhaps the focus on fast-food consumption is reflective of the overall commodification of Kaaps found on this Facebook page. To elaborate, this page sells *Vannie Kaap*-branded products such as t-shirts and mugs with Kaaps slogans; similarly, fast foods are a commodity sold as well, compared to "traditional foods" which are usually prepared at home.

These findings do not align with Baderoon's (2002: 11) claim that preparing and learning to prepare food powerfully expresses one's creative ability and creates communal relationships. My data did not consist of any reference to the preparation of food; instead, it was mainly centred on the consumption thereof. Conversely to Baderoon's (2002: 11) claim, my dataset revealed that consuming the same foods in the same manner creates communal relationships. It also demonstrates that one's creative ability does not only lie in one's competence to prepare a tasty meal, but also in one's ability to talk about food in a fun and expressive way as illustrated by the memes. Thus, the discursive construction of foodways is just as powerful in identity formation as actual food practices. Following Bell and Gibson's (2011) definition of "performativity", these talks about food and consuming them in the same manner are considered performances or acts of one's identity that are explicitly put on display.

The data analysis also shows traces of what Bauman and Briggs [(1990), in Bell and Gibson (2011)] call "discursive culture". This discursive model of culture sees performance as central to the continuity of culture. This model also highlights the constant tension between the pre-given and the new. Despite the shift away from traditional foods such as *frikkadels*, *bredies* and curries, there seems to be a deep comfort and a persisting sense of solidarity among members along with this change. As Baderoon (2007: 137) notes, Kaaps cuisine is "already a combination, a definite mix", and that traditions are never really lost. One such example is when people were forcefully removed from their homes during the apartheid era and subsequently encountered different patterns of hospitality in their new surroundings. Nonetheless, the past has brought a sense of rediscovery of and closeness to previous traditions. Therefore, even though the memes reflect change, some of which may be drastic, taken together, they show evolving notions of liberation, emancipation, empowerment, family, community and creativity.

6.6   The racialisation of food in *Vannie Kaap*

Given the marginalised history of Kaaps, it was expected that reference to race would be made when analysing food discourses within Kaaps. The majority of the memes exemplifying this theme made subtle reference to race. It is also noteworthy that most of the memes in this theme refer to the influence of Coloured culture on the White population as they performed certain aspects of Coloured identity, such as the consumption of Kaaps cuisine. "Colouredness" was thus distinguished from "Whiteness" to emphasise the difference between the two groups. Once again, racial boundaries are policed through the discursive construction of food consumption practices.

However, there is an explicit reference that links language, specifically Kaaps, and food. This is apparent in the meme that stresses the difference between *koeksister* and *koesister* (section 5.4, Meme *x*), clearly showing that the food is labelled differently. This linguistic labelling positions one either as an in-group or out-group member. Another subtle link between food, language and race is found in Meme *xi* (section 5.4) that jokes about the origin of malva pudding. In this meme, the playful linguistic interactions Coloured people have with Afrikaans is emphasised, distinguishing them from the more formal, standard (White) Afrikaans. The racialisation of food in the *Vannie Kaap* memes is mostly done in a subtle way, with Kaaps standing proxy for race. One interesting meme is Meme *i* (section 5.6), which states that the only race is "geelrys". This could be interpreted as racial commentary, that the only race is yellow (Coloured), and thus that everybody is Coloured or mixed.

In summary, my analysis of *Vannie Kaap* as a foodscape has shown that discursive work around food constructs identity in a powerful way, reconstructs new identities, and can be a site of struggle where both old and new discourses on foodways meet. The use of Kaaps is an important part in this construction as all the memes are in Kaaps, with occasional explicit reference being made to Kaaps as a language, the kinds of food that Coloured people eat, and the kinds of food practices with which they engage. Furthermore, class distinctions are, as Bourdieu (1984) argues, made through distinctions in taste. These distinctions are made linguistically due to the specific nature of memes, i.e. they rely on semiotic material such as language or visual images for their meaning.

Chapter 7

Conclusion

7.1   Introduction

The primary aim of this thesis was (i) to analyse whether food and talks about food using the variety of Kaaps aid in the discursive construction of identity, (ii) to investigate how talks about food are used as a means of performing one's identity, and (iii) to investigate how Kaaps speakers are provided with a sense of solidarity and belonging through consuming and talking about food. Despite time constraints, many unexpected and interesting viewpoints emerged in my findings. Through this research, I acquired a broader knowledge of the significance of food in Kaaps culture.

7.2   Theoretical insight gained

To answer my first research question − How are discourses on food articulated in Kaaps drawn on to construct identity? − I found that discourses of race, class/social-positioning and culture were specifically drawn on when referring to food. The reference to race was quite subtle, with some memes specifically speaking about Coloured food but accompanied by an image of mainly White individuals. The mass consumption of food and the repetitive mention of the working class establishes the discourse of class and social-positioning. This is achieved through enregisterment and stance-taking. The memes celebrate the multiple aspects of food within Coloured culture, namely the consumption of food as an anti-depressant, and food as a means of establishing unity and solidarity, while also positioning Coloured food as being influential to other cultures. The kinds of identities that are constructed through food discourses are mainly those of the Coloured identity. The use of Kaaps in these memes, along with the memes that make specific reference to particular spelling and origins of Kaaps food, add to the construction of Coloured identity.

My data aligns with much of the findings from the literature, particularly Alkon and McCullen's (2010) research on food as a marker of class and social division, and Baderoon's (2002) and (2007) publications on the background of Kaaps cuisine and significance of food in Kaaps culture. However, some differences and new findings were also revealed. These

include the contentment and continuous sense of solidarity among members of the Kaaps community despite the increasing shift away from traditional cooked meals. These differences and unexpected findings could be indicative of another type of generational shift. Baderoon (2007) also notes a generational shift but her findings suggest a shift from cooking without recipes to younger generations preferring to cook according to cookbooks. My findings could also be the result of the affordability of food products, and the ease of preparing these foods. Another unexpected finding was the humorous reference to societal issues by comparing these to food. While researching food-related studies, I did not come across any other research that used food to address challenging issues through humour. This illustrates the importance of food in identity formation, and highlights the creativity that Kaaps speakers possess. Additionally, this shows that multiple traditions are drawn on in the *Vannie Kaap* memes, such as the use of Kaaps, the use of humour within the community and the references to specific food traditions and practices.

This research enabled me to identify the continuous reference to food as a linguistic marker of identity performance, and recognise how it adds to the construction of identity and unity of its speakers. Moreover, I was able to understand how talks about food, using the Kaaps variety, act as an approach of resistance against ideologies in mainstream society, especially in terms of challenging class-, linguistic-, and racial difference as points of celebration, not shamefulness.

The memes represented in my data can be seen as a form of what Bell and Gibson (2011: 16) term "staged performance". As expected by staged performance, the memes are hyperbolic, thought out, and displayed to an audience. The reader is also able to evaluate, scrutinise and react to the memes using GIFs, comments or "liking" the posts, at their discretion. These memes create new spaces that shift to the vernacular which is intentionally reproduced.

7.3   Methodological insight

My study showed how food and language, when used simultaneously as a lens to investigate identity construction, can point to interesting overlaps between the two, and how powerful both are in constructing identity. This lens is interesting as most studies that investigate the racialisation of food often focus on Whiteness and how it is dominant in many foodscapes, or how it exotifies "ethnic food". By focusing on a space where a marginalised linguistic variety is used by members of the group themselves, it shows how Whiteness and other dominant ideologies can actually be challenged. Thus, by more of a focus on sites where non-standard

varieties are used (so, by viewing food through language), new insights can be gained by racialisation. Furthermore, my research focus on a virtual foodscape is still relatively rare. Social media sites in particular can be a more democratic foodscape, as literally anybody can have a Facebook page. Compare this virtual site to a restaurant as a foodscape, where one requires capital to open a restaurant, but not to begin a Facebook page. Virtual foodscapes are therefore untapped potential sites of investigation.

7.4   Social impact

My study gives a voice to a variety of Afrikaans which is still an underrepresented variety. Furthermore, it shows that Afrikaans is by no means just a language which oppresses or is oppressed (as common discourses around the language seem to suggest) but, in the form of Kaaps, is also a language in which people laugh, have fun with language, reconstruct new identities for themselves, and perform activist roles to resist ideologies of shame.

7.5   Future studies

Since my data revealed such unexpected and interesting findings, I think a study of a much broader scope will definitely uncover a lot about Kaaps and its reference to food. For example, the *Vannie Kaap* Facebook page can be followed for a much longer period of time in order to investigate how these food discourses might change over time. Closer attention can also be paid to the images that accompany some of the memes in order to perform a multimodal analysis. Peoples' comments on these memes can also be more thoroughly investigated. Broadly speaking, an in-depth investigation into the Kaaps variety and how it is used to refer to food could be conducted by using more detailed interviews, focus groups consisting of Kaaps speakers, and observing other physical linguistic landscapes where Kaaps cuisine is sold, such as Aneesa's, Golden Dish, Miriam's Kitchen, etc. This could elicit more underlying themes, and gain a broader knowledge of Kaaps and how it is used to talk about food. A qualitative analysis with the incorporation of participants and observation of linguistic landscapes could be beneficial for prospective studies looking at the humorous and expressive ways in which talks about food are used to address and comment on fundamental issues in society, as well as the generational shift of traditional foods within Kaaps cuisine, while still maintaining its sense of community.

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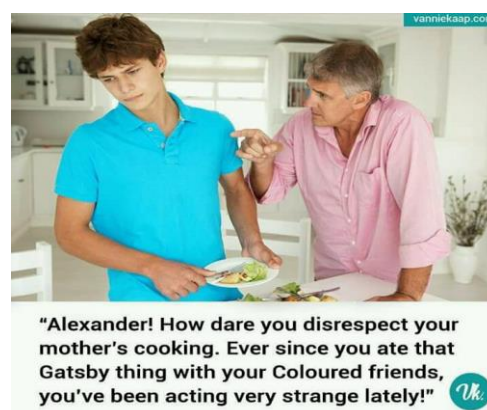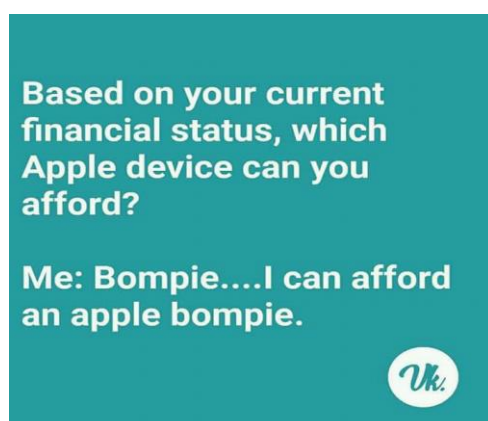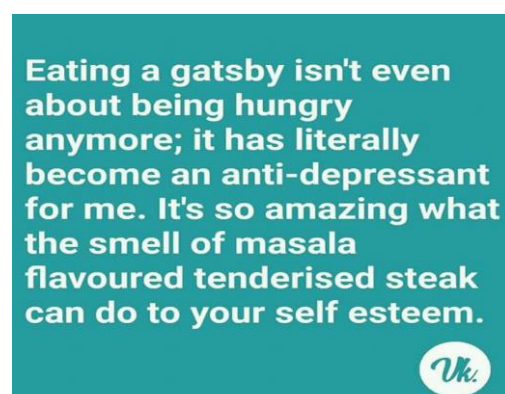
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Appendix A: Memes used in thesis

95

Did You Know?
(Het Djy Gewiet?)

The name 'Malva Pudding'
originates from the Cape Flats.
Someone once said;
"Yor, ek is mal vir pudding."
The rest is history.

Vk.

Eating a gatsby isn't even
about being hungry
anymore; it has literally
become an anti-depressant
for me. It's so amazing what
the smell of masala
flavoured tenderised steak
can do to your self esteem.

Vk.

Based on your current
financial status, which
Apple device can you
afford?

Me: Bompie....I can afford
an apple bompie.

Vk.

"Alexander! How dare you disrespect your
mother's cooking. Ever since you ate that
Gatsby thing with your Coloured friends,
you've been acting very strange lately!"

Good morning to
everyone except
those who eat their
gatsby with a knife
and fork.

Vk.

You never realise just how
vrek little self-control you
have; until someone puts
a plate of warm koesisters
in front of you.

Vk.

Bra, why did you eat my koesister?

First of all, there is no 'my' in the word Coloured; but there is an 'our'.

Driving home from Aneesa's with your Masala Steak Gatsby feels the same like driving home from Groote Schuur with your new born baby.

"Bra you've aleady eaten 8 daltjies, how many more do you want?"

ANOTHER ONE

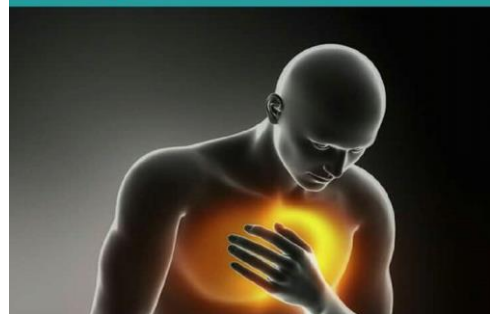Ek's Vrek Honger. Ek's Vrek Moeg.

-an autobiography

You think I can't live without you?

Wie's djy'ran? 'n Koesister?

How I react when someone wys me they don't like gatsbys.

Sex is intimate and sacred; your body is a temple and you shouldn't share it with anyone who doesn't like breyani.

When you finally meet the pakkie slangetjies that attended private school.

You go through 9 months of discomfort, hours of painful labour; just for them to grow up and say they don't eat breyani.

Vk.

All those on a diet, just give up now.....christmas is basically here already. Djy't at least getry, shame.

Vk.

Love all your extra bietjie maag vet; cause it will stay around longer than any man.

Vk.

Some mense are fighting hard tonight not to koppel feelings with Ramaphosa. Stry tog, that speech tasted like a Masala Steak Gatsby............vrek lekker.

Vk.

Don't believe the lie that you can't have a chip roll for breakfast. People just don't want to see you happy.

Vk.

People need to understand the difference between want & need.

Like I want a sexy body, but I need koeksisters.

Vk.

If you live in Cape Town and have never been up Table Mountain, don't be ashamed; it's like R300! If you live in Cape Town and never tasted Masala Steak, ek's djamme, ma be very ashamed.

Vk.

Some days I drink herbalife shakes and go to gym.

Other days I eat a whole gatsby by myself, followed by 17 koesisters.

It's all about balance my masekind.

Vk.

Remember, wherever you go always take enough koesisters with you; cause when people start working on your blerrie nerves, you can eat a soothing koesiester to calm yourself down.

Vk.

When your gatsby is finish but then you see all the extra chips and goetes that fell out earlier.

Vk.
imagecredit: kucomradesforum.com

shop.vanniekaap.com

After Funeral...

Whites: Such a tragic loss, really sad.

Coloureds: Vir wat het hulle die breyani soe sterk gemaak?!

Vk.

STANDING BY YOUR TAANIE'S BEDROOM AT 2AM

"MUMMY, IS DAAI MY KOS INNIE MICROWAVE?"

My new personal trainer wysed me that to get the 2018 body I want, I have to cut out koesisters and gatsbys from my diet. We laughed and laughed, then laughed some more. He's no longer my personal trainer....shame.

Vk.

Even if I only ate 'stampmielies en boentjies' for the next 10 years, I still couldn't afford the new iPhone.

Vk.

I always felt a bietjie bad eating my school lunch, while other laaities had cheese or tuna sandwiches.
However thinking back, chokers were actually blerrie lekker.

Vk.

98

Don't block your blessings by calling a koesister a koeksister.

Vk.

Thought this was going to be a lekker year; just to now find out that my vienna chip roll actually wants to kill me.

Vk.

Sorry ouens, but size does matter.

e.g. A Gatsby cut in 6 is no longer a gatsby, is net 'n klompie chiprolls.

Vk.

HOW TO FIND A COLOURED LIKE ME.

Just ate the last koesister

Are you then djas?!

Brasse that buy you dite, are brasse for life.

Vk.

Never underestimate my ability to choose Breyani or Koesisters over you.

Vk.

Lucky Star
19 Jul at 17:54 ·

Hoe lyk it, Cape Town! There's no gatsby quite like a LUCKY gatsby - and now, you can try our spin on the Mother City's favourite street food. Woza to your local takeaway spot & ask them to add Lucky Chow to their menu - packed with all the protein & omega 3 goodness of Lucky Star.

LUCKY CHOW

LUCKY ★ GATSBY

Woza to your local takeaway spot and request the Lucky gatsby!

If listeriosis starts affecting snoek, I'm very sorry, but that's a pickled fish death I'm willing to risk.

Vk.

99

Some questions to ask before marrying them:

1. Do they want children?
2. How do they handle finances?
3. Will their parents or exes interfere in your relationship?
4. How do they handle conflict?
5. Do they eat their gatsby with a knife and fork?

Vk.

Het djy gewiet?
(Did you know)

Eating a koesister on a Sunday keeps negativity away on a Monday.

Vk.

If you can't remember my name, just say 'Koeksister'.
I'll turn around.

Vk.

Some people are getting listeriosis without even eating polony.
Everytime they think of your success, dan trek hulle nek styf en hulle mag beginte werk.

Vk.

Based on your current financial status, which Apple device can you afford?

Me: Bompie....I can afford an apple bompie.

Vk.

The secret as to why Cape Malay food is so lekker; is that we don't measure our seasoning. We just keep sprinkling those spices until the spirit of our ancestors whisper; "Ok, dai's nou genoeg my kind."

Vk.

The best thing about being single, is the Gatsby cut in nothing.

Vk.

3 words that always melts my heart:

• I Love You
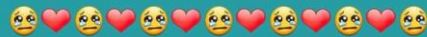• I Miss You
• God Bless You
• Masala Steak Gatsby

Vk.

Lamming with my white brasse today. Nai een ding, wit mense is geseën in potjiekos.

Koeksisters are my tik.

Part of me is still in disbelief. One day we will surely meet again. Life has to go on,but it's really hard. Our lives are emptier without you. Nobody can ever replace you bra. You will always be in my heart.

APPENDIX B: ETHICAL CLEARANCE

PROJECT EXEMPT FROM ETHICS CLEARANCE

23 April 2018

Project number: GENL-2018-6969

Project title: Kaaps brings to the table: A discursive analysis of the way Kaaps is used to talk about Food

Dear Miss Samantha Roman

Your application received on **12 April 2018** was reviewed by the REC: Humanities.

You have confirmed in the proposal submitted for review that your project does not involve the participation of human participants or the use of their data. You also confirmed that you will collect data that is freely accessible in the public domain only.

The project is, therefore, exempt from ethics review and clearance. You may commence with research as set out in the submission to the Research Ethics Committee: Humanities.

If the research deviates from the application submitted for REC clearance, especially if there is an intention to involve human participants and/or the collection of data not in the public domain, the researcher must notify the DESC/FESC and REC of these changes well before data collection commences. In certain circumstances, a new application may be required for the project.

Please remember to use your **project number** (GENL-2018-6969) on any documents or correspondence with the REC concerning your project.

Sincerely,

Clarissa Graham

REC Coordinator: Research Ethics Committee: Human Research (Humanities)