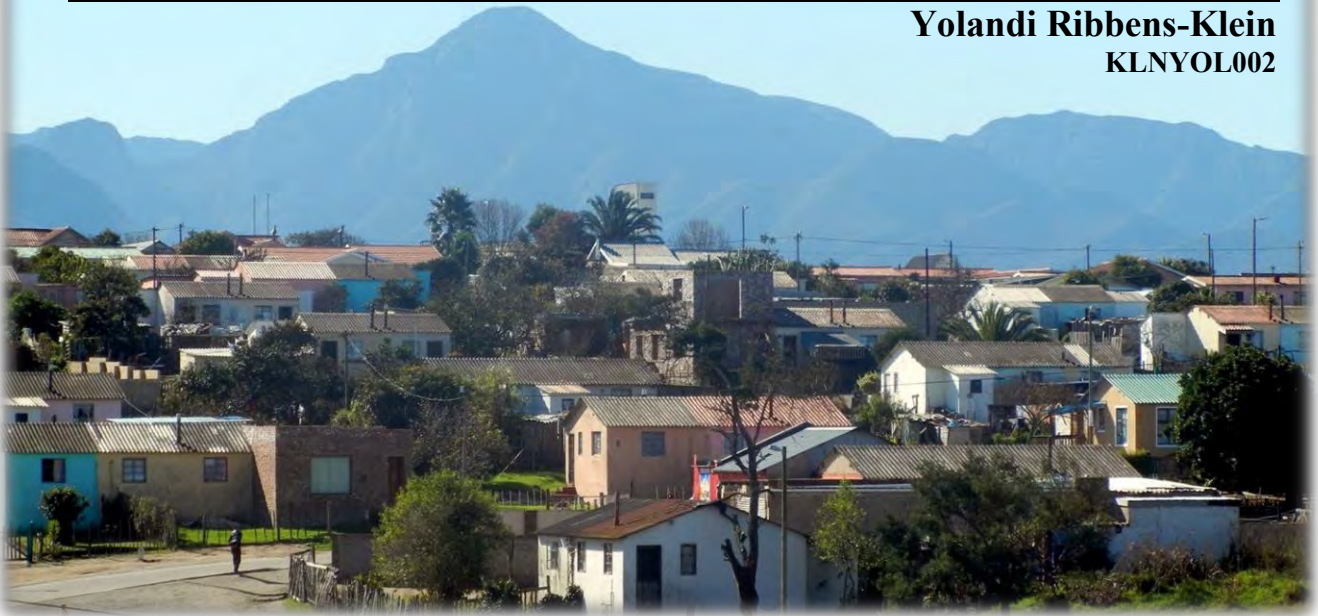

To Bry or not to Bry:

The Social Meanings of Afrikaans Rhotic Variation in the South Cape

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Abstract

To *bry* or not to *bry*:

The Social Meanings of Afrikaans Rhotic Variation in the South Cape

This dissertation investigates the social meanings of Afrikaans rhotic variation in a town in the South Cape region of the Western Cape Province in South Africa. The study combines approaches to ‘place as location’ (traditional dialectology and sociolinguistics) and ‘place as meaning’ (ethnography and linguistic anthropology) to explore the relationship between geographical place, local social meanings and linguistic variation. Theoretically, I make use of the concept of indexicality, following Silverstein’s (2003) indexical orders and Eckert’s (2008) indexical fields. To date, there is no previous study that explores Afrikaans variation from these perspectives. The study therefore contributes to the development of Afrikaans linguistics.

The participants are residents of Houtiniquadorp, which was a mission station in South Africa’s colonial era and declared a Coloured residential area during apartheid. In South Africa, place has been politicised due to colonialism and apartheid. I argue that the racialisation of places contributes to Houtiniquadorpers’ sense of locality and belonging. The linguistic form I focus on is Afrikaans /r/. Afrikaans phonetics texts describe alveolar-*r* [r] as standard, and uvular-*r* ([ʀ] or [ʁ]; *bry-r*) as a non-standard, regional feature. In Houtiniquadorp, [ʀ] and [r] variants of the (r) variable are used. My data collection methods were semi-structured interviews and ethnographic fieldwork. The linguistic variants were quantified from the interview data and description tasks. The qualitative data analysis focused on the participants’ narratives about places, lived experiences, and meta-linguistic commentary.

I discuss three different sets of results, all of which investigate how people in Houtiniquadorp use Afrikaans /r/ to index locality, belonging, and other forms of social meanings, particularly in the context of social and geographic mobility. I analyse metalinguistic comments, the frequency use of rhotic variants, and the use of variants in interaction. Uvular-*r* forms part of many Houtiniquadorpers’ repertoires, and the participants show varying degrees of awareness of the sound as locally, and socially, meaningful. The results show that while uvular-*r* is an emplaced sound (i.e. a regional stereotype or dialect feature), the sound has various other non-place meanings that index macro-social categories such as residential status, gender and age. Finally, by looking at participants who use both variants, I argue that they use variation to index meaningful moments during the interview interactions.

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Translations and transcription conventions

A note about the translations

With the translations I provide in this dissertation, I have tried to stay as close as possible to directly translating from Afrikaans to English. However, at times, direct translation can lead to ungrammaticality and incoherence in English, and hedges and discourse markers, used frequently in conversational Afrikaans, are especially challenging to translate. I have tried to capture these pragmatic meanings where possible. With regard to typography, I followed the following conventions (also see transcription key): text from a language other than English is in italics, with the translations in quotation marks. The use of italics in other contexts indicates emphasis or key concepts. Italic font is also used for book titles.

Also note the following:

you-plural

Afrikaans distinguishes between singular and plural second-person pronouns: *jy* (singular ‘you’) and *julle* (plural ‘you’). In the translations, I indicate plural second-person pronouns as ‘you-plural’.

you/your-formal

Afrikaans distinguishes between informal and formal second-person pronouns: *jy/jou* (informal singular ‘you/your’) and *u* (formal ‘you/your’). In the translations, I indicate formal second-person pronouns as ‘you/your-formal’.

Transcription key

,	punctuation for brief pause
.	punctuation for end of sentence
..	slightly longer pause
/	cut-off word, false start, or interruption
/unclear/	unintelligible utterance
/word/	author's guess of unintelligible utterance
:	lengthened vowel
?	utterance-final rising intonation
...	ellipsed conversation not relevant to the example
[laughs]	additional comments or additions for clarity, or non-verbal sounds
[aɪ pi eɪ]	phonetic transcription
/r/ (r) and [r]	/phoneme/ (linguistic variable) and [linguistic variant]
‘quote’	direct speech intonation or citations
“quote”	to indicate hedging, noncommittal or distancing from word or phrase
<loud>	utterance is said in a particular way, e.g. loudly or softly
boldface	highlight or emphatic stress
<u>underline</u>	draws attention to a particular aspects under analysis
<i>italics</i>	languages other than English, emphasis, key concepts or titles
word’	elision of final sound
’word	elision of initial sound

In order to improve readability, I have broken up speech into clausal or phrasal segments – these segments do not necessarily follow intonation patterns.

Chapter 1 General introduction

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1.1. Studying rhotic variation in Afrikaans: the emergence of a research project

This dissertation is about the social meanings of Afrikaans /r/ in a town in the South Cape region of the Western Cape Province in South Africa. I decided on this area, because I wanted to explore variation in Afrikaans spoken by people outside of the major South African cities, where most of previous variationist research was conducted (e.g. Cape Town or Johannesburg metropolises). Furthermore, few Afrikaans variationist studies were conducted during the twenty-first century, especially on regional phonetic variation. According to Wolfram (2007), a ‘supra-regional myth’ is one of the consequences of un(der)explored regional variation. Wolfram specialises in social and ethnic dialects of American English, and he had argued in his earlier work that the structural features associated with African American English (AAE) were found among African American communities regardless of region (Wolfram 1969; also see Weinreich, et al. 1968; Fasold 1972; Labov 1972b). This conclusion led to a supra-regional myth about the structural homogeneity of AAE as a uniform racialised variety – a myth that Wolfram (2007) later showed to be inaccurate: ‘regionality may trump ethnicity in listener perception of African Americans in some settings’ (Wolfram 2007:8). Similarly, in this dissertation I work from the premise that *region/place matters* in the ways linguistic variation becomes socially meaningful. Social meaning can be defined as ‘the stances, personal characteristics, and personas indexed through the deployment of linguistic forms in interaction’ (Podesva 2011:234), as well as the broader social identities and group memberships indexed by the use of linguistic forms (Bucholtz and Hall 2005: 592).

Sociolinguistics has shown that language use is inextricably interwoven with age, gender, ethnicity, race, and socioeconomic structures; these factors contribute to the dynamic construction of social identities through ways of speaking. Furthermore, regional ways of speaking (i.e. regional varieties) contribute to processes of local identity construction. As Johnstone (2004:65) states, ‘Place, in one form or another – [be it] nation, region, country, city or neighbourhood – is one of the most frequently adduced correlates of linguistic variation.’ However, it is only recently that scholars started to consider the notion of *place identity* in studies concerned with language use as socio-cultural practice, where place is subjectively experienced and constitutes part of a group’s local social categorisations (see Johnstone 2004:65-66; Eckert 2004a). Place identity can be defined as a social identity articulated in terms of a place or a specific location (Low and Lawrence-Zúñiga 2003:24). Sociolinguists, such as Modan (2007), have shown how residents from a specific area use discourses of locality and belonging to construct place identities for themselves and other residents. These discourses are

based on ideologies of authenticity or legitimacy. I aim to investigate how speakers draw on discourses of locality and belonging to create place identities.

The research population of this study are the residents of Houtiniquadorp (a population of 25,275 according to the 2011 census; StatsSA 2012). The development of Houtiniquadorp was strongly influenced by the establishment of a mission station in the early nineteenth-century. The town was integrated into the George municipality in the nineteen-nineties. At present, George is the largest town in the South Cape Garden Route and comprises several residential areas. That *place matters* became apparent to me during my initial explorations into Houtiniquadorp, before I conducted the pilot studies. Whilst doing online searches for information about Houtiniquadorp, I found a Facebook group that served as a type of forum for Houtiniquadorp community interests. Two comments stood out for me. The first was about ‘real Houtiniquadorpers’, and the second was about the experience of an *inkommer*. I later learned that *inkommer* (lit. ‘incomer’) was used as a relational opposite to *boorling* (lit. ‘native’, i.e. ‘real Houtiniquadorper’). These two notions – *boorling* and *inkommer* – were the first indication of locally significant (i.e. emic) social categories in Houtiniquadorp, particularly related to locality and belonging.

In the first comment I noticed a group member questioned the inclusivity of the group (posted on 7 January 2009). He argued that the group ‘sugar coat[s]’ the image of Houtiniquadorp, because it is geared towards the interests of the ‘*highbuck*’ (‘well-to-do’) and ‘*mooi mense*’ (‘attractive people’). He claimed that ‘poorer’ Houtiniquadorpers were not only excluded from the group, but were also rendered invisible. According to him, these people were the ‘born and bred’ Houtiniquadorpers. Importantly, he referred to particular areas associated with the specific types of Houtiniquadorpers: the part of town where the ‘upper crust part of society’ resides, versus poorer neighbourhoods where the ‘real’ Houtiniquadorpers stay. His comments indicated that place interacts with socioeconomic status in the form of different neighbourhoods.

The second comment also concerned a perceived lack of inclusivity, this time raised against the born and bred Houtiniquadorpers (posted on 24 June 2009). The post was entitled *Inkomers*¹ (‘Incomers’). The group member, who posted the comment, stated that she experienced mistreatment from Houtiniquadorpers. Her attempts at generating a discussion

¹ The correct spelling is *inkommers*.

failed even though she made several comments narrating her unpleasant experience at the local clinic. She felt that she was a conspicuous *inkommer*, because she was ‘a Capie’ and ‘spoke English’.² However, she proclaimed affection for ‘the community’ and ‘the people’ of Houtiniquadorp. Despite having ‘adopted the community’, she expressed her dismay at being treated as a second-class citizen because she was an *inkommer*. This person’s comments indicated complex articulations of locality and belonging, where people can be treated as outsiders if they have recently moved to the town.

I drew on these observations for the pilot study I conducted in June 2010. The pilot study’s purpose was to gain a sense of the town, its residents, and potential linguistic variation. Through the pilot interviews conducted with six Houtiniquadorpers, I learned more about the local meaning of born-and-bred Houtiniquadorpers, who are called *boorlinge*. For example, Hope (aged 59), Sandi (aged 52), and Lena (aged 48) worked together, and met with me during their tea break to discuss Houtiniquadorp.³ After they spoke extensively about the history of Houtiniquadorp, recent changes and *inkommers*, I asked them to explain what it means to be a *boorling*. The three women grappled at first to define the meaning of a *boorling*. Sandi and Lena had been living in Houtiniquadorp for approximately twenty years and both avoided using the labels *inkommer* or *boorling* to describe themselves. Sandi used the term *burger* (‘citizen’) to describe her residential status, which was not used again by any of the other participants interviewed, and Lena described herself as a Houtiniquadorper *wat nou al vir jare in Houtiniquadorp bly* (‘who has now stayed in Houtiniquadorp for years’). Lena emphasised that one might be a Houtiniquadorper, but the *boorling* status was reserved for those born in the town, like Hope. Hope was the only *boorling* of the three, and she stated that she can claim *boorling* status, not only because she was born in the town, but also because she was from a traditional *boorling* family who had farmland. Their interaction indicated that the *boorling/inkommer* distinctions are more complex than the apparent dichotomy suggests. Furthermore, it indicated that ancestral roots and access to land interact with higher local residential status.

The pilot study furthermore helped to identify linguistic variables that potentially index social meanings in Houtiniquadorp. For instance, Lena and Hope used alveolar-*r* and uvular-*r*, while Sandi only used alveolar-*r*. I observed similar variable use of rhotics with the other pilot

² ‘Capie’ is a vernacular term for a Capetonian, specifically from the Coloured population group.

³ Pseudonyms are used for all the participants.

study participants. Afrikaans has a rhotic phoneme /r/, with uvular-*r* as a regional feature, and alveolar-*r* as the standard form (see Section 1.4). Studying rhotic variation can ‘both be an opportunity and a challenge to variationists’ (Scobbie 2006:337-338), because *r*-sounds are often socially and regionally salient (Van de Velde and Van Hout 2001; Sankoff and Blondeau 2007), have been found to exhibit cross-linguistic patterns of variation and change (Trudgill 1974; Wiese 2011), and are phonetically highly variable with diverse acoustic features (Lindau 1985; Ladefoged and Maddieson 1996).

These preliminary findings, Houtiniquadorp’s colonial mission station history, and recent social changes (especially in terms of in-migration) contributed to my decision to focus on rhotic variation in Houtiniquadorp.

1.2. Background: place, race and Afrikaans in South Africa

In South Africa, *place* has been politicised due to the history of colonialism and apartheid. The National Party (led by a White, Afrikaans-speaking elite who referred to themselves as Afrikaners) came into power in 1948. This saw legislations and policies put in place that institutionalised the social, economic and political discrimination and exclusion of South Africans not deemed White; a practice that has its inception in colonialism. The *South African Population Registration Act* (Act 30 of 1950) used the labels White, Black (African), Coloured, and Indian for South African population groups.⁴ My use of these terms in this dissertation follows their application in official statistics to refer to groups ‘with common characteristics (in terms of descent and history), particularly in relation to how they were (or would have been) classified before the 1994 elections’ (*Statistics South Africa*, cited in Christopher 2005:2307). I therefore use capitals when referring to South African population groups. A qualification is needed: while I acknowledge that race has no genetic reality, race as a social construct is highly salient in societies where people are classified, discriminated against and marginalised because of phenotypical differences (inter alia). My use of the term *race* follows a social constructivist and performative perspective. In this study, I discuss Coloured as a socio-political identity construct, because more than ninety-percent of Houtiniquadorp residents self-identified as Coloured in the 2011 census (StatsSA 2012).

⁴ ‘Indian’ or ‘Asian’ were differentiated into a fourth racial group in an amendment to the *Population Registration Act* at a later stage. The South African Parliament repealed the act with the *Population Registration Act Repeal Act* (Act 114 of 1991).

Racial segregation during apartheid was most strictly enforced in residential areas. Racial groups (or population groups according to post-apartheid South African terminology) are still localised to a large extent. The town where this study is located was demarcated as a Coloured area during apartheid, but the town's history as a *race-place* (Durrheim, et al. 2011) started when a mission station was established at the settlement of Outiniqua Khoekhoe in the early nineteenth-century era of colonialism. I have therefore decided to refer to the town as *Houtiniquadorp*, where the pseudonym reflects the place's pre-colonial heritage. The pseudonym mainly serves to protect the participants' anonymity, since Houtiniquadorp is a relatively close-knit community.

During the apartheid years, Coloured Afrikaans speakers were de facto excluded from the regular social networks that linked White Afrikaans speakers to one another. Fundamentally, the concept of "standard Afrikaans" was usurped to serve as a White identity marker (see Webb 2010; Hendricks 2012). Early research on the Afrikaans spoken by Coloured South Africans stood in the tradition of regional dialectology studies, focusing on ethno-regional dialects spoken in particular areas; since the nineteen-eighties there emerged several studies using the variationist approach established by Labov ([1966] 2006, 1972a). It should be noted that in these studies, ethnicity, race and place were conflated, and most of the studies were conducted in areas that correspond to Van Rensburg's (1989; also see Ponelis 1987) reconstruction of three historical Afrikaans dialects. Two of these dialects are associated with Coloured speakers, viz. *Kaapse-Afrikaans* (*Kaaps* or Cape Afrikaans) spoken in the predominantly urban area around Cape Town, and *Oranjerivier-Afrikaans* (Orange River Afrikaans) spoken in the north-western areas around the northern border of South Africa. Cape Afrikaans is believed to have developed from the Cape Dutch varieties spoken by the slaves and Khoekhoe in the Dutch/British Cape colony (circa late seventeenth-century onward). Orange River Afrikaans developed when Khoekhoe and offspring of mixed relations (between the Dutch and/or Khoekhoe/slaves) migrated to the northern border of the colony (Hendricks 2012:48). Griqua, Rehoboth and Riemvasmaak Afrikaans are the main varieties of Orange River Afrikaans and together with Cape Afrikaans they were grouped under the umbrella-term *Kleurling-Afrikaans* (Coloured-Afrikaans; i.e. a supra-regional construct, see Wolfram 2007). According to Van Rensburg (1989:436-467), *Oorgrens-Afrikaans* (Eastern Frontier Afrikaans) was based on the varieties of seventeenth-century Cape Dutch spoken by White farmers, who migrated away from the Cape into the interior. He has suggested that modern standard Afrikaans developed from this variety, but Grebe (2002) argues convincingly that Van

Rensburg's hypothesis is not grounded in extensive evidence. The terms "Coloured-Afrikaans" and "standard Afrikaans" will be critically discussed in this dissertation. At present, six broad 'geographical dialectic varieties of Afrikaans' are recognised, where Cape Afrikaans is included under 'Western Cape Afrikaans', and Orange River Afrikaans is a broader label for several ethnic and regional varieties (see Hendricks 2012:46-47). Since Houtiniquadorp is located in the South Cape, the variety of Afrikaans spoken there could be classified as Overberg Afrikaans (a regional variety of Western Cape Afrikaans). However, three factors need to be considered: firstly, Cape Town is a prestige centre, and features of *Kaaps* can be used as indices of streetwise urbanity; secondly, extensive geographic mobility contributes to dialect contact in Houtiniquadorp; and thirdly, Houtiniquadorp is close to the Little Karoo and Eastern Cape dialect areas, and features of those two broad regional varieties might also be used in Houtiniquadorp. According to the 2011 census (StatsSA 2012), more than ninety-percent of Houtiniquadorp residents reported to use Afrikaans as a home language.

1.3. Theoretical and conceptual frameworks

This study is located in the variationist paradigm, and follows a third-wave perspective (see below). Variationist sociolinguistics is the branch of linguistics where 'those properties of language which require reference to both external (social) and internal (systemic) factors in their explanation' are studied (Tagliamonte 2006:5). In the variationist framework, independent social variables (macro-social categories such as socioeconomic status, gender, and age) are correlated to linguistic variation through the quantification of a theoretical construct called a *linguistic variable*. A linguistic variable is a phonological, morphological or syntactic feature that has two or more identifiable linguistic forms or realisations (termed variants). The variants of a linguistic variable do not only have different linguistic forms, but they also express different (social) meanings (see Labov [1966] 2006). Quantitative analyses of the distribution of variants provide evidence of both inter-speaker social variation and intra-speaker stylistic variation. According to Eckert (2004b:41), in traditional variationist sociolinguistics 'variables have been selected for study on the basis of their status as being dialect-specific or as reflecting changes in progress and not for their role in the construction of social meaning.' Eckert (ibid.) proposes that incorporating qualitative ethnographic approaches into variationist studies will enable one to produce research that presents a fuller picture of the dynamic production and reproduction of social meanings through the use of linguistic variables. She refers to this perspective as 'third-wave' sociolinguistics.

Three waves of sociolinguistics

Eckert (2012) provides a useful account of changes and developments with regard to the conceptualisation social meaning and linguistic variation in sociolinguistics by using the analogy of three waves. Each wave is defined by methodological and analytical developments. A key text for the first-wave was Labov's study of *The Social Stratification of English in New York City* (Labov [1966] 2006). In this study, Labov made use of a large scale survey method, where he stratified the sample population in terms of socioeconomic class, gender and age. Labov (1994:19) links his own approach to language variation and change to Gauchat (1905), who combined 'empiricism with an explicit theoretical language change agenda' (Kerswill 2010:219-220). The focus of the first-wave is on variation as an *indicator* or *marker* of macro-social categories, and on variation as a central mechanism in language change (see Labov 1972a:178-179).

The second-wave is characterised by variationist studies that incorporate ethnographic methods. As argued by Eckert (2012), locally salient social categories are observed, because ethnographic studies focus on smaller communities, and researchers spend relatively longer periods of time there. These social categories are emic micro-level instantiations of the large-scale etic categories that have guided the first-wave studies. The major difference between first- and second-wave studies is therefore a matter of changes in methodology, rather than a shift between theoretical paradigms (below, I make this distinction clear). Labov's study of Martha's Vineyard (Labov 1963) was the first quantitative *ethnographic* study of linguistic variation. In his Martha's Vineyard study, Labov found that some of the islanders used local phonetic variables to mark in-group membership and solidarity, positioning themselves against tourists and other outsiders. The Martha's Vineyard study predates the New York City study, and this indicates that the 'three waves' of sociolinguistic research do not follow chronologically.

By showing that linguistic variation is governed by ordered heterogeneity and exhibits distribution patterns according to social variables, first- and second-waves studies paved the way for third-wave sociolinguistics. The main perspective of third-wave studies is that linguistic variation is not the *reflection* of social identities and categories (local or otherwise); rather, variation in ways of speaking forms part of broader *social practices*, and 'speakers place themselves in the social landscape through stylistic practice' (Eckert 2012:92-93; also see Bucholtz and Hall 2005; Irvine 2001). According to Eckert, third-wave studies can enable sociolinguistic research to proceed from empirical observations about the meaningfulness of a linguistic variable towards fostering the understanding of how it came to be socially meaningful

in the first place. For example, in Eckert's own (1989a; 2000) ethnographic and sociolinguistic study of language variation in a Detroit high school she found that the students' use of phonetic variables did not merely *reflect* their gender or socioeconomic status. She identified (emic) localised social groupings in the school (labelled by the students as 'Jocks', 'Burnouts', and 'In-betweens') and found that the meaning(s) of the linguistic variables were constructed locally around salient ideological issues (such as conforming or rebelling within the school context). Furthermore, the students used linguistic variation as a *resource* to index social styles, rather than macro-social identities, just as explicitly they do with their different hairstyles, nail polish and clothing. Third-wave studies focus on how speakers as agents *reflexively* employ variables to produce and reproduce contextualised social structures. Reflexivity (as used here) refers to the states of 'agentive consciousness' of people acting in social situations, 'so that language use is appropriate to particular contextual conditions and effective in bringing about contextual conditions'; i.e. reflexivity is part of speakers' *metapragmatic awareness* (Silverstein 2006:462-463). Finally, Eckert (2008) formulates a heuristic called the *indexical field* to show how a linguistic form has multiple and fluid social meanings, which are ideologically linked and activated 'in the situated use of the variable' (2008:454). In this study, I use qualitative and quantitative data to produce indexical fields for Afrikaans /r/.

Ethnography and language ideologies as part of third-wave sociolinguistics

Third-wave sociolinguistics is characterised by the incorporation of an ethnographic approach, where ethnography is not merely a method (see second-wave above), but 'a *theoretical perspective* on human behaviour' (Blommaert 2008:13; his emphasis). Blommaert (2006a:4; Blommaert and Dong 2010:7) argues that ethnography-as-theory 'situates language deeply and inextricably in social life and offers a particular and distinct ontology and epistemology.' The ontology is concerned with the basic definition of what language *is* – i.e. what axioms are accepted with regards to language as a human phenomenon. Blommaert (ibid.) highlights the following key aspects about language: language is socially meaningful, language enables humans to perform as social beings, and language is a resource used by humans in diverse manners according to specific social needs. With ethnography, language is part of contextualised social practice and attains social significance through the role it plays in the performed practices. Because knowledge of such practices is situated within the context of the event, it is understood from the subjective (emic) perspectives of those involved (Blommaert 2007:684). Epistemologically, the nature of the relationship between the researcher and what can be known is therefore grounded in the social life of humans, as expressed by the

ethnographic principle of *situatedness*: ‘every act of language needs to be situated in wider patterns of human social behaviour, and intricate connections between various aspects of this complex need to be specified’ (Blommaert 2006a:5). With ethnography, the aim is not to simplify these intricacies of lived experience. The commitment is instead to give a comprehensive account of complex social phenomena.

Ethnography-as-theory is not a recent position. For example, Blommaert (2015) points out that Hymes’ (1972) ethnography of communication approach and Gumperz’ (1972) interactional sociolinguistics were foundational in promoting the view of language use as contextually situated. The work of these two scholars was also important in the development of the notion of *language ideologies*. As stated by Kroskrity (2006:500):

Dell Hymes (1974:33), for example, called for the inclusion of a speech community’s local theories of speech, and John Gumperz (e.g. Blom and Gumperz 1972:431) often considered local theories of dialect differences and discourse practices and how linguistic forms derived their “social meaning” through interactional use.

Language ideology ‘refers to the situated, partial, and interested character of conceptions and uses of language’ (Errington 2001:110). Therefore, language ideologies refer both to people’s linguistic beliefs, as well as their actual language behaviours and are ‘incomplete, or “partially successful,” attempts to rationalize language usage; such rationalizations are typically multiple, context-bound, and necessarily constructed from the socio-cultural experience of the speaker’ (Kroskrity 2006:496). People show varying degrees of awareness of their own, as well as others, language ideologies, and such ideologies can usually be observed in the way people talk about languages and language users (i.e. metalinguistic comments). I therefore specifically focus on the participants’ metalinguistic comments about local and extra-local ways of speaking.

1.4. Objectives and research questions

This study recognises the discursive relationship between ‘place as location’ and ‘place as meaning’ in a South African context and examines the relationship between geographical place, local social structures and linguistic variation. The main topic of this study is therefore inherently concerned with the ‘politics of place’ that are tied to people’s constructions of localised social meanings through linguistic practices. Historical processes, existing social structures and spatial arrangements all contribute to people’s perceptions about what it means to be from a certain place (see Soja 1996).

Furthermore, there are considerable aspects of linguistic variation in Afrikaans that remain unexplored by previous research. For example, rhotic variation has not been studied from a sociolinguistic perspective, although dialectology studies have discussed uvular-*r* (also called *bry* or *bry-r* ‘burr-*r*’) as a feature of regions in the Western Cape (De Klerk 1968; Boonzaier 1989), and most publications on Afrikaans phonetics refer to the regional, non-standard status of uvular-*r* (see De Villiers and Ponelis 1987; Odendal 1989). Alveolar-*r* is generally accepted to be the standard variant in Afrikaans. There is a need for sociolinguistic research on the social patterns of variation in Afrikaans, and this study contributes to the field of Afrikaans variationist sociolinguistics through the analysis of rhotic variation. This dissertation’s main objective is therefore to study the social meanings of (r) as a linguistic variable.

Research questions

The research is guided by the following main research question:

How do people in Houtiniquadorp use the Afrikaans (r) to index locality, belonging, and other forms of social meanings, particularly in the context of social and geographic mobility?

The main research question is explored through the following sub-questions:

What are Houtiniquadorpers own perspectives on local, extra-local, and supra-local ways of speaking (i.e. what can the participants’ metalinguistic comments tell us about language ideologies and the social meanings of (r) variation)?

How do macro-social categories correlate with (r) variation (i.e. what are the distribution patterns of (r) variation)?

How does (r) variation play out during the interview interactions (i.e. how are the social meanings of (r) created in contextually-situated language use)?

1.5. Research design and methods

In this study, I mainly used sociolinguistic interviews as research method in a research design that foregrounds the contextually situated nature of speech. The interviews were semi-structured and informed by information I gathered through participant observation during the approximately two months I spent in the town. The topics we discussed were concerned with the participants’ personal history, their experiences of Houtiniquadorp and its residents, their

knowledge of Houtiniquadorp history, and their opinions of language use in Houtiniquadorp and the rest of South Africa. Demographic information, such as age, occupation, place of birth, and current place of residence, was also gathered.

Houtiniquadorpers' awareness of different socioeconomic statuses was observed in the interviews and was predominantly related to different neighbourhoods in the area. One participant explained that the *meer gegoede* ('more well-off') residents largely reside in Bergview, while the poorest residents live in the Scheme (from 'housing-scheme'). Old Dorp is the oldest neighbourhood and forms the historical heart of the town. For this study, the socioeconomic profiles of Houtiniquadorp neighbourhoods are assessed on the basis of the 2011 census (using levels of education, household income and employment). The three neighbourhoods are used as proxies for socioeconomic status. The local social category involving residential status focuses on the different kinds of *boorlinge* and *inkommers*. Finally, four age cohorts and gender (men and women) form the other social variables. The linguistic variable is the Afrikaans (r), with alveolar-*r* and uvular-*r* as variants. I also consider zero-*r* as a phonologically conditioned variant. I interviewed seventy-five participants in total, and conversational style tokens were quantified from the interviews. As part of the interviews, I showed the participants several clip art pictures and asked them to give descriptions. This method is employed to elicit the use of the (r) variable in different phonological environments and to elicit a careful, wordlist style.

Data analyses

To convert the interviews into data, the following software programs were used: Express Scribe, Microsoft Office Word and Excel (2010/2013), MAXQDA 11 (VERBI GmbH.: 1995-2014), and SPSS 13-22 (IBM Corp 2012). The data conversion and processing involved six major steps: (1) transcribing and storing interviews with Express Scribe and Microsoft Word; (2) importing and coding the qualitative interview data in MAXQDA; (4) creating a spreadsheet with participant demographics in Microsoft Excel; (5) exporting spreadsheets to SPSS to generate statistics from the sample group; (6) creating spreadsheets of quantified token variants in Microsoft Excel; and (7) exporting spreadsheets to SPSS to generate descriptive statistics from linguistic data. I used Rbrul (Johnson 2009) and R (R Core Team 2014) to fit regression models on the quantitative data, and SPSS for cluster analyses.

1.6. Dissertation outline

The dissertation consists of two main parts. *Part I* (Chapters Two to Five) discusses the theoretical, contextual (i.e. the physical setting and the Afrikaans sociolinguistic landscape), and methodological aspects pertinent to the study.

In *Chapter Two*, I introduce the theoretical distinction between space and place, and discuss the notion of place identities by drawing on the work of scholars in environmental psychology and sociolinguistics. I discuss key variationist studies to show how place is implicit in the explanations of linguistic variation and social meanings. Finally, I discuss Silverstein's (2003) account of indexical orders, and consider the theoretical applicability of the concept by looking at how scholars such as Johnstone (2013) and Eckert (2008) have applied the notion of indexicality to empirical sociolinguistic data.

Chapter Three describes Houtiniquadorp as a meaningful place, established as a mission station, where notions of locality and belonging have continuously been shaped by the politics of place. I use data from the interviews to show how the participants conceptualise Coloured identity, differentiate between locals as *boorlinge* and *inkommers* as outsiders, and spatialize the town, its residents, and its different neighbourhoods.

Chapter Four is a review of previous research into Afrikaans variation. I consider how ideologies contributed the racialisation of Afrikaans varieties, and discuss a selection of studies that exemplify this point. I then narrow the focus to dialectology studies that focused on Afrikaans /r/ in particular. Given the dearth of research into Afrikaans rhotic variation, I explore the social salience of the sound by discussing laypersons' metalinguistic comments.

The methodology used in the study is explained in *Chapter Five*. I describe the selection of participants and identify the macro-social variables used for the quantitative analysis. The class of rhotic sounds is discussed, and acoustic and articulatory background is supplied about alveolar-*r* and uvular-*r*. I motivate my use of both qualitative and quantitative approaches and relate these to the study's theoretical framework and research questions. I also provide details of the data collection processes and fieldwork practices, before stipulating the statistical methods I used.

In *Part II* (Chapters Six to Eight), I present three different sets of results, which all investigate the indexicality of Afrikaans rhotic variation in Houtiniquadorp. In *Chapter Six*, I discuss the participants' metalinguistic comments to explore how some participants regard

uvular-*r* as local, while others attribute either no social meaning to it, or meanings related to other social aspects. Participants' attitudes towards uvular-*r* as a local sound are explored, while I also consider the participants' views on extra-local ways of speaking.

In *Chapter Seven*, the participants' use of the different (r) variants is quantified, and the statistical results are presented according to macro-social categories and speech styles. I consider interactions between age cohorts and gender, and between neighbourhoods and residential statuses to explore distribution patterns of (r) use. The sample group's (r) use is clustered into two groups of near-categorical users of either variant, and a group of mixed speakers who use both variants. The chapter concludes with a discussion of the indexical field of Afrikaans /r/, and uvular-*r* in specific.

Finally, in *Chapter Eight*, I focus on how individuals use (r) variants to express personal identities, as well as to create moments of meaning in interaction. To situate these individuals in the broader Houtiniquadorp social sphere, I explain the local significance of being from a *boorling* family. I also consider how the indexicality of the variants emerges in interaction, informed by interactional contexts, and how variants are resources that articulate the participants' social personae and senses of belonging to Houtiniquadorp.

The dissertation concludes with *Chapter Nine*, where I provide a general summary of the main findings, implications and limitations of the study, and directions for future research.

PART I

**FRAME AND CONTEXT: SITUATING THE STUDY OF AFRIKAANS RHOTIC
VARIATION**

Chapter 2 A sociolinguistics of place and indexicality

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2.1. Introduction

This chapter discusses the theoretical framework and analytical concepts that inform this study. I discuss place identity as an aspect of social identities, where place is subjectively experienced and socially constructed. Similarly, I explore how other social identities (such as age, gender, etc.) are subjectively experienced social constructs that interact with place. When I refer to social identities as constructs, I do not mean that these structures are artificial or arbitrary. Rather, they have material consequences and are created through social agency, while simultaneously creating social structures that constrain agency. This duality is the basis of Giddens' (1984, 1991) structuration theory, where social structures are produced and reproduced in social actions. Giddens argues that human agency and social structure are not two separate concepts or constructs, but are two ways of considering social action.

The chapter is structured as follows: in Section 2.2, I discuss the notion that place is socially meaningful. I first distinguish between *space* and *place* (as conceptualised by human geographers) and then consider the role of mobility (i.e. migration and time spent in a place). I proceed with a discussion of the politics of place, and place identity (as developed by environmental psychologists). I specifically focus on discourses of place and ideologies of locality and belonging.

The sociolinguistics of place is discussed in Section 2.3. Studies of language use and geographical space traditionally belong to the field of regional dialectology, whereas social dialectology focuses predominantly on language use according to macro-social categorisations such as age, gender and socioeconomic status. I argue that the role of place is omnipresent in some of the key variationist studies, and I discuss how place intersects with other social categories investigated in these studies.

Finally, in Section 2.4 I discuss indexicality as a theoretical approach that allows us to understand linguistic variation as part of social semiotics. I first consider Silverstein's (2003) formulation of indexical orders. Studies that use indexicality have expanded on Silverstein's formulation and have shown its empirical application, most notably Johnstone, Andrus and Danielson (2006; also see Johnstone and Kiesling 2008; Johnstone 2013). Johnstone, et al.'s work is relevant, because they engage with several aspects pertinent to my study, such as how speakers' orientations to place, and the social meanings they associate with linguistic forms, are shaped by their own lived experiences. Another application of Silverstein's indexicality approach is Eckert's (2008) notion of indexical fields. I argue that the indexical field fosters an

understanding of how variants can have multiple and indeterminate meanings for speakers, where the meanings are emergent, contextual, and created in interaction.

2.2. Place, locality and belonging: formulating place, identity, and social meaning

Places as meaningful spaces

Places are objectively treated as being geographically located, determined by longitude and latitude coordinates. Drawing on the work of human geographers, I make the case for place as a subjectively experienced social construct, which speakers can draw on in expressing aspects of their social identities. Casey (1996:14) states that space was traditionally regarded as ‘a neutral, pre-given medium, a *tabula rasa* onto which the particularities of culture and history come to be inscribed, with place as the presumed result.’ Therefore, places are meaningful spaces, being imbued with the geographical facts of their locations and the social history of their inhabitants. In human geography, *place* is used in favour of *space* to emphasise the notion that people turn geographical locations (i.e. spaces) into meaningful places, which are socially constructed, experienced, and interpreted (Kitchin and Thrift 2009:lxvii).

In order to explore the deeper significance of place in human existence and experience, human geographers have turned to the philosophers of phenomenology. One of the main premises of phenomenology is called ‘aboutness’ (see Brentano [1874] 1995): people are conscious *about* something, and being conscious about something ‘constructs a relation between the self and the world’ (Cresswell 2004:22). The phenomenological understanding of place is that people’s conscious experiences *about* place arise from being *in* place, which results in a sense of a located, *emplaced* self in relation to located others. Therefore, Casey (1996:19) argues that

We are never without emplaced experiences [...] We are not only in places but of them. Human beings – along with other entities on earth, are ineluctably place-bound. More even than earthlings, we are placelings, and our very perceptual apparatus, our sensing body, reflects the kinds of places we inhabit.

One is in a place through experiencing the place (perceptually, sensually) – place is therefore not only a social construct, but also a subjective experience. The experience can be direct or physical, but place can also be experienced through *thinking about* an imaginary place (e.g. Utopia).

According to the human geographer Tuan (1977:6-8), experience ‘is a cover-all term for the various modes through which a person knows and constructs a reality’, including the ‘sensorimotor, tactile, visual, and conceptual’. Thus, he argues that people construct places through direct and multi-modal lived experiences within spaces. Tuan’s ([1974] 1990:4) conceptualisation of place as experienced and lived is best expressed by his concept of *topophilia* (lit. ‘love of/for place’), which refers to ‘the affective bond between people and place or setting.’ Such ties vary in intensity and mode of expression. For Tuan, people do not only experience place, but people respond to place through aesthetic, tactile (and sensory in general), or emotional expressions. These expressions are involved in the creation of meaningful places.

I am foregrounding Tuan’s phenomenological treatment of place, because he emphasises the role language plays – in conjunction with psychological, economic and material factors – when it comes to place-making. Tuan (1991:684) states that exploring ‘a wide range of situations and cultural contexts’ shows the various roles played by language in place-making. It is through language that people express their experiences of and perceptions about places (i.e. create discourses of place), and investigating how language is used in place-making enables us

to understand the quality (the personality or character) of place better, for that quality is imparted by, along with visual appearance and other factors, the metaphorical and symbolic powers of language. (Tuan 1991:694)

Tuan’s treatment of place as a social (and mental) construct, which arises from experience and though language, has theoretical implications that I want to draw on in this study. How people talk about places also involves how people experience themselves and others in relation to a locality. It is through language that people express their sense of belonging: discourses about being local or not local can indirectly signal ideologies about belonging and exclusion (i.e. involving power; also relevant is the power to *name* places, see Basso 1984; Tuan 1991). Ideologies are ‘systematic ideas, cultural constructions, commonsense notions, and representations’, which are observable in people’s everyday social practices (Gal 1992:445-446). Ideologies are made visible through discourses, which are the ways people use language to represent their beliefs and ideas and to act in their social worlds (Modan 2007:274; see discussion below).

As stated by Johnstone (2011:211), physical spaces become meaningful human places through discourse: ‘spaces become human places partly through talk, and the meanings of places shape how people talk.’ When treating space as ‘the relative location of objects in the world’ (Entrikin 1991:10), discourses about geographical localities will be objective commentaries or descriptions. However, when place is seen as ‘the meaningful contexts of human action’ (Entrikin *ibid.*), discourses about place will be *jointly formulated* by a variety of social actors and will tell a collective story of how people made it into a meaningful location. Discourses of locality can make the processes of history, social structures, and spatial awareness visible, and these discourses are informed by ideologies about belonging. I draw on these aspects in Chapters Three, Six and Eight.

Place, time, and mobility

Places are tied to history by being ‘redolent with memories of other human beings’ (Morphy 1995:188). Places can evoke a sense of ancestry and rootedness. A collective sense of place can be experienced by a group of people through shared memories and traditions, enacted in the present, but transmitted from the past. The importance of *time* spent at/in a place (i.e. the length of association with a place) points to the connection between temporality, mobility, and spatiality (see Relph 1976; Tuan 1977; Low and Altman 1992). Blommaert (2006b:4) makes the point that current attempts to ‘spatialize’ sociolinguistic theory risk being flawed if time and place are studied separately as different aspects of social life. Wallerstein’s (1998:1) notion of *TimeSpace*, which locks time and space together into a single dimension, allows for the conceptualisation that ‘every social event develops simultaneously in space and in time’ (Blommaert *ibid.*).⁵ People’s *sentiments* (i.e. experiences of attachment) for places can therefore not be fully understood without considering the *sediments* left by historical processes; both aspects are involved in people’s formulation of their own spatial-temporal biographies (Morphy 1995:187). For example, with regards to the *boorling/inkommer* distinction in Houtiniquadorp (introduced in Chapter One), being a *boorling* can be understood as an emic time-space category, which indexes a Houtiniquadorper’s sense of ancestry/history and local belonging. In Chapter Three, I discuss changes in Houtiniquadorp as a place, from the establishment of a mission station up to a post-apartheid residential area, and highlight the tensions between *boorling* residents, who have lived in the area for generations, and more

⁵ A related concept is Bakhtin’s ([1934/1935] 1981) *chronotope* (lit. time-space), which also concerns the inseparability of time and space. *Chronotope* is used to explore the relation between time, space and subjectivity, and how language is used to describe this relation, especially in literary genres.

mobile *inkommers* who migrated to the town. Where *boorling* indexes stability, localness, and belonging, it discursively constructs *inkommer* as change, dislocation, and intrusion. Therefore, a sense of place is not necessarily experienced as rooted or static. Such a view of place would erase the role of migration or geographical mobility in the creation of place as socially meaningful. Arguably, mobility plays a crucial role in the creation of place.

Sheller and Urry (2006:208), referring to the so-called ‘new mobilities’ paradigm in sociology, state that ‘all the world seems to be on the move’, and that we thus need to move from a sedentary to a more fluid approach to place. The type of mobility that I am considering here is the movement of people via migration (or semi-permanent geographical movement; Urry 2007:8). Geographic mobility can be voluntary or forced and involves changes in economic, political, and social relationships (Urry *ibid.*). Mobility is an important theme in the sociolinguistics of globalisation. Blommaert (2010:4-5) argues that the mobility of people implies the mobility of linguistic and sociolinguistic resources. Mobile people complement ‘sedentary’ or ‘territorialized’ patterns of language use with ‘translocal’ or ‘deterritorialized’ forms of language use (Blommaert *ibid.*). In this dissertation, I consider regional accent features to be local resources (sedentary or territorialized; i.e. *emplaced* sounds; see below), while locals who are more mobile have been exposed to extra-local forms (i.e. from outside the region). Furthermore, in-migration involves people moving into an area, bringing extra-local ways of speaking with them. Of specific interest is how local identities and local ways of speaking are maintained, changed, or adapted in the context of dialect contact and mobility. For instance, Britain (2010) investigates the creation of places that are maintained by human interactions and social practices within them. By considering the influence of migration and contact as aspects of geographical interaction, Britain shows that dialect formation and change are discursively linked with socio-geographical changes and the senses of belonging that people experience. Furthermore, on the level of regional dialects, viewing place as a social construct contributes to an understanding of how speakers draw on linguistic features associated with specific regions. In other words, speakers do not only sound regional because of their place of birth, where regional accents directly index their locality; speakers can also *use* regional accent features to index senses of belonging in places where the meanings of locality and belonging are contested and complicated, such as in situations of geographic mobility (see Johnstone 2013). In Chapter Five, I explain my use of residential status as an independent variable that involves both localness and mobility (operationalised around *boorling-inkommer*). There I base my approach on Chambers’ (2000:1) notion of a Regionality

Index (RI), which provides ‘an empirical basis for inferring the sociolinguistic effects of mobility.’

Politics of place and place identities

In South Africa, place has been highly politicised due to the history of colonialism and apartheid. As explained in Chapter One, the population of South Africa was divided into four racial groups – White, Black, Coloured and Indian. The politics of place became most prominent in the *Group Areas Act* (Act 41 of 1950), which saw residential segregation according to the four racial population groups. Thus, localities were divided into separate residential areas, and people living in areas declared as Whites-only were relocated (often forcibly removed) to areas set aside solely for either Coloured, Black or Indian people. These areas were usually spatially distant from White areas and often quite removed from city centres and business districts. The impact of the Act is still visible in South African towns and cities, which in effect constitute race-places. Race-place is ‘a discursive process by which people and place become constructed in relation to each other in race terms’ (Durrheim, et al. 2011:122); i.e. a place becomes associated with the perceived race of the people living there, and people are perceived to have a certain racial identity if they come from a specific place. Ideologies of belonging can therefore be formulated in terms of race *and* place.

Myers (2006:325) states that ‘in sociolinguistics and discourse studies, as in geography, researchers are moving from the assumption that place defines identity, to studies of *the ways participants may make place relevant to their identities in situated interactions*’ (my emphasis). Place identity was first discussed by the environmental psychologists Proshansky, Fabian and Kaminoff (1983). They propose that the role of place in self-identification was considerably neglected in research on human psychological development. Environmental psychology is a broad and interdisciplinary field that focuses on the psychological interplay between humans and their surroundings. However, Proshansky, et al.’s notion of place identity has been criticised for treating place as a macro-sociological facet of self-identity, similar to and on equal footing with categories like gender and socioeconomic status. Twigger-Ross and Uzzell (1996; also see Twigger-Ross, et al. 2003) argue that Breakwell’s (1986) identity process theory offers a stronger theorisation of place as *part of* different identity categories, where place plays a role in identity construction processes. The original definition of place identity as a social identity ‘articulated in terms of place or a specific site’ (Low and Lawrence-Zúñiga 2003:24) thus does not take cognisance of the – mostly implicit – omnipresence of place in

other social identity processes; place intersects with race, socioeconomic status, gender, family, and other social constructs (see Section 2.3).

Social identity, as used by social scientists, is an analytical construct that enables social scientists to categorise people according to demographics and patterns of behaviour. If place identity is used as a social identity construct, reflection is needed on what *identity* means. Versluys (2007:90) argues that identity describes ‘a certain sense of belonging, reflecting people’s need to define themselves and others.’ Inherent in this definition are the notions of individuation and differentiation: people define themselves as belonging to certain categories in the process of individuation (see Castells 2001) and in turn construct categories to which others purportedly belong. Identities, in this sense, are discursively created. *Discursively* offers a double meaning, where identities are constructed by discourses, and identities are discursive, i.e. dynamic, emergent, and multiple.

Modan (2007), and other sociolinguistic scholars such as Becker (2009; see Section 2.3), use the term *place identity* to refer to an aspect of identity tied to locality. The sense of belonging to a specific place can be regarded as the embodiment of locality or *emplacement* (see Casey 1996 above); therefore, a locality forms part of people’s personal as well as social identities. Modan (2007) recognises the inherent ‘politics of place’ that are tied to people’s notions of emplaced social identities. She investigates how different residents of a multi-ethnic, multi-class Washington DC neighbourhood, Mount Pleasant, use language to express varied experiences of place in the neighbourhood. Modan argues for the recognition of the dynamic link between place and social practice and draws on the Marxist philosopher and sociologist Lefebvre’s ([1974] 1991) work on the social production of space. Lefebvre’s conceptualisation of space is that it is a social construct, which is simultaneously perceived (*le perçu*; a physical place), conceived (*le conçu*; a mental place), and lived (*le vécu*; a social place; Lefebvre [1974] 1991:38-41).

Modan (2007) focuses on discourses of place as used by neighbourhood residents when they talk about their sense of Mt. Pleasant as a place and about what kind of resident a legitimate – or illegitimate – Mt. Pleasant person is. She treats discourse as ‘a set of utterances that are part of a linguistic and social context’ (Modan 2007:6). According to her, discourses are circulated through various social contexts, and these discourses are resources that residents in the neighbourhood can draw on, either to reinforce or contest the social positionings of

themselves or others. Modan (2007) finds that through discourses of place, residents in Mt. Pleasant constructed three kinds of local place identities in interactions:

1) various identities of the different neighbourhoods, 2) identities that speakers create for themselves as core community members (centralized identities), and 3) identities that speakers create for others as lesser community members (marginalized identities). (Modan 2007:7)

Mt. Pleasant is a geographical, physical space in the greater urban context of Washington DC. Modan shows how the residents have different subjective experiences in shops, community meetings, street corners and sidewalks; i.e. the neighbourhood itself is comprised of smaller, meaningfully lived places. She relates these experiences to residents' different place identities. For example, in her study, women tend to experience the city as a masculine place (also see Massey 1994). Modan discusses gendered access to urban spaces by looking at the politics of catcalls and the stereotypical (and racist) perception that Latino men harass women walking in the streets. She argues that 'gender and ethnicity are imbricated or tied up in local understandings of what it means to be an urban person' (Modan 2007:89). Modan states that centralised and marginalised place identities were formulated differently among the different ethnic groups and involved social practices related to sanctioned versus non-sanctioned behaviour (e.g. catcalling) in the streets. Furthermore, residents foreground ethno-racial relations, along with gender, language, and socioeconomic status, when talking about the neighbourhood and who legitimately belongs there.

Massey (1994:4) argues that 'the spatial organization of society, [...] is integral to the production of the social, and not merely its result. It is fully implicated in both history and politics.' Race as a socio-political construct interacts directly with Houtiniquadorp as place, where historical and political forces have produced Houtiniquadorp as a specifically Coloured place. In Chapter Three, I discuss Houtiniquadorp's history to show how colonialism (specifically in the form of missions) and apartheid contributed to the politics of Houtiniquadorp as race-place. Furthermore, social changes through in-migration to the town created local politics involving moral behaviour, and social and geographical mobility created different types of neighbourhoods in the town, involving socioeconomic status. In Chapter Five, I explain how I incorporate place identities into a social variable, which I call *residential status*. However, I also focus on the notion that place is involved in discursive positionings and the creation of social meanings, which intersects with social constructs like gender, status, and

as argued above, race (e.g. race-place). I now turn to sociolinguistic studies where place, implicitly or explicitly, plays a role.

2.3. The omnipresence of place in sociolinguistics

In this section, I discuss key sociolinguistic studies to show that place interacts with other social categories in linguistic variation and change. Modan (2007:299) states that within variationist sociolinguistics, ‘people’s orientations to places invariably become part of many analyses at some level, even implicitly.’ She ascribes this connection to the historical link between dialect geography, social dialectology, and variationism. To trace the approaches to place in sociolinguistic studies, one needs to consider these historical developments of the discipline to understand how language was studied with regards to the social and the spatial.

Sociolinguistics was greatly influenced by regional dialectology, which generally focused on describing features of dialects in geographical regions. Coupland (2007:5) states that ‘dialects’ traditionally refer to ‘socially and geographically linked speech variation’; ways of speaking organised in relation to ‘who the speaker is’ in a regional and/or social sense. Traditionally, dialectology was interested in the speech of those presumed to be the most authentic locals (specifically non-mobile, older, rural males or NORMs; see Chambers and Trudgill 1998:29-30). By studying certain dialect features (mainly phonetic, morpho-syntactic or lexical), dialectology promoted the practice of labelling dialects according to places.

On the phonetic level, for instance, when specific linguistic variants become markers or stereotypes of a region, they can inadvertently *bind* ways of speaking to places (localised place-accents). Thus, I propose to refer to regional linguistic features as *emplaced*. Emplaced is derived from *emplacement*; the latter is an abstract concept that involves place-making, types of places, and people’s historical connections with space/place (see Foucault [1967] 1984). It also works from an ontology that human experience takes place *in* place (i.e. emplaced experiences, see Casey 1996 in Section 2.2). I am making an extension from people as emplaced, to their ways of speaking (i.e. regional varieties) as reflecting their emplacement. Furthermore, regional varieties are emplaced through language ideologies, where ‘people may link the identity of a place with particular forms of speech’ (Johnstone 2010:391). The associations that people make between variant linguistic forms and geographical place are ‘according to the belief that dialects map naturally onto places’ (Johnstone 2013:103; also see Johnstone 2004).

The notion of emplaced language is also used in linguistic landscape research. For example, Blommaert (2014a:3, my emphasis) states that ‘the linguistic landscape refers to

visual language *emplaced* in the neighborhood.’ Emplaced forms of language, according to Blommaert (ibid.), are therefore indexicals, since they ‘point toward the social, cultural, material and ideological contexts that generated them and in which they operate’ (see Section 2.4). Instead of linguistic landscapes, dialectology is, inter alia, interested in linguistic soundscapes (i.e. a place’s acoustic ecology). Emplaced variants form part of a recognisable set of regional dialect features, which in turn can become enregistered and thus ‘differentiable within a language as a socially recognized register of forms’ (Agha 2003:231). I am using *emplaced* instead of *enregistered*, because I want to draw the focus to the regimentation of specific dialect features to particular localities/places. I work with the definition of *placed* as something positioned in relation to something else, or situated in a particular location. *Emplaced* refers to the semiotic processes that result in something *being* placed or positioned, which implies *emplacement* (referring to the connective state of something in a certain place relative to other places; see Foucault [1967] 1984). The difference is indicated by the *em-* prefix and is meant to highlight the socially constructed nature of regional accents as linguistic features that are encased or enveloped by place. Emplaced sounds can give the impression of the immobility or constrained transferability of regional accents, seeming to be bounded to the regions where their speakers are purportedly located. However, people are mobile, and it is particularly in the context of mobility – when speakers come into contact with other regional varieties – that the emplaced nature of an emplaced sound becomes more salient. It is the connections or associations that speakers make between a place, its speakers, and their local ways of speaking (i.e. local accent) that lead to the indexicality of emplaced sounds as regional markers or stereotypes. The remainder of this section focuses on the role of place in variationist studies, which inherently work with emplaced variants.

Labov and linguistic change in changing places: the island and the city

Labov spearheaded many of the theoretical and methodological developments in variationist sociolinguistics. By turning their focus to urban social dialectology, variationist sociolinguistics developed as a discipline that studied linguistic variation according to social structures of speech communities within larger socio-*spatial* frameworks (see Trudgill 1974). Sociolinguistic variation is typically conceived of as different ways of ‘doing or saying the same thing’ (Chambers and Trudgill 1998:50), investigated through the construct of the sociolinguistic variable. A sociolinguistic variable encapsulates a set of variants, and the frequency use of variants is correlated to independent linguistic or extra-linguistic variables (Labov 1966:15). The independent extra-linguistic (i.e. social) variables are social categories

such as socioeconomic status, gender and age, ethnicity, race, religion, region, etc. The dependent variable is the linguistic form used in different Labovian speech styles (Speech Style is an independent variable representing the different speech events during the sociolinguistic interview; see Chapter Five).

Labov's (1962, 1963) study of Martha's Vineyard was explicitly concerned with the linguistic consequences of place, and he showed that speakers' senses of place and belonging interact with other social categories. Martha's Vineyard is an island situated off the north-eastern mainland of the United States. Labov found that Martha's Vineyard fishermen used a centralised variant of (ay) not simply because they were Vineyarders (i.e. born on the island), but to index the social characteristics of what they believe a Vineyarder is in opposition to perceived incursions of outsiders from the mainland. Labov (1963) argues that the English-descent fishermen's use of centralised (ay) was related to their strong desire to preserve their maritime background and tradition and was an act of resistance toward 'outsiders' or non-locals. Labov's study is an example of how a vowel can be used 'as part of a local ideological struggle through the local construction of meaning in variation' (Eckert 2008:454).

Blake and Josey (2003) revisited the island forty years later and found that there had been an on-going change in progress, with (ay) centralisation decreasing. As the small fishing communities dwindled and became dominated by large fishing conglomerates, 'so too [did] a linguistic change in progress occur, away from a linguistic marker that has been crucial in identifying a "typical old Yankee" community' (Blake and Josey 2003:482). However, Pope, Meyerhoff and Ladd (2007) argue that Blake and Josey restricted their study to speakers from one area (Chilmark) and therefore did not actually replicate Labov's original study. Pope, et al.'s trend study (i.e. real-time) reproduced Labov's survey methods and sampling procedures, and they interviewed speakers throughout the island. Contrary to Blake and Josey's findings, Pope, et al. found that (ay) and (aw) index similar social meanings to what Labov found in the nineteen-sixties. Therefore, although places change with concomitant social changes, linguistic variants that index locality and belonging can sometimes prove to be robust.

After Martha's Vineyard, Labov built on his approach to synchronic linguistic variation and his theorising of a diachronic language change with a large-scale survey in New York City. Labov's ([1966] 2006) study – *The Social Stratification of English in New York City* – was foundational in establishing the variationist paradigm. The New York study looked at the New York vowel system as a whole, as well as non-rhoticity (see Becker 2009 discussed below).

According to Labov, New York posed spatial and social challenges: not only was the city's population far greater than the island, the types of socioeconomic stratifications of its residents and neighbourhoods were also different. His main concern was the stratification of linguistic variables according to socioeconomic class (see below). Of specific interest to him was the fact that groups of New Yorkers were 'participating in rapid linguistic changes which lead to increased diversity, rather than uniformity' (Labov [1966] 2006:6). He argues that the linguistic diversity in New York is related to socioeconomic stratification:

For a working class New Yorker, the social significance of the speech forms that he or she uses, in so far as they contain the variables in question, is that they are not the forms used by middle class speakers, and not the forms used by upper middle class speakers. The existence of these contrasting units within the system presupposes the acquaintance of speakers with the habits of other speakers. Without necessarily making any conscious choice, they identify themselves in every utterance by distinguishing themselves from other speakers who use contrasting forms. (Labov [1966] 2006:6)

Furthermore, in-migration played a decisive role in the New York study, which compelled Labov to redefine the concept of 'native speaker' and 'New Yorker.' Drawing on work in language acquisition, he redefined native speaker 'to include only those who had come to the United States before they were five, and the concept of "New Yorker" to include only those who had come to New York before the age of eight' ([1966] 2006:119). Labov ([1966] 2006:130) used a socioeconomic index to show how linguistic variables are socially stratified; for instance, he found that lower-working class speakers used non-rhoticity more frequently. Furthermore, he found a direct link between place (in the form of neighbourhoods) and socioeconomic class: where any given neighbourhood may differ linguistically from another, such differences correlate with socioeconomic class differences in the population ([1966] 2006:400). He exemplifies this statement by stating that labelling the variety spoken by residents of Brooklyn, NY, as 'Brooklynese' is actually a geographic label for working-class New York City speech.

Labov ([1966] 2006:3) states that his work investigates 'language within the social context of the community in which it is spoken', and the social contexts of his speakers were greatly influenced by the neighbourhoods they live in (which intersect with socioeconomic class), as well as their own place identities. Becker (2009) highlights the role played by place identity in her study, which revisits one of Labov's New York neighbourhoods, the Lower East Side of Manhattan. She finds that the group of White residents she studied used the New York

feature highlighted by Labov, post-vocalic *r*-lessness, more frequently when discussing topics concerning their neighbourhood. Becker (2009) states that non-rhoticity is imbued with local social meaning and therefore indexes place identity for some New Yorkers. Becker concludes that a social practice approach to sociolinguistic variation reveals how Lower East Siders use /r/ to formulate place identities that position themselves as authentic neighbourhood residents. These place identities arise when speakers want ‘to project an authentic local persona’, and it shows how place identities ‘may have implications for language change’ (Becker 2009:653). Becker’s study in the Lower East Side of the new millennium highlights that speakers associate social meanings to non-rhoticity, linked to locality and belonging. Becker argues that the gentrification of the area and increased in-migration shifted the association of non-rhoticity to index authenticity along with locality. Long-time residents can use non-rhoticity to differentiate between themselves and the gentrifying newcomers.

Social networks and place

In New York City, Labov ([1966] 2006) found that neighbourhoods may differ linguistically from another. Place interacts with socioeconomic class, and neighbourhoods are deemed ‘working-class’ or ‘upmarket’, depending on the socioeconomic status of their residents. Sociolinguists have also found that people have different kinds of social networks in different types of neighbourhoods. Studies of social networks inadvertently deal with notions of locality and belonging, where networks are created in places (physical or virtual). L. Milroy (1980) investigated whether the density and multiplexity of speakers’ social networks can predict variable usage, where more dense and multiplex networks correlate with higher use of a local variant. She focused on three working-class neighbourhoods in Belfast, Northern Ireland – Ballymacarret, Clonard, and the Hammer – and residents in each neighbourhood had different kinds of social networks. Ballymacarret had more dense and multiplex networks than the other two, especially among men, because they did not have to leave the neighbourhood for employment or socialising; most of their social interactions revolved around the neighbourhood. In the other two neighbourhoods, men had to look for employment outside of the neighbourhood and therefore had less dense and multiplex networks. Milroy’s study, although with its primary focus on social networks as interpersonal relations, is an example of a classic sociolinguistic study where people’s attachment to a specific neighbourhood can contribute to their sense of place (also see Johnstone 2011:210-211).

Social networks tied to place can be linked to specific linguistic variants, where more local ways of speaking are maintained and used to signal in-group membership, especially

when the local variety differs from the regional standard. As stated by L. Milroy and J. Milroy (1992:4), it is likely that when a given group is less integrated into the wider society, group members will use less supra-local and standard forms and instead maintain a distinctively local way of speaking. Therefore, local variants are available as indices for insider status or a localised place identity. The concomitant influence of social and geographic mobility on people's social networks in neighbourhoods should also be considered, since neighbourhoods change with people moving into, out of, or around in the area.

Gender and place

According to Eckert (1989:245), one aspect of social theory that sociolinguistics most frequently draws on is the processes involved in the construction of socioeconomic classes. Eckert (1989) argues that other social categories (such as age and gender) also require the same theoretical reflection. Traditionally, sex was viewed as a biological binary and hence an uncomplicated way to categorise people as males or females. Sociolinguistic studies have often made use of 'male' and 'female' as fixed, a priori categories and found different patterns of language use according to these groups. Such findings led to the assumption that males and females use language differently, because males or females have inherent psychological, social, and cultural differences (Edwards 2012:35). Since the nineteen-eighties, sociolinguists such as Coates (1986), Tannen (1990), and Cameron (1995) have argued that gendered identities are social constructs and that speakers are *socialised* into performing gendered forms of language use. Gendered identities are produced according to cultural norms of 'masculinity' and 'femininity', and these norms are created through the repetition of acts across generations. As argued by Butler (1990:190), gender as a social identity is the result of repeated 'styles of the flesh' that 'congeal over time', thus giving the impression of gender as a natural inner essence.

Eckert (1988) has shown how language use as social practice constructs gendered identities. With her ethnographic study in a suburban Detroit high school, she initially correlated phonetic variation with gendered groups. However, when she focused on two peer groups, the 'Jocks' and the 'Burnouts', she realised that gender, class, power relations, and place interact in dynamic emic identity constructions among the students. Eckert re-examined her data, and she and McConnell-Ginet (1992, 2003) subsequently argued that within each peer group, gendered identity is constructed differently and interacts in divergent ways with orientation to place (city versus suburb) and socioeconomic class (see Eckert 1997a, 2012). For example, the suburban Burnouts adopted linguistic variants used by inner-city urban youth; the meaning(s) of the linguistic variables was constructed locally around salient ideological issues

(such as conforming or rebelling within the school context and orientating to the norms of the suburb versus the city).

Eckert's study is an example of how research on gender has moved from the 'older' or 'modernist' concept of gender as binary *difference* towards a 'postmodern' conception of *diversity* in gendered and sexual identities and practices (see Cameron 2005:482). Another example is Leap's (1996) study in Washington DC, which introduces sexuality as an aspect of gendered identities. Leap shows that diversity in sexual identities is created through the intersection of sexuality, race, and place. He asked White and Black gay men to draw and discuss maps that visually represent their experiences and constructions of 'Gay DC', and have found that there are salient differences between the two groups' spatial awareness: different parts of the city were highlighted, and Gay DC was discussed in ways that indicated the dynamic interaction between not only sexualities, but also ethnoracial identities and locality.

Race and place

In the United States, race as a social construct interacts directly with place, where neighbourhoods are perceived and experienced as racialised spaces (see Leap 1996; Modan 2007). In South African sociolinguistic studies, the conflation of race and place is equally common, given the country's recently racially segregated past. With varieties of South African English, Mesthrie (2012) investigates the interaction between racial categories and place by looking at the linguistic variable (t), which has alveolar and dental variants. He focuses on the regional characteristics of two of South Africa's five major varieties of English, as spoken by Coloured and Indian speakers living in five cities: Johannesburg, Cape Town, Durban, and Port Elizabeth. Mesthrie found that the (t) variable used by Coloured and Indian speakers shows layers of regional variation, where race and regional dialects interact and therefore challenge 'the simplistic racial categorisation of South Africa in former times': 'Identities are based not just on ethnicity, but also on a sense of place that gives due regard to dialect demography' (2012:391). Mesthrie shows that supra-regional homogeneity of racial or ethnic language varieties assumed in earlier studies does not bear out in current contexts of social and geographic mobility. His study foregrounds problems caused by 'the supra-regional myth', which Wolfram (2007:2) argues has been inadvertently created by sociolinguists studying African American English (see Chapter One). Wolfram (2007) addresses the supra-regional myth by showing how perceptual experiments point to the intersection of race and regions in dialect identification.

2.4. Linguistic forms, social meanings, and indexicality as semiotic process

Silverstein's indexical orders

The notion of *indexical order* refers to semiotic processes whereby linguistic forms become associated with social meanings. It was developed by the linguistic anthropologist Silverstein and is based on the philosopher Peirce's (1931-1936) triadic approach to the sign. I use the term 'indexicality approach' to refer to Silverstein's (2003) theorisation of how social meanings of linguistic forms are interpreted by speakers through *orders* (i.e. layers) of contextual and co-textual associations.

In the structuralist tradition, Saussure ([1922] 1983) described the linguist sign as a complex that consists of a concept (the signified) and a sound image (the signifier). According to Saussure, there is an arbitrary relation between the sound image and the concept it signifies: for example, the word 'tree' is a sign, combining the concept of a tree (large leaf-bearing plant) and the signifier [tri:] in English (see Saussure [1992] 1983). The tenet is that the signifier can be different (such as Afrikaans *boom* 'tree'), but the concept remains the same. However, Peirce has proposed a different formulation of the linguistic sign, where the linguistic sign is but one component of semiosis – 'the process of signs becoming signs' – and semiotics – the study of the processes through which signs become meaningful (Merrell 2001:32).

According to Peirce, there are three components to semiosis: the representamen (the sign that can stand for something), the object (the thing the sign stands for) and the interpretant (the meaningful link created between the sign and the object; Peirce 1931-1936:2.228). The relationship between object and representamen, as the second component of Peirce's sign, consists of three possible sign-relations: iconic, indexical, and symbolic (Peirce 1955:102-115). These three types of sign-relations are defined as follows (adapted from Merrell 2001:31):

- Iconic. A sign relates to its semiotic object by virtue of some resemblance or similarity with it, such as a map and the territory it maps.
- Indexical. A sign relates to its semiotic object through some actual or imagined connection. A weathervane moves around to point (indicate, index) the direction of the wind due to the action of the wind.
- Symbolic. A sign whose interpretation is a matter of social convention.

Peirce's concept of the indexical sign-relation is specifically important for studying linguistic variation as 'a robust social semiotic system' (Eckert 2012:87). Apart from being a mechanism for linguistic change, variation of linguistic forms has social meanings that *point to* aspects of socially or culturally meaningful contexts (Ahearn 2012:28).

A further distinction is made between referential indexicality and non-referential (or 'pure') indexicality, where non-referential indexicals are the focus of Silverstein's indexicality approach. A referential indexical is a sign-relation that depends on the context of the utterance for its pragmatic meaning to be clear. For example, deictic expressions (e.g. 'you,' 'I,' 'that woman,' 'then,' 'now,' 'here,' 'there') are referential indexicals and refer to particular persons, moments in time or places in space, in relation to the speaker as deictic centre (i.e. the speaker as reference point; see Fillmore 1975). Referential indexicals are also called 'shifters', because they can, at times, enter into symbolic sign-relations (Silverstein 1976/1995:201; following Jakobson 1957, 1990). The reference of shifters changes according to the immediate context of the discourse: there is no specific *here*, because *here* can also be *there* depending on the position of the person making the utterance. Similarly, the person that is the reference of *I* changes if the speaker changes, since *I* strictly refers to the current speaker in the speech context. Non-referential indexicals are based on association or contiguity (e.g. 'smoke indexes fire'), and linguistic forms occur in contiguity with persons, situations and other signs. In sociolinguistic terminology, it is specifically aspects of social meaning (e.g. interactional stances, styles or personae) and identity categories that are indexed by sociolinguistic variables (as linguistic forms).

Silverstein (2003) argues that we can distinguish various orders of indexicality, where the index itself has firstness (*n-th-order*), secondness (*(n+1)-th-order*), thirdness (*((n+1)+1-th-order*). In the indexical orders, language users associate different degrees of social meaning between the linguistic form (as a sign) and micro-social context-of-use. The first-order (*n-th*) is on the pragmatic level, the second-order (*(n+1)-th*) is on the metapragmatic level, and the third-order (*((n+1)+1-th*) involves metapragmatics on the level of ideological and conventionalised discourses (Lacoste, et al. 2014:4-5). Metapragmatic awareness is a speaker's ability to recognise the usual or expected context for the use of certain linguistic expressions; this awareness is tied to certain properties of the linguistic signs (e.g. as markers of politeness) that presuppose or entail contexts-of-use (Silverstein 1981, 1985, 1993). Presupposition, in Silverstein's definition, is 'appropriateness-to-context', where the meaning of the index is 'already established between interacting sign-users', albeit implicitly (Silverstein 2003:195).

With entailment, a sign's 'effectiveness-in-context' is brought to being (i.e. created) by the usage of the indexical sign. Presupposition therefore works on the association of the indexical to context-of-use, and with entailment, the sign-user creates a new context-of-use (Silverstein *ibid.*; also see Eckert 2008 discussed below).

To illustrate the indexical orders in the process of meaning-making, Silverstein (2003:204-211) uses the T/V distinction of politeness (the use of different second-person pronouns when addressing someone, e.g. French *tu* and *vous*, German *du* and *Sie*). At first-order level, the choice between the two pronouns shows deference in interaction; i.e. the choice of the pronoun is pragmatic, because it only has meaning in a context that requires one to express politeness and/or formality/informality. Thus, T/V is not a first-order index of power/solidarity (*contra* Brown and Gilman 1960); on the first-order, the social meaning of the pronouns is determined by the pragmatics of the social context (e.g. formal politeness with strangers). With a second-order, metapragmatic indexicality, T and V acquire additional meanings through their contiguity with types of speakers and contexts; T can now index solidarity and V social distance. The use of either pronoun thus attains social meaning beyond politeness, for instance, where the context presupposes the T form, and the speaker instead uses V, and vice versa; T/V thus carries multiple social meanings. Through its contextual use, speakers develop metapragmatic awareness about the T/V forms.

Silverstein (2003) uses the loss of T/V distinction in English as an example of how the first-order indexical can become a second-order indexical of solidarity/distance and then a third-order indexical through ideologically-driven interpretation. In seventeenth-century North America, some speakers – predominantly from the *Religious Society of Friends* or Quakers – started to oppose the social distinctions created by using either *thou/thee* (T) or *ye/you* (V). In an attempt to create social equality, the Quakers avoided *ye/you* (V) and used *thou/thee* as a 'system of counter-honorification' (Silverstein 2003:211). Where 'honorification' is the distancing deference associated with politeness or respect, 'counter-honorification' refers to 'what may unite and integrate, rather than maintain boundary (identification)' (see Hymes 1996:76). Therefore, Quakers addressed everyone as *thou/thee* (T). For non-Quakers, using *thou/thee* thus started to attain third-order indexicality and became conventionally associated with *being a Quaker* – hence, they started to avoid the T-form and used V (i.e. *ye/you*; see Silverstein 1985:242-251). The T/V example shows how new meanings build on previous meanings and how pragmatic usage in context gives rise to metapragmatic (i.e. ideological) interpretations. The possibility of new meanings is always inherent, as the sign moves from

first-order representation, to second-order association, and to third-order conventionalisation. A third-order indexical can also become a first, and the semiotic process continues; i.e. the indexical sign-relation (*n-th*) becomes the object of another sign (*n+1-th*), which again can be an object for another sign (*(n+1)+1-th*). And as with the Quaker T/V example, in time certain indexical meanings can become bleached or lost: English speakers today use ‘you’ without attaching any of the previously possible indexical associations.

According to this model, indexical meaning-making does not stop at a third level. The potential is there for ‘unlimited further orders of indexicality’, which motivates the continuous process of changing linguistic patterns and ideologies (Woolard 2008:437-438). As stated by Joseph (2010:17), Silverstein emphasises the interplay between ‘a particular level in the order (*n*) and the one just above it (*n + 1*),’ because it is in this interaction that social meanings are dialectically constructed. This interplay is referred to by Silverstein as ‘ethno-pragmatics’, and the objective of this approach to meaning-making is to analyse the *n-th*-order indexical ‘as a direct (causal) consequence’, arising from speakers’ ‘degree of (institutionalized) ideological engagement’ – i.e. speakers’ awareness of the ideologies that contribute to the layered (i.e. ordered) and changing indexical meaning of the index (Silverstein 2003:194). The concept of indexical orders shows us ‘how to relate the micro-social to the macro-social frames of analysis of any sociolinguistic phenomenon’ (Silverstein 2003:193) The micro-social is the context of situated interaction between speakers, where social meanings are created and transmitted; macro-social ‘frames’ (i.e. structures of social meaning that construct social categories) are the products of the micro-social. According to Silverstein (2003), it is problematic to a priori accept the existence of macro-social categories, because one then overlooks the contextually specific social processes that gave rise to them.

Application of Silverstein’s indexical orders: place, mobility and individuals

Silverstein (1976/1995, 2003) linked indexical orders to Labov’s (1972a) variable hierarchy of indicators, markers and stereotypes. Johnstone, Andrus and Danielson (2006) draw on the comparison between Silverstein and Labov’s interpretation of variable language use in their own research of linguistic variation in Pittsburgh. They explain that with the first-order, stable associations (co-occurrence patterns or correlations) exist between demographic and/or regional features and linguistic usages; linguistic variables are ‘indicators’ (in Labov’s terminology) of social meaning. An indicator does not show variation according to casual or careful speech styles, since speakers are not overtly aware of its social meaning (Labov 1972a:178). In the second-order, linguistic variables become available as sociolinguistic

‘markers’ of social meanings (such as class or place, etc.). A marker is a variable that shows variation according to speech styles, because the use of one variant or another is socially meaningful. According to Labov (1972a:179), speakers do not necessarily show overt awareness of a marker or its social meanings. Rather, speakers have metapragmatic awareness about markers and the social contexts of use (e.g. speakers associate one variant with informal contexts and another variant with formal contexts). A third-order indexical corresponds to a stereotype, which is a linguistic form that speakers are overtly aware of and comment on (usually negatively if the form has been stigmatised; Labov 1972a:180). According to Labov, a stereotype is often a misrepresentation of how speakers believe others speak, and stereotypes therefore involve value judgements and ideologies about the presumed social characteristics of the speakers associated with the stereotypical linguistic form.

Johnstone, et al. (2006; also see Johnstone 2013) use Silverstein’s indexical orders to explain how linguistic variables accrue social meaning. They argue that in their Pittsburgh study, social and geographical mobility contribute to first-order variables (indicators) becoming second-order variables. Social and geographic mobility can cause that speakers become aware of the social meanings of specific linguistic variants. For instance, increased geographic mobility acts as a catalyst and contributes to people coming ‘into contact with other ways of speaking’ (Johnstone, et al. 2006:78). The result of such contact, as argued by Silverstein (1998:415), is that language users become increasingly aware of their local ways of speaking and ‘their related “groupness”’ that the use of a linguistic form can index (see Section 2.2 and Labov [1966] 2006 in Section 2.3). Johnstone, et al. (2006:79) foreground the interaction between indexicality, mobility, and place, where ‘the links between social groups and languages’ becomes unstable. Certain variants can be recognised as markers of socioeconomic class (second-order), before being increasingly regarded as stereotypical features of a dialect called ‘Pittsburghese’ (third-order).

Johnstone and Kiesling (2008; also see Johnstone 2013) investigate whether monophthongal (aw) indexes local group identities in Pittsburgh. In Pittsburgh, the standard American diphthong (aw) in a word like ‘house’ is pronounced [ha:s]. They used a matched guise test (perception task) to test the metalinguistic awareness of speakers and found that twenty-five out of thirty-six speakers identified the monophthongal (aw) as the local-sounding variant. However, only about a quarter of those who perceived monophthongal (aw) as local used the variant during their previously recorded interviews with Johnstone. Many speakers who monophthongised either did not associate the variant with Pittsburgh speech, or could not hear a difference between the two variants. Thus, there was a gap between identifying a feature

as local and using it: those who used it did not necessarily notice it; those who noticed it, did not necessarily use it. Their findings point to the role played by metapragmatic awareness in indexical orders (see Silverstein 2003 above).

Johnstone and Kiesling (2008:18) argue that we need ‘a more nuanced account of how social indexicality and the pronunciation of (aw) are connected’ to explain these findings. Therefore, they selected four individuals with different life histories, related to locality and mobility, to explore the possible indexical meanings of this variable, as expressed in metalinguistic comments. For one of these individuals, Esther R., monophthongal (aw) had no second-order indexical meaning; i.e. monophthongal and diphthongal variants of (aw) sounded the same to her and she did not attribute any social meaning to the variable (Johnstone and Kiesling 2008:19). With the other three individuals, monophthongal (aw) had a variety of second- and third-order indexical meanings, not all of which were connected with localness; for example, the local variant was also associated with rural speech, incorrectness or carelessness. Johnstone and Kiesling (2008:24) argue that the meaning assigned by *hearers* to a linguistic form should not be confused with the meaning *users* would assign to it. Put differently, because monophthongal (aw) is a linguistic stereotype of Pittsburgh speech and thus an *emplaced* sound, it does not entail that it is necessarily an index of locality for Pittsburghers. Thus, an emplaced sound, such as monophthongal (aw), can have multiple non-place meanings for the speakers of Pittsburghese (see Johnstone 2013). Furthermore, the different indexical values reflected the individuals’ different lived experiences. Johnstone and Kiesling (2008) consider education, social and geographic mobilities, and generational differences as key factors underlying lived experiences; i.e. types of schooling, whether a person moved around, and types of social networks (see Section 2.3).

Finally, Johnstone and Kiesling conclude that a phenomenological approach fosters an understanding of the multiplicity and indeterminacy of indexicality. They define the phenomenological approach to indexicality as ‘an approach that starts by examining people’s sociolinguistic worlds from their experiential perspectives’ (2008:25). As stated by them:

Since every speaker has a different history of experience with pairings of context and form, speakers may have many different senses of the potential indexical meanings of particular forms. Indexical relations are forged in individuals’ phenomenal experience of their particular sociolinguistic worlds. (Johnstone and Kiesling 2008:29)

Johnstone and Kiesling’s focus on the individual departs from conventional variationist sociolinguistics, which has focused mainly on social groups and social conventions.

Sociolinguists look for linguistic forms as indicators, markers and stereotypes in a macro-social world, and Johnstone and Kiesling show that speakers' social uses of linguistic forms involve broader language ideologies that also reflect their own personal histories and experiences. Thus in this study, I also focus on individuals within the broader study of social patterns of variation (see Chapters Six and Eight).

Eckert's formulation of the indexical field

Eckert (2008) developed the idea of the indexical field to show how speakers use linguistic variation to situate themselves within a field of potential social meanings: 'an indexical field is a constellation of meanings that are ideologically linked' (2008:463). Eckert draws on Silverstein's (2003) notion of indexical orders, and she argues that the potential indexicality of linguistic forms are activated 'in the situated use of the variable' (2008:454). She explains this as follows:

Variables have indexical fields rather than fixed meanings because speakers use variables not simply to reflect or reassert their particular pre-ordained place on the social map but to make ideological moves. (Eckert 2008:464)

Since the indexical field involves ideologies about contexts and types of speakers (i.e. metapragmatics), the field is not fixed but fluid and thus 'has the potential to change [...] by building on ideological connections. Thus variation constitutes an indexical system that embeds ideology in language and that is in turn part and parcel of the construction of ideology' (Eckert 2008:454).

Eckert (2008:462) refers to studies by Labov (1963; see Section 2.3) and Zhang (2008), which established that variables associated with geographic dialects on the macro-level can have different micro-level interactional meanings based in local ideologies and interactional contexts. She shows that in these two studies, ideologies of locality and belonging are involved in the creation of social meanings, interacting with other macro-social categories such as ethnicity and gender. To further illustrate an indexical field, Eckert discusses the work of Campbell-Kibler (2007a, 2007b) on (ING) – a classic sociolinguistic variable. Campbell-Kibler used a matched-guise study to demonstrate that hearers associate the velar variant [-ing] (e.g. 'catching') with education, intelligence, and articulateness. The velar form is perceived to be the full form (i.e. effortful) and the apical form is regarded as a reduced form (i.e. lack of effort, e.g. 'catchin'). 'Lack of effort' can be further interpreted as a 'laziness, not caring, or even rebellion, and by extension, impoliteness' (Eckert *ibid.*). Extending her study, Campbell-

Kibler (2007b) found that hearers also judge the apical form as casual or relaxed. Figure 2.1 shows the indexical field that Eckert construed, based on these potential meanings for (ING).

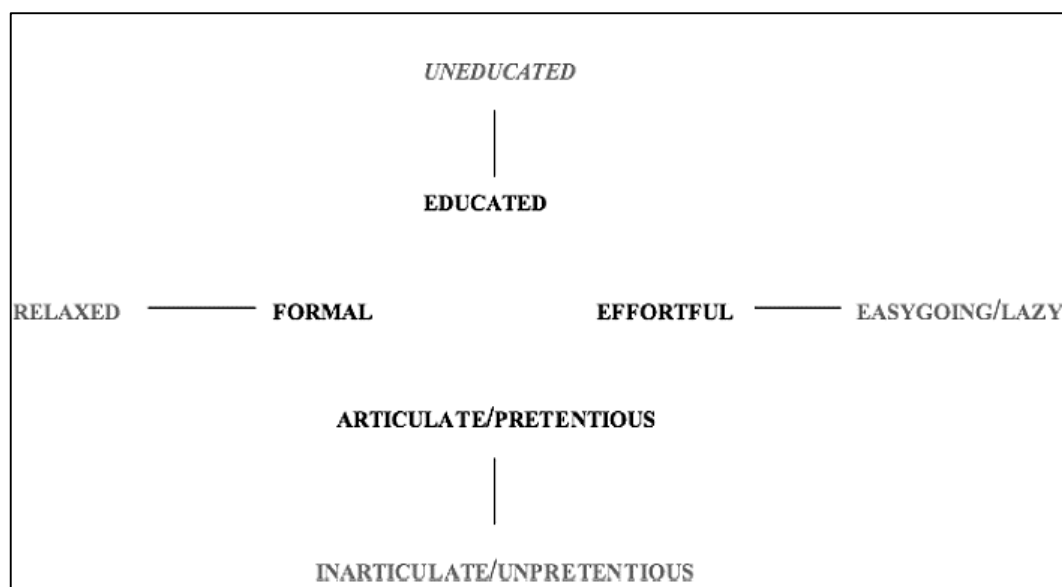


Figure 2.1. Indexical field of (ING) based on Campbell-Kibler (2007a, 2007b); black = meanings for the velar variant, grey = meanings for the apical variant (Eckert 2008:466)

When a speaker uses a variant, the hearer can evaluate its use in various ways. Campbell-Kibler found that the hearers' judgments were based on presupposed indexicality. The apical variant presupposes a speaker that is relatively uneducated or from the South, and the velar variant presupposes that the speaker is educated and not Southern. The context in which the variant is used also plays a role, and the use of the velar variant in an informal context can be regarded as pretentious. The meaning of these forms is further situated in the context of interaction and will not be uniform across the population; speakers make different ideological moves and do not all share the same ideological meanings. Thus, new meanings can always be created (i.e. entailment; see Silverstein 2003:195). Eckert's indexical field illustrates the multiple social meanings that a variable can index and traces how social meanings are embedded in ideologies. Her formulation of the indexical field should not be viewed as a static constellation of social meaning and interactional stances; the indexical field encapsulates the multiplicity and indeterminacy of social meaning in social contexts.

2.5. Conclusion

In this chapter, I discussed how place, as a social construct, is created and experienced and the role of place in social identities (place identities). I then highlighted sociolinguistic studies that show how place intersects with other macro-social categories. Finally, I focused on indexicality as a concept that foregrounds how social meanings of linguistic variation are contextually emergent, where a variant can index *place* in one context, but not necessarily in all contexts. In Section 2.2, I discussed the perspective that people create places and at the same time, places create people. This notion points to the crux of structure/agency and is relevant for studies concerned with regional ways of speaking. Place identity as an analytical construct is understood to be dynamically constructed by historicity, sociality and spatiality, and is therefore a part of other social identity constructions.

Myers (2006:325) poses a question pertinent to this study's objectives: 'how does sociolinguistics fit in among all these philosophers, geographers, [psychologists,] and anthropologists?' In Section 2.3, I showed that the works of these scholars are relevant to sociolinguistics by discussing key sociolinguistic studies concerned with place. In traditional dialectology, speakers are studied according to places or regions (i.e. emplaced), similar to other kinds of social structures (see Blommaert 2010). Their use of a regional variety is seen as a consequence of locality (coming from a specific place) and not studied as an agentic expression of place as socially meaningful. Recognising place as a subjectively meaningful social construct contributes to understanding how speakers can draw on linguistic features associated with specific regions. Starting with Labov, I showed how speakers' orientations to places invariably become part of variationist analyses at some level. I further discussed the work of Blake and Josey (2003), Becker (2009), L. Milroy (1980), Eckert (1997a, 2012), Leap (1996), and Mesthrie (2012). The work of these scholars shows that place intersects with other social categories in dynamic and meaningful ways. People's orientations to places become part of theoretical and methodological concerns and interact either directly or indirectly with the emic social groups formed in sites as varied as a city or island, school or neighbourhood.

Section 2.4 discussed indexicality as a semiotic processes, based on Silverstein's indexical orders. The usefulness of a Peircean understanding of the sign for sociolinguistics was outlined. The three sign-relations formulated by Peirce (and expanded upon by Silverstein) enable sociolinguists to focus on different kinds of meaning-making (e.g. icons, indices, and symbols). Peirce foregrounds the semiotic form (as a sign) in relation to indexed entities (i.e. 'objects' or meanings it signifies). Silverstein places an emphasis on the contextual

interpretation of the indexical sign-relation. Indexicality shows how the meanings between a linguistic form and social categories (macro-level identities or micro-level social positionings) are *created* through association or contiguity, but not what the meaning of the linguistic form is. The premise is that linguistic forms do not inherently contain social meaning, but that meaning is created through social uses, beliefs or associations (i.e. ideologies). An important theoretical contribution of the indexicality approach is an understanding of how the social meanings of linguistic forms are contextually situated and therefore multiple and indeterminable since the context of language use involves the speaker in interaction with different interlocutors in various places and times. As argued by Johnstone, et al. (2006), speakers can also use regional accent features (i.e. emplaced sounds) to index diverse senses of belonging in places where meanings of locality and belonging are contested and complicated. Eckert's notion of the indexical field fosters an understanding of ideological associations and emergent interactional social meanings of linguistic forms (Eckert 2008). I draw on these concepts in my quantitative and qualitative analysis of locality, belonging and rhotic variation (see Part II).

Chapter 3 Houtiniquadorp: a place moralised, politicised and stratified

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3.1. Introduction

As argued in the previous chapter, places are both geographical locations as well as socially created by people. In the broader context of South Africa's history of colonialism and apartheid, Houtiniquadorp is similar to other towns that grew out of a mission station into a town or residential area designated to a specific racial group. Aspects of this history contribute to what it means to be from Houtiniquadorp for the residents today. In this chapter, I describe Houtiniquadorp – the fieldwork site – as a meaningful place, and I focus on how Houtiniquadorp is moralised, politicised and stratified through historical and socio-political processes and local discourses.

In Section 3.2, I discuss Houtiniquadorp's mission history as the first factor involved in the construction of the town as a moralised place. In the early nineteenth-century, the London Missionary Society established Houtiniquadorp as a mission station at a settlement of Outeniqua Khoekhoe. This history is still pertinent to Houtiniquadorpers today: it not only informs their sense of heritage and ancestry, but also enters into notions of belonging based on respectability.

Section 3.3 considers the implications of Houtiniquadorp as a politicised place. I focus on Coloured as a socio-political identity and the political ramifications of Houtiniquadorp as a Coloured place. I argue that where apartheid policies enforced residential segregation, in effect creating race-places (see Chapter Two), it also fostered notions of exclusivity among residents of Houtiniquadorp. I discuss how scholars conceptualise Coloured identity, and I draw on comments made by participants during the interviews to exemplify the ambiguities and tensions surrounding Coloured socio-political identity and Houtiniquadorp as race-place. I then discuss how patterns of in-migration led to an emic hierarchy of residential statuses, based on residents' claimed heritage and attachment to the town.

Place identities interact with social mobility, and the chapter concludes with Section 3.4, where I describe three different neighbourhoods in Houtiniquadorp. The town's neighbourhoods are socially stratified; the socioeconomic profiles of three main residential areas, together with the participants' discourses about the different neighbourhoods, show how social differentiation is spatially represented.

3.2. A place moralised: the mission history of Houtiniquadorp

The Outeniqua Khoekhoe, colonialism and missionaries

The history of Houtiniquadorp has been documented mainly from the perspectives of British Cape colonial officials and European missionaries. These written sources' main purposes were to document the expansion and administration of the British Cape Colony and to report on the state of particular missions. Therefore, the written history of Houtiniquadorp starts in the early nineteenth-century, when the place was inhabited by a dwindling group of Outeniquas, who had settled in the area where the town is today. The Outeniquas were a regional group of the indigenous inhabitants of south-western Africa called the Khoekhoe. The Khoekhoe were pastoralists with an organised political structure and were regarded as distinct from other indigenous inhabitants collectively called the San (Ross 2004:7-8 and 22). Archaeologists and historians have argued that ethnic distinctions between Khoekhoe and San peoples do not have fixed and clear boundaries, and people developed these social distinctions based on livelihood practices (i.e. hunting-gathering or pastoralism; see Barnard 2008). The San were hunter-gatherers, and their languages were grouped together with Khoekhoe languages under the label Khoesan by Greenberg (1963).⁶ After 1652, Dutch and other European settlers had seized the pastoral land used by the Khoekhoe. Loss of land and livestock (and consequently political and economic power) contributed to the dissolution of Khoekhoe societies, and they became integrated into the developing colony.

The Outeniquas lived along the coastal region roughly between Mossel Bay and Knysna, called Houtiniqualand by Van Plettenberg, the governor of the Dutch Cape of Good Hope (in 1778; Du Preez 1987:1). Present-day Houtiniquadorp is situated between the Indian Ocean and the Outeniqua mountains (in the South Cape; see Map 3.1, the star roughly indicates the location of Houtiniquadorp).

⁶ Also Khoe-San, Khoisan or Khoi-San. The Khoesan language group has been debated by linguists, and according to Güldemann and Vossen (2000), there are at least five distinct language families grouped under Khoesan (also see Traill and Vossen 1997; Brenzinger 2013). Recently, cultural and linguistic activists are using the label Khoesan to signal a precolonial indigenous identity in opposition to Coloured (see Brown and Deumert forthcoming; discussed in Section 3.3).



Map 3.1. Map of the Western Cape Province, indicating the research site in the South Cape⁷

Nearby Houtiniquadorp was a timber outpost for the Dutch Cape Colony (circa 1777). In 1811, before the Cape Colony officially became a British colony (1814), the timber outpost was proclaimed a town (Floyd 1960:20-26). This town, George, is currently the administrative seat and commercial hub of the South Cape region and the third largest municipality in the Western Cape Province.

The European settlers in the area were farmers and woodcutters who relied on Khoekhoe and slave labour. In 1809, the passing of legislation called the Caledon Code (Dooling 2005:50) forced the Outeniquas to request the establishment of mission stations in order to protect their settlements. The Code stipulated that Khoekhoe must ‘have a fixed place of abode, either on a colonist-owned farm or on a mission’ (Japha and Japha 1993:7; Dooling 2005). The Code is an example of how colonisers and missionaries controlled the movements,

⁷ Source: Mapsof.net (2014). Online: <http://mapsof.net/map/south-africa-western-cape-map#.UGBvEo3ZDjI>.

political rights, and land ownership of the Khoekhoe: they must either live on a farm and be dependent on the farmer, or stay on a mission and be subservient to the missionary. In the early nineteenth-century, missionaries from the London Missionary Society (LMS) established a mission station near George, which became the town I call Houtiniquadorp.⁸

Living on a mission station, the early Houtiniquadorpers were subjugated to the moral ideologies of the Christian church and the missionary who enforced them. The moral beliefs of LMS missionaries, such as John Campbell (1822, 1834) and John Philip (1828), are reflected in their travel journals. These moral ideologies served to control residential rights: in order to live on the mission station, one had to adopt a certain way of living that upheld Christian values and refrain from “uncivilised” behaviour such as indolence, polygamy, and nudity (Cleall 2009:233). Covering up (i.e. wearing European clothes), being subservient and grateful (for the being “saved” by the missionaries), building walls (to keep livestock and people in and others out), and attending church were some of the main conditions that early Houtiniquadorpers had to uphold to avoid being sent away. The missionaries of the nineteenth-century aimed to transform indigenous bodies and domestic spaces to conform to Western ideals; the mission became a controlled locality where belonging was contingent not only on behaving respectably, but also on adopting British Protestant ideologies of patriarchy and gendered family roles (see Cleall 2009, 2012).

Respectability accompanied notions of morality, as stipulated by protestant Christian doctrine, as well as British colonial ideas of social standing. As argued by Ross (1999:341):

Respectability should be a central concept in the analysis of the Cape in the nineteenth century [...] Its attainment was a major goal for many of the colony’s inhabitants, of whatever background. [...] [All] levels of society, from the Cape Town elite to the ex-slaves and the Khoikhoi [sic], were anxious to preserve the impression of sobriety and chastity upon which their reputations and standing in society depended.

During the interviews, Houtiniquadorpers linked notions of respectability to abstinence and sobriety, and to well-mannered children. According to some, these moral values were instilled in them by their parents and grandparents. Respectability involved portraying a respectable

⁸ The LMS was a non-denominational organisation founded in 1795 by four Protestant churches in England. Its primary objectives were world evangelisation, the establishment of missions, and education for the children of the mission stations (mainly in Africa and South Pacific islands; Horne 1894; Lovett 1899). As explained in Chapter One, the reason for the name change is to protect the privacy of the participants; also see Chapter 5.4.

public persona (e.g. no public drunkenness), as well as showing respect towards others (especially one's elders). For some Houtiniquadorpers, a prominent difference between the present and the past is the loss of respectability. For example, Jimmy (aged 46) associated respectability with an older way of life and with proper public behaviour. He explained that while he is a smoker, he would never smoke in public, *want ek is te bang, hier, wie sien my!* ('... because I am too scared, here, who sees me!'). He saw respectability as a way of life:

1)

*Die onderwyser wat vir my skool gehou het,
hulle's nogsteeds 'Meneer' by my,
hulle's 'Juffrou' by my,
want ek het nogsteeds daai respek,
en ek probeer,
daai respek, probeer ek net vir my kind ook wys,
nie dat ek hom afdwing nie,
die manier hoe ons leef,
net die manier hier ons leef!
'Hoor hier daar is respek.'
...
En, dit is wat verdwyn het by ons,
dit het verdwyn,
deur onse mense.
Baie mense sê
dit is die inkommers.*

The teacher who taught me,
they're still 'Sir' to me,
they're 'Ma'am' to me,
because I still have that respect,
and I try,
that respect, I just try to show my child too,
not that I force it on him,
the way we live,
just the way we live here!
'Listen here there is respect.'
...
And, this is what disappeared here with us,
it disappeared,
through our people.
Many people say
it is the *inkommers*.

As I will discuss below, traditional *boorlinge*, such as Jimmy, associate negative social changes in the town with *inkommers* who, they believe, fail to embody the morals and values of Houtiniquadorp.

The colonisers and missionaries transformed indigenous places, erasing Khoekhoe traditions and social practices tied to locality and belonging. This was explained by Alexander (aged 45) during his interview, when we were talking about land issues, social structures, and the role played by the church's historic alignment with colonialism:

2)

<i>Sendelinge was mos maar koloniale agente ook,</i>	Missionaries were actually colonial agents too,
<i>... en, die die Christelike evangelie wat,</i>	... and, the the Christian gospel that,
<i>of boodskap wat Suid-Afrika toe kom,</i>	or the message that comes to South Africa,
<i>kom met uh,</i>	comes with uh,
<i>met 'n Europese baadjie hierna toe ...</i>	with a European jacket to us ...
<i>so onse name moet verander,</i>	so our names must change,
<i>en ons alles moes verander ...</i>	and our everything must change ...
<i>om Christen te word.</i>	to become Christian.

To become Christian also meant making linguistic changes from speaking Khoesan to Dutch. Elphick (1985:51) states that 'in the early seventeenth-century there were about eleven closely similar Cape Khoekhoe varieties' spoken in what was the Cape Colony. Most of the Cape Khoekhoe varieties were extinct by the middle of the eighteenth-century.

Language use on the mission

Khoekhoe speakers living towards the eastern frontier of the colony (such as the Outeniquas) encountered Dutch settlers only in the late eighteenth-century, and British settlers in the early nineteenth-century. Ross (2014:p.c.) states that there would have been very few monolingual Khoekhoe speakers in the Houtiniquadorp region by 1800, and the LMS worked almost exclusively 'in Dutch, or proto-Afrikaans, which by the first half of the nineteenth-century was spoken by virtually all the Cape [Khoekhoe]' (Ross 1997:97). LMS missionaries, such as Robert Moffat (1795-1883), translated the Bible into other South African languages, but there is no record of a Bible translation into any of the Khoekhoe languages.⁹ Absence of translation is most probably related to the fact that the Khoekhoe on mission stations received ministry and education primarily in Dutch. Literacy education formed a central part of the mission endeavour, and missionaries established mission schools where they, and often their wives, taught the residents to read and write (Fourie, et al. 2014:5).

English was the official administrative language of the British Cape Colony, and Houtiniquadorp's archived official records and documents were written in English. The language situation of Houtiniquadorp in the nineteenth-century was therefore bilingual; however, the English language proficiency of the nineteenth-century mission residents is

⁹ Moffat translated the Bible into Setswana.

unclear. While the English proficiency of mission station inhabitants was not attested, a census of Cape Colony mission station residents conducted in 1849 documented their literacy and numeracy rates (Ross and Viljoen 2009). The recorded Houtiniquadorp population in the 1849 census was 553, and 213 adult inhabitants took part in the census (Fourie, et al. 2014:10, 26). To test literacy, the census administrators asked mission residents to read from the Dutch Bible, which suggests that Dutch was the dominant language of instruction in Houtiniquadorp. Furthermore, after the abolition of slavery in 1834, mission stations such as Houtiniquadorp saw an influx of emancipated slaves, who had migrated away from farms (Ross and Viljoen 2009:391). The 1849 census recorded that 28.2% of Houtiniquadorp residents arrived after emancipation, while 12.2% were born there. It is possible that these speakers spoke other regional and social varieties of early Afrikaans. Standard Dutch might have been the language of church and school, but by the late nineteenth-century, Houtiniquadorpers would have spoken a vernacular variety of Afrikaans or Cape Dutch. In Chapter Four, I consider the impact of colonialism on Afrikaans linguistics and the racialisation of Afrikaans varieties.

3.3. A place politicised: race, locality and belonging

Coloured as socio-political identity

I am, Khoe, I am Coloured, I am part of a loving culture. (Nadia, aged 32)

“Coloured” as a racial label has strong political underpinnings, and in this section I focus on Coloured as a social and political identity. The social constructionist and postcolonial perspectives I discuss here supply an indication of what Coloured identity might mean to people who self-identify with it (or reject it). There is no straight-forward answer to what Coloured identity means today, because this apartheid construct conflates and obscures the social and ethnic diversity of the people to whom it was applied. In South Africa, the term Coloured *does not* refer inclusively to all “people of colour”. Instead, this racial label was ‘created during the nineteenth- and early twentieth-centuries as an administratively convenient catch-all term for people of very varied origins and not in all cases of mixed descent’ (Branford 1996:41). The *South African Population Registration Act* (Act 30 of 1950) officially proclaimed the labels White, Black and Coloured, where a Coloured person was defined as a South African who is not White (i.e. of European ancestry) or Black (i.e. of African ancestry).¹⁰

¹⁰ The South African Parliament repealed the act with the *Population Registration Act Repeal Act* (Act 114 of 1991).

People designated as Coloured were thus in an intermediate position between the dominant White and oppressed Black people in a racial hierarchy; Coloured people had limited political autonomy, but they were afforded greater freedoms and privileges than Black people (see Adhikari 2006). The Act's Sections 5 (1) and (2) stipulate subgroups in the Coloured classification as Cape Coloureds, Malays, Griquas, Other Coloureds, Chinese, Indians and Other Asians.¹¹ The Coloured category included people with Khoekhoe or slave roots, as well as those with mixed European/Khoekhoe/slave ancestry.¹² Racial classification is not coterminous with identity-formation, and for some people, Colouredness involved/involves specific social identity formations.

According to the historian Adhikari (2006), among a large contingent of people who were classified as "Coloured", the notion of Coloured as a socio-political identity remained remarkably stable throughout the twentieth-century, continuing into the twenty-first-century. He proposes that this stability is related to a number of key factors that are involved in the construction of Coloured identity: assimilationism; intermediate and marginal status; and negative connotations. Adhikari (2006) argues that Coloured assimilationism was driven by attempts to be accepted into the dominant White society and thus to overcome a marginality that meant limited ability for social and political action. This, together with the insecurities engendered by an intermediate status in the country's racial hierarchy, meant that a consistent element in the expression of Coloured identity 'was an association with whiteness, and a concomitant distancing from Africanness' (Adhikari 2006:479). The negative connotations of Colouredness were portrayed as 'shame attached to racial hybridity' in colonial discourse (Adhikari *ibid.*). Adhikari (2006:487) argues that these factors explain why the historical experiences and social situations of Coloured people were different from other population groups in South Africa.

Other approaches to Coloured identity draw on postcolonial theory. Foremost is the sociologist Erasmus (2001), who argues that Blackness, Whiteness and Colouredness only exist as cultural, historical, and political identity constructions. Erasmus' argument for internal

¹¹ 'Indian' or 'Asian' were differentiated into a fourth racial group in an amendment to the *Population Registration Act* at a later stage.

¹² About 60,000 slaves were brought into the Cape between the foundation of the colony in 1652 and the abolition of the overseas slave trade in 1807. These slaves mainly originated from Indonesia, India, Madagascar and the east coast of Africa (Ross 2004:6).

self-definition recognises the agency of Coloured people in constructing an identity ‘not based on ‘race mixture’, but on cultural creative, creolised formations shaped by South Africa’s history of colonialism, slavery, segregation and apartheid’ (Erasmus 2001:14). Creolisation refers here to ‘cultural creativity under conditions of marginalisation’ and ‘the construction of an identity out of elements of ruling class as well as subaltern cultures’ (Erasmus 2001:16-17). Similar to Adhikari, Erasmus argues that certain aspects explain the relatively stable nature of Coloured identity; mainly the relatively privileged position of Coloured people compared to Black people, and their degree of complicity in maintaining White supremacy (i.e. as seen with Coloured people’s assimilationism and intermediate status). Where Adhikari states that negative connotations about Coloured identity contributed to its formation during the twentieth-century, Erasmus argues for the ‘re-imagining’ of Coloured identity post-1994. Instead of a classificatory label for people deemed neither White nor Black, Coloured identities should be seen as a dynamic and fluid with multiple means of expression.

Arguably, another avenue for the re-imagining of Colouredness is the wholehearted rejection of Coloured and all other race-based identities. People classified as Coloured by the apartheid regime do not unanimously accept the Coloured identity construct. According to Adhikari (2004:168), ‘Coloured rejectionists’ came strongly to the fore with the non-racial democratic movements of the nineteen-eighties. However, he argues that the rejectionist movement did not have a fundamental impact on the nature of Coloured as a social identity. The reason for the movement’s limited success is that those rejecting Coloured identity were confined to ‘a relatively small but vocal minority of highly politicised people associated with the anti-apartheid movement’ (Adhikari 2006:474). For a large majority of Coloured people, being Coloured was a pervasive aspect of their sense of identity in the South African racial hierarchies and formed part of their daily life worlds. Since Coloured rejectionism was not a mass phenomenon, it rapidly diminished in the nineteen-nineties, accompanied by a resurgence of assertion of Coloured identity (Adhikari *ibid.*). The upsurge of Coloured assertiveness in the new South Africa (post-1994) might be related to several factors:

A fear of African majority rule, perceptions that Coloureds were [still] being marginalised, a desire to counter pervasive negative stereotyping of Coloured people, and attempts at capitalising on the newly democratic environment in pursuit of political agendas. (Adhikari 2004:168; also see James, et al. 1996, and Erasmus 2001)

Two other movements reimagined Coloured identity. The December 1st Movement was started after the 1994 elections by African National Congress (ANC) activists who claimed that the ANC was ill-informed about Coloured communities.¹³ They focused on instilling a sense of pride in the slave roots of Coloured people (Anon. 1996). The other social movement is Khoesan activism, which was the only movement that prevailed into the twenty-first-century (Adhikari 2004:177; also see Besten 2006). Since the latter part of the previous decade, cultural and linguistic activism grew in support of Khoesan as a precolonial indigenous identity, with varying socio-political agendas and ‘mutual antagonism between various revivalist groups and self-proclaimed leaders or ‘chiefs’ who vie with each other for recognition and ascendancy’ (Adhikari *ibid.*). Brown and Deumert (forthcoming) discuss the language ideologies of what they call Khoesan resurgence, and provide insights into postcolonial controversies, identity politics, and the symbolic value of Khoekhoegowab (a Khoesan language) in linguistic and cultural activism.

I propose that one can approach the identity politics of Colouredness from a performative perspective. Performativity refers to the notion that social identities (e.g. gendered or place identities, etc.) are ‘produced through a repetition of particular acts with a regulatory framework’ (Johnston 2009:326, drawing on Butler 1990). Identity politics refer to

a form of political mobilization based on membership in some group (e.g. racial, ethnic, cultural, gender) and group membership is thought to be delimited by some common experiences, conditions or features that define the group. (Heyes 2000:58)

Butler’s philosophical work on gender critiques the notion of essentialised gendered identities, which ignores the processes of how gendered identities are socially constructed (Butler 1990, 1993). She argues that gender performativity explains people’s beliefs in natural binary identities (i.e. male/female). Gender as a performative is created through historical and cultural processes of repeated ‘styles of the flesh’ (Butler 1990:45), producing the expectation that people should act according to preconceived, culturally specific, gendered norms. Kulick (2003:140) argues that a performative approach interrogates ‘how particular uses of language, be they authorized or not, produce particular effects and particular kinds of subjects in fields or matrices of power’ (also see Butler 1990:xxxi). Similarly, the enunciation of the words ‘Black’ or ‘White’ reifies specific kinds of racialised subject positions and brings about the social state of racial identities. Like gender, race is a social construct that it is produced

¹³ Slaves were emancipated at the Cape on the 1st of December 1834 (Worden 1989:33).

performatively in interaction and by institutions. Racial (or raced) identity does not originate with the individual, but historical social processes impose the normativity of racial identities. These processes create the impression that there is a natural inner-truth to identity constructs: ‘the construction “compels” our belief in its necessity and naturalness’ (Butler 1990:190). The performativity of race works on the same interpellation and internalisation of the fabrication of natural inner-truths and explains some of the discomfort and objection people classified as Coloured express when confronted with a racial identity that positions them as inferior and un-race-able (i.e. not Black or White). It also explains why other Coloured people accept (and perform) Colouredness in a society that has been historically consumed by the prioritisation of race as the main vector of identity. My point here is that if people accept race as a self-evident, unproblematic physical and cultural fact (rather than embodied performativity or socially/historically constructed), then it is understandable that people will seek to claim, (re)imagine and reproduce raced identities for themselves and others (see Butler’s [1990] normativity argument). This also shows the intersection between a phenomenological perspective of race as lived experience and a social-constructionist understanding in which race is the product of societal processes: race is *both* embodied and constructed.

A patent apparatus for reifying racial constructs is a national census. According to the 2011 census, approximately 4.6 million people in South Africa self-identified as Coloured (StatsSA 2012). Throughout the twentieth-century, Coloured people constituted no more than nine percent of the South African population. They formed a marginal group that lacked significant political or economic power (unlike the White group who were numerically marginal but dominated the political and economic spheres; Adhikari 2006:469). Coloured people are regionally concentrated in the Western and Northern Cape, and more than ninety percent of the Houtiniquadorp population self-identified as Coloured (StatsSA 2012; see the 2011 census summary in Appendix 3.1). The Houtiniquadorp participants showed varying degrees of accepting or rejecting this socio-political identity.

Colouredness in Houtiniquadorp

The perceived marginality of Coloured people in the new democratic dispensation has come to the fore as an impetus in the expression of post-apartheid Coloured identity (Adhikari 2004:173-174). Post-1994, a cliché arose amongst Coloured people: “first we were not white enough and now we are not black enough” (see Adhikari 2005:176). This indicates a feeling of continued exclusion or in-between-ness experienced by Coloured people, where the racial

hierarchies of the past have not dissolved; instead, the locus of power has simply been inverted. A participant, Jeffery (aged 38), supplied his own version of the cliché:

3)

... in the new South Africa,
we are still the polony in the middle, you know,
if you turned over the the sandwich,

dan's ons nogsteeds in die middel.

So ons is nie Black nie

ons is nie Wit nie,

we are the polony in the middle.

Maar dink aan die zebra strepe,

ons is deel van daai zebra strepe

en dis uniek,

so maar ons moet opstaan

vir wie en wat ons is,

ek is Khoesan,

ek is Boesman, you know.

When you talk to the Black man,

dan gaan hy proudly vir jou sê

hy's Xhosa,

or *isiZulu*¹⁵,

so uhm,

ons moet ophou verskonings maak, you know.

then we still are in the middle.

So we aren't Black

we aren't White,

But think about the zebra stripes,

we are part of those zebra stripes¹⁴

and that is unique,

so but we must stand up

for who and what we are,

I am Khoesan,

I am Bushman, you know.

then he will proudly say to you

he's Xhosa,

so uhm,

we must stop making excuses, you know.

Jeffery's description of Coloured people stuck in a racial 'sandwich' expresses the continued perception of their prevailing intermediate status in a society layered according to race. He rationalised that in order to escape intermediate status, Coloured people need to stand up *vir wie en wat ons is, ek is Khoesan, ek is Boesman, you know* ('for who and what we are, I am Khoesan, I am Bushman'¹⁶). Shifting from race to ethnicity, Jeffery referred to other South

¹⁴ A zebra is a black-and-white striped African equine.

¹⁵ *isiZulu* translates as the 'Zulu language', where *amaZulu* means the 'Zulu people'.

¹⁶ Similar to *Hottentot*, *Boesman* ('Bushman') is a derogatory label for San used by the European settlers. None of the participants referred to themselves or others as a *Hottentot*; the avoidance is related to the fact that *Hottentot*

Africans as evidence that laying claim to ethnic roots can instil a sense of pride, such as the amaXhosa or amaZulu, who have not lost their sense of traditional ethnic identities. Another participant, Susan (aged 53) felt that resolving issues of racial identity is complicated for Coloured people. Similar to Jeffery, she referred to Black South Africans, who find it is easier to establish a sense of ethnic identity because *hulle't hulle stamme, en jy leef volgens stam* ('they have their tribes, and you live according to tribe'). She used herself as an example:

4)

*Maar daai Bruin identiteit is maar 'n vreeslike,
uh uh, kwel en twispunt.
Mens kan nou nie enige identiteit sommer gaan
kom gryp
en sê dis nou my identiteit as Bruin persoon nie.
Maar ons, ek vat van my af,
as ek na my stamregister ingaan,
dan weet ek nou nie waar ek nou gaan inpas nie.
Daar is so verskillende soorte,
so uh, jy kan kom sê,
jy as Bruin persoon,
moet nou in daardie niche ingaan
dis nou jou identiteit.*

But that Brown identity is rather a terrible,
uh uh, concern and disputed point.
One cannot now go and just come and grab any
identity
and say it's now my identity as [a] Brown person.
But we, I take from myself,
if I go into my genealogy,
then I don't know now where I will now fit in.
There are such different types,
so uh, you can come to say,
you as Brown person,
must now go into that niche,
it's now your identity.

Instead of *Kleurling* ('Coloured'), Susan used *Bruin* ('Brown'), which is an Afrikaans term preferred by some people, because it is regarded as less derogatory than the apartheid word *Kleurling*. Susan concluded that since *Bruin* people have diverse and varied ancestral roots, it might not make sense to try to find a single ethnic identity based on the past. Instead, *Bruin* identity offers a position particularly suited to people with a diverse racial and ethnic family tree, i.e. she feels that although it is a problematic identity, it is an identity niche for herself because *Bruin* encapsulates the dynamic diversity and 'multiple means of expression' that Erasmus (2001) refers to. While Jeffery takes an essentialist stance, Susan also acknowledges hybridity and fluidities.

(or *Hotnot*) was used by White people during apartheid – it is still used and can be severely insulting. *Boesman* can also be derogatory, especially when used by White people today.

Several Houtiniquadorp participants spoke about Khoesan revivalism, predominantly in the context of identity. South Africa is a signatory to the *United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples Draft* and the United Nations has recognised Khoekhoe and San as First Nations indigenous groups in South Africa. This declaration upholds indigenous peoples' rights to 'own, develop, control and use lands they traditionally owned or otherwise occupied or used.'¹⁷ Crucial to the revival movement is land restitution, based on the United Nations' *Draft*, and a number of participants were involved in land claims in Houtiniquadorp. In the search for identity in post-apartheid South Africa, the comments made by some participants show an increased affiliation with the distinctly African part of their heritage, as represented by the Khoesan. By laying claims to African indigenous rights, Coloured people can thus distance themselves from Whites and mobilise as indigenously legitimate South Africans. When asked about Houtiniquadorp's history, most of the participants spoke about the Khoekhoe settlement and the missionaries; the Khoekhoe connection has not been forgotten.

The most vocal, and actively involved, Khoesan revivalist I interviewed was Sophia (aged 57). She introduced herself at the start of the interview as '*n afstammeling van 'n Khoe tribe ... van Hoogekraal*' ('a descendant of a Khoe tribe ... from Hoogekraal'¹⁸). She felt that the colonisers and missionaries had destroyed the Khoekhoe culture of her ancestors. For her, Coloured is only an apartheid label, not an identity. Her sentiment can be seen in the following excerpt, where she interrupted her daughter, who was making a comment about *ons Kleurlinge*, *ons sogenaamde Kleurlinge* ('us Coloureds, us so-called Coloureds'):

5)

*Ek hou niks van daai naam nie,
omdat dit is 'n verdrukking.*

Daai naam,

*daai naam laat my, nogsteeds, soos 'n hond voel,
want dis einlik wat die naam beteken,
oorkruisde hond.*

Jy's 'n ou oorkruisde hond.

Kleuring sê, beteken dit.

...

I don't like that name at all,
because it is an oppression.

That name,

that name makes me, still, feel like a dog,
because that's actually what the name means,
crossbred dog.

You're an old crossbred dog.

Coloured says, means that.

...

¹⁷ From the *International Work Group for Indigenous Affairs*, see <http://www.iwgia.org/regions/africa/south-africa/894-update-2011-south-africa>.

¹⁸ Hoogekraal is the name of an Outeniqua Khoekhoe settlement.

*Nee ek is nie Kleurling nie,
 nee ek sê, hey!
 Ek's 'n Boesman, ekki.
 Nee ek sê,
 ek's baie trots op my ma,
 my ouma was 'n Boesman.*

No I am not Coloured,
 no I say, hey!
 I'm a Bushman, me.
 No I say,
 I'm very proud of my mom,
 my grandma was a Bushman.

During the interview, Sophia made interchanging use of 'Khoekhoe', 'Khoe' and 'Bushman', which suggests that these distinctions matter less than their symbolic value of indigenusness. Sophia described the Khoesan as *die eerste inheemse volk, en in fact, ons is die enigste inheemse volk* ('the first indigenous nation, and in fact, we are the only indigenous nation'). Sophia's comments reflect the ideologies of Khoesan identity politics (see Brown and Deumert forthcoming), where she affirms or claims 'ways of understanding their distinctiveness that challenge dominant oppressive characterizations, with the goal of greater self-determination' (Heyes 2014).

The examples discussed support the ambiguity and contradiction of Coloured identity I observed throughout the interviews, especially from participants who rejected Coloured identity. These participants rejected the Coloured construct not because they regard it as an artificial construct promoting racial segregation; rather, in their opinion, Coloured is the *wrong* racial group because it is an artificial apartheid label premised on negative connotations of cultural poverty and lack of ethnic unity (i.e. miscegenation). For some of them, Khoesan is the *right* ethnic group and identifying as Khoesan is regarded as move towards reclaiming a heritage and a culture destroyed by colonialism. The fact that Houtiniquadorp was established on a Khoekhoe settlement serves to strengthen these participants' place identity as legitimate inhabitants of the town. These identity politics should be noted, because they relate to Houtiniquadorp as a race-place.

A Coloured residential area and race-places

*Soos ons Kleurling mense mos nou, aan Houtiniquadorp behoort,
 dis 'n Kleurling dorp.* (Helga, aged 63)

Like our Coloured people indeed now, belong to Houtiniquadorp,
 it's a Coloured town.

The mission station history of Houtiniquadorp was shaped by colonialism. Part of the colonial enterprise was to “place” people, essentially through the mapping (literally and figuratively) of different bounded and bordered ethno-linguistic areas in Southern Africa. Durrheim, et al. (2011:122) argue that colonisers used notions of place identities as justification for racial segregation, which led to segregated and racialised spaces in apartheid South Africa (i.e. race-places; see Chapter 2.2). In 1941, the Houtiniquadorp Village Management Board (HVMB) ordered all Black people living in the town to vacate, except for two property-owning families (Du Preez 1987:259). The HVMB was formed in 1887 to replace the administrative gap left by the extraction of the LMS from Houtiniquadorp. However, the missionary retained his seat of power and oversaw the Board, comprised of Coloured residents tasked with managing administrative matters in the town. As seen from Houtiniquadorp’s history, racial discrimination and segregation was already practiced when the apartheid government took office in 1948; the high percentage of Coloured people in Houtiniquadorp is a relic of its exclusivist socio-political history, initiated by the LMS and continued by the HVMB.

The *Group Areas Act* (Act 41 of 1950) enforced residential differentiation based on racial groups, which is still visible in South African towns and cities. Houtiniquadorp was an established residential town by 1950, and the HVMB were willing participants in the Act. In 1955, the HVMB requested the Government to declare Houtiniquadorp a Coloured Group Area. On 1 October 1957, the Group Areas Committee met in George and announced that Houtiniquadorp ‘should take in all the Coloured people and so become a model Coloured Township’ (Du Preez 1987:259). Thus, the intention was that the “success” of Houtiniquadorp should be exemplary and be replicated in other Coloured towns. The town became the first Coloured municipality in South Africa in the late seventies; however, this seemingly elevated status of the town remained within the hegemony of the apartheid state and supported the ‘separate development’ ideology of racial segregation (see Norval 1996:163-164).

Hannes (aged 55) explained that the exclusive attitude adopted by the VBM leaders in Houtiniquadorp elicited criticism from those who took a non-racial stance, especially from those involved in anti-apartheid movements. As a local church leader, he played an active role with other church leaders in efforts to transform the socio-political status of Houtiniquadorp during the nineteen-eighties. They campaigned against the continuation of Houtiniquadorp as a Coloured town and decided *hulle wil ’n oop gemeenskap wees, ’n oop dorp wees, deel wees van George munisipaliteit* (‘they want to be an open community, be an open town, be part of George municipality’). According to Hannes, amalgamation with George would redress certain

stigmas about the town as a backwards township subservient to the apartheid regime. Houtiniquadorp was amalgamated with the George municipality in 1995 under the *Local Government Transition Act* (Bell and Bowman 2003:4).

Apartheid created racialised ‘worlds of experience’ (Posel 2001:74). As a result, many South Africans internalised the apparent “fact” of racial difference and the perverted logic of racial segregation masquerading as cultural separation. I discussed this politicisation of place in Chapter Two, drawing on the notion of race-place. By creating race-places, the apartheid regime kept South Africans trapped in racialised ideologies. It was these internalisations of racialised worlds that those involved in the struggle against apartheid fought against in the spirit of non-racialism. Still, belonging in Houtiniquadorp was drawn along racial lines and had specific spatial dimensions. However, Coloured exclusivism in Houtiniquadorp – a ‘sense of social and geographical insiderness’ (Durrheim, et al. 2011:116) – is also shaped by mistrust of outsiders. This mistrust was extended to anyone regardless of perceived race, and it intensified with in-migration.

In-migration and emic formulations of place identities: *boorlinge* and *inkommers*

As argued in Chapter Two, social identities are based not only on gender, age, ethnicity or race, but also on a sense of place and place identities, especially in contexts of social and geographic mobility. In-migration to Houtiniquadorp contributes to internal differentiation in the community along the lines of, what I call, residential status. Houtiniquadorp has continuously accommodated new residents, so-called *inkommers* (‘incomers’). *Inkommer* is a broad label that includes recent arrivals, people not born in Houtiniquadorp, and in some cases, people whose parents and grandparents were not born in the town. Thus, the meaning of the label depends on the person using it and the context in which it is used. As will be discussed in Section 3.4, social stratification and area of residence further complicate the meaning of *inkommer*. In Houtiniquadorp, the term *boorling* is used in relation to *inkommer* and refers to a select group of people from several different families, many of whom came to the fore as leaders in the HVMB. The term *boorlinge* is a variant of the Afrikaans word *inboorlinge*, which means ‘those born to an area’ (see Waldman 2004, 2007). However, *boorling* also entails notions of birthright and local status and involves ideologies of locality and belonging where being *boorling* is seen as personal characteristics that are inherited, or a right or privilege that you are entitled to if you were born in Houtiniquadorp. Many *boorling* participants expressed this notion of birthright around the idea of Houtiniquadorp as one big family. For example, as one of the older *boorlinge*, Oom Piet (aged 82), said: *Ons is mos maar ’n familie dorp* (‘we are

indeed just a family town’). Local perceptions of authenticity and belonging in Houtiniquadorp are therefore contingent upon belonging to one of these *boorling* families. Those who literally ‘have come in’, i.e. *inkommers*, have by implication no birthright in the town.

I engaged with the participants about what it means to be an *inkommer* or a *boorling*. It became apparent that residential status frequently involves access to land and property ownership. As stated above, many Houtiniquadorpers, exclusively *boorlinge*, were involved in land claims cases for *familiëgronde* (‘family land’). Furthermore, low-cost housing allocation is a contentious issue in Houtiniquadorp, and several participants expressed their unhappiness that *inkommers* received houses ahead of impoverished Houtiniquadorpers. Lena (aged 48) is an *inkommer* who moved from a farm in the district to Houtiniquadorp when she was sixteen. She attended the local high school and has been living in Houtiniquadorp ever since. She defined the category of *boorling* as follows:

6)

<i>Maar ’n boorling,</i>	But a boorling,
<i>as jy nou ’n boorling is,</i>	if you are now a <i>boorling</i> ,
<i>dan moet jy nou daar gebore wees.</i>	then you must now be born there.

Since she was not born in Houtiniquadorp, she knows that she cannot lay claim to *boorling* status. However, she makes the distinction between herself and more recent *inkommers*:

7)

<i>Houtiniquadorp se mense</i>	Houtiniquadorp’s people
<i>wat nou al jare in Houtiniquadorp bly</i>	who have now already lived for years in Houtiniquadorp,
<i>hulle kry nie huise nie,</i>	they do not get houses,
<i>maar inkommers kry huise.</i>	but <i>inkommers</i> get houses.

Lena’s husband is unemployed and she works as a cleaner at a college in George. They live in a “bungalow” on her mother-in-law’s property in Old Dorp.¹⁹ She has been on the waiting list of housing recipients since 1991, and her identification with being a legitimate Houtiniquadorper thus has explicit material implications. From Lena’s utterance, it is apparent

¹⁹ “Bungalow” is a local word that refers to small informal wood houses built separately from main brick houses on a property (i.e. backyard houses).

that she does not regard herself as an *inkommer*, because of the ideological complex in Houtiniquadorp about *inkommers*, property/land ownership, legitimacy and authenticity.

In some cases, *inkommer* does not only apply to recent newcomers, but also involves the degree of assimilation and involvement in the town's community affairs. Residents who moved to the town in adulthood explained that they were still *inkommers*. For example, Eleanor (aged 62) has been living in Houtiniquadorp for around thirty-four years. She too commented on the fact that certain families in the town are seen as 'born Houtiniquadorpers':

8)

Yolandi:	<i>Hoe werk hierdie inkommer ding?</i>	How does this <i>inkommer</i> thing work?
	<i>Vir hoe lank is jy 'n inkommer?</i>	For how long are you an <i>inkommer</i> ?
Eleanor:	<i>Ek dink nie</i>	I do not think
	<i>dit verander ooit nie [laughs]</i>	it will ever change [laughs]
Yolandi:	<i>Hoe so?</i>	How so?
	<i>Hoe, wie besluit dit?</i>	How, who decides that?
	<i>Is dit maar net?</i>	It's just like that?
Eleanor:	<i>Nee, dis nou maar net soos dit is.</i>	No, it's just how it is.
Yolandi:	<i>Jy moet daar gebore wees?</i>	You must be born there?
Eleanor:	<i>Nee ek dink nie</i>	No I don't think
	<i>hulle diskrimineer</i>	they discriminate
	<i>of enige iets nie,</i>	or anything,
	<i>maar dis nou maar net,</i>	but it's just now just only,
	<i>daar's nou sekere,</i>	there are now certain,
	<i>lyk my sekere name,</i>	seems to me certain surnames,
	<i>is nou maar,</i>	it just now is,
	<i>wat hulle is,</i>	what they are,
	<i>hulle is ja,</i>	they are yes,
	<i>hulle is gebore soort van Houtiniquadorpers.</i>	they are born kind of Houtiniquadorpers.

After qualifying as a school teacher in Cape Town, Eleanor moved to Houtiniquadorp in 1976 to teach at a high school in George. She stated that she rarely moves about in the town and did not really have friends in Houtiniquadorp apart from the people she knew at church. She lives in a more-upmarket neighbourhood called Bergview (see below). Being an *inkommer* is something Eleanor felt can never change. According to her, certain family surnames constitute

a network of inclusion, and if you do not have the right family surname, you are excluded from being an authentic Houtiniquadorper (see Chapter Eight).

For some *boorlinge*, the mere fact that someone is residing in the low-cost Scheme neighbourhood means that they are unwelcome *inkommers*. For instance, Gelica (aged 45) is from a *boorling* family and grew up in the old part of Houtiniquadorp (henceforth Old Dorp). During the interview, she reminisced about the good quality of life during her childhood when people still had respect for others (see Section 3.2). After talking about how one can identify a *boorling* Houtiniquadorper from others in terms of their respectable behaviour, Gelica, who works for Correctional Services, narrated an incident at a prison. Because her colleagues knew that she *het hierdie bande met Houtiniquadorp* ('has these ties with Houtiniquadorp'), they informed her that one of the prisoners was from Houtiniquadorp and asked whether she knew him. Earlier in our conversation she stated that *Houtiniquadorpers ken almal mekaar* ('Houtiniquadorpers all know each other') and she repeated that statement to confirm that if this prisoner was indeed a Houtiniquadorper, it was probable that she knew him. She described the interaction as follows:

9)

<i>Nou vra ek vir hom,</i>	Now I ask him,
<i>'Boeta, waar/</i>	<i>'Brother, where/</i>
<i>is jy van Houtiniquadorp?</i>	are you from Houtiniquadorp?
<i>Wanneer het jy in Houtiniquadorp gekom?'</i>	When did you come in Houtiniquadorp?'
<i>Toe sê hy vir my</i>	Then he says to me
<i>nee hy't nou, in die, baie baie nuut/</i>	No he'd now, in the, very very new/
<i>toe's hulle in Scheme in.</i>	then they're into the Scheme.
<i>Toe sê ek</i>	Then I say
<i>'nee broer,</i>	<i>'no brother,</i>
<i>moenie sê jy's 'n Houtiniquadorper nie</i>	don't say you are a Houtiniquadorper
<i>asseblief nie,</i>	please don't,
<i>jy's nie 'n Houtiniquadorper nie,</i>	you're not a Houtiniquadorper,
<i>as jy gebore is daarso</i>	if you are born there
<i>is jy 'n Houtiniquadorper' [laughs]</i>	you are a Houtiniquadorper' [laughs]

When meeting the prisoner she called him *Boeta*, which originates from *broeder* or *boet* ('brother'), but is more endearing (like one would speak to a family member or a close friend).

When he told her that he was a new resident living in the Scheme, she called him *broer* ('brother'), which seems familial, but used in this context simply means 'fellow' or 'chap'. Realising that the prisoner is an *inkommer*, she reprimanded him for claiming that he is a Houtiniquadorper. Through their descriptions of Houtiniquadorp and the types of people living there, *boorlinge* construct Houtiniquadorp as a specific place – *their* place – from which *inkommers* (especially those with questionable moral standings) are excluded.

Some *inkommers* complained that traditional *boorlinge* keep them on the side-line by denying them the right to speak about local affairs. Oom Davey (aged 78) was a teacher and moved to Houtiniquadorp thirty-two years ago. He stated that after the missionaries left and local leaders were promoted to the HVMB, *boorlinge* fiercely guarded their local, political power. They used this power to silence *inkommers* like him, who wanted to participate. According to Oom Davey, these *boorlinge* frequently said the following:

10)

<i>'Nee man jy kan nie hier kom sê nie,</i>	'No man you cannot come and speak here,
<i>jy's 'n inkommer,' [laughs]</i>	you're an <i>inkommer</i> ,' [laughs]
<i>'jy kom van buite af</i>	'you come from outside
<i>jy kan nie hier kom sê nie.'</i>	you cannot come and speak here.'

Exclusion and inclusion therefore relates to who is authorised or enabled to speak about local matters, and who is silenced: by silencing *inkommers*, *boorlinge* strengthen their local social status. Thus, being labelled as an *inkommer* is an example of the performativity of place identity, which produces a specific kind of peripheral or marginalised subject position in relation to a centralised *boorling* position. Nadia (aged 32), who has lived in Houtiniquadorp for five years, described this as gate-keeping: figuratively, Houtiniquadorp has a gate, and they, the *boorlinge*, lock you out, you cannot come in.

The local distinction between *boorlinge* and *inkommers* is not a recent phenomenon, nor is it restricted to Houtiniquadorp. Waldman (2007:133) states that these categories are well established in the literature on some of South Africa's Coloured communities. She argues that these categories are ambiguous and flexible, where the distinctions are negotiated and manipulated according to various social contexts. West (1971), for example, investigated the meaning of the label *inkommer* in Port Nolloth (Northern Cape Province). He found that semantic variations can be explained in terms of geographic distance, kin relationships, and the

extent to which people had visited Port Nolloth in their youth. Boonzaier (1984) found that *inkommers* to the Richtersveld (Northern Cape Province) initially downplayed their cultural differences to secure citizen rights in the reservation (previously the Coloured Rural Reserve, at present the Richtersveld Community Conservancy). Once they were accepted as full members of the community, they proceeded to stress their differences (Boonzaier 1984; also see Pearson 1986 about Rehoboth *inkommers*).

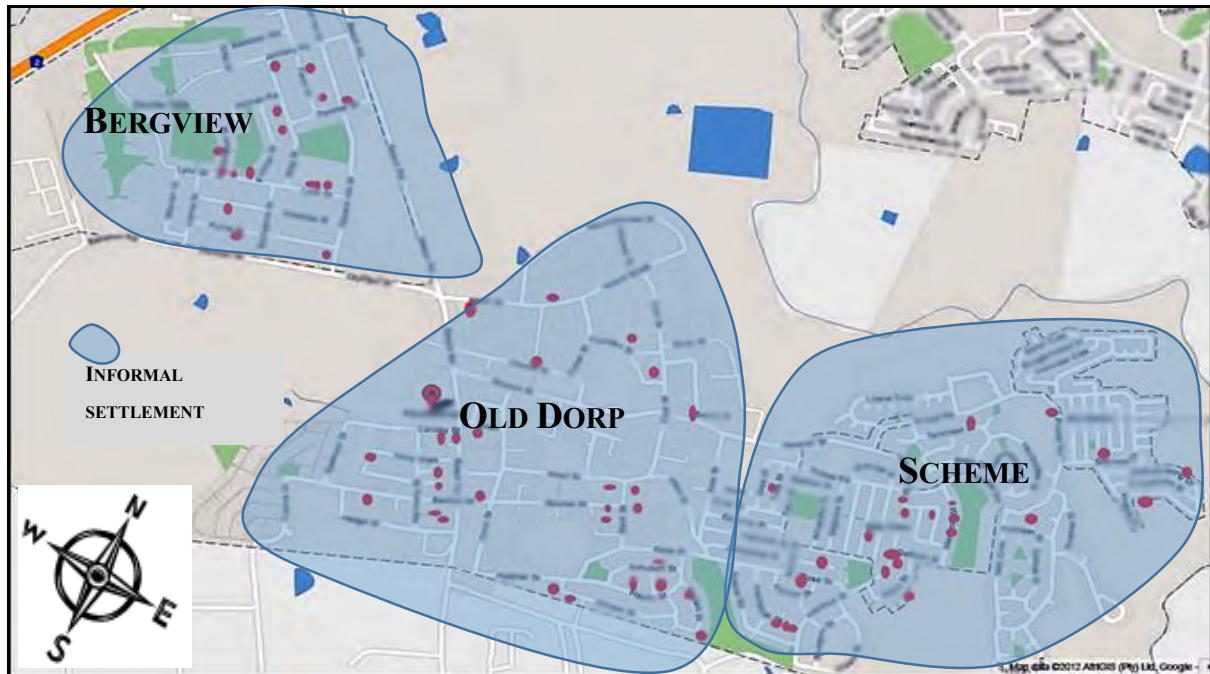
In Houtiniquadorp, in-migration resulted in changes in the spatial configuration, which relate to different residential areas and social stratification (see Section 3.4). The *boorling/inkommer* distinction is thus also reflective of more recent changes in the town: the *boorlinge*'s perceptions of social changes through increased in-migration led to a (re)formulation of belonging: i.e. legitimate residents (*boorlinge*) versus unwelcome intruders (*inkommers*). Where Hannes (a self-identified *inkommer*; see above) claims that *Houtiniquadorp is baie gemeng* ('Houtiniquadorp is very mixed'), he is referring to Coloured *inkommers* that contribute to the diversification of the town and not to different 'population groups' (i.e. racial identities); this shows that while race and place identities interact, place identity can be more meaningful in certain contexts than racial identity.

3.4. A place socially stratified: different neighbourhoods in Houtiniquadorp

So far, I have looked at the dynamic interaction between race and place and the role of geographic mobility in the construction of place identities in Houtiniquadorp. In this section, I consider how Houtiniquadorpers use socioeconomic status and local social statuses (i.e. *boorling* and *inkommer*) to spatialize the town; that is, to formulate meaningful spaces. Houtiniquadorp is a mixed-use area containing residential buildings, several churches, a clinic and a day hospital, a library and post office, recreational spaces, parks and agricultural land, schools, and shops. There are also a police and a traffic police station. Houtiniquadorp is a self-sufficient small town, albeit under the governance of the greater Eden municipality in which it is situated. Some participants described Houtiniquadorp as a *slaapdorp* (lit. 'sleep town'): the low scale enterprises in Houtiniquadorp mean that many residents travel to the municipal centre (George) for employment and recreation, merely returning to Houtiniquadorp to "sleep".

In the interviews, I asked participants to describe Houtiniquadorp's different neighbourhoods. Based on their perceptions, I focused on three main neighbourhoods for the data collection. Old Dorp (Old Town) consists of the oldest Houtiniquadorp neighbourhoods. Scheme is a local name for the low-cost housing neighbourhoods. Bergview is the more

affluent neighbourhood at the fringe of the town. Map 3.2 is a *Google* map of Houtiniquadorp, depicting these three areas.



Map 3.2. *Google* map of Houtiniquadorp showing three research areas (red dots indicate residences of participants)

Houtiniquadorpers' awareness of different social statuses connected to the different neighbourhoods became clear in the interviews. In this study, I use the three different neighbourhoods as proxies for socioeconomic status in Houtiniquadorp. The 2011 census (StatsSA 2012) provides figures for employment, household income, and education, and I use these three indicators of socioeconomic status to describe each neighbourhood (see Table 3.1).

	Old Dorp	Scheme	Bergview
Afrikaans home language	92.2%	93.7%	69.8%
In-migration (2001 to 2011)	5.6%	1.1%	3.1%
Younger than 49 years	83.5%	85.5%	74.4%
No schooling	2.9%	2.8%	0.2%
Some tertiary education ²⁰	2.8%	1.6%	25.4%
Pre-school	9.7%	10.2%	15.4%
Unemployment	12.9%	17.4%	4.3%
Average annual household income < R76,401	60.5%	67.5%	23.5%
Population size (N=25,275)	16,395	7,035	1,845

Table 3.1. Summary of neighbourhood demographics (StatsSA 2012)²¹

Unemployment was the lowest in Bergview and the highest in Scheme.²² The average annual household income in Bergview was higher than the other two neighbourhoods. Over sixty-percent of Old Dorp and Scheme households had an income that was less than R7,000 per month, indicating a lower socioeconomic status. Old Dorp households had higher average household incomes than those in the Scheme, despite having the highest percentage of households with no income (9.1%). Bergview residents also attained higher levels of education, which contribute to their higher social standing and enhanced economic opportunities (the relationship between tertiary education and income levels is discussed by Visagie and Posel 2013). One aspect involved in socioeconomic status that does not involve employment, income and education is landownership. Mabandla (2012) considers the role played by landownership in the definition of the Black middle class in the South African context. He specifically focuses on an area in the Eastern Cape and argues that considering only income and occupation fails to capture the urban Black middle class in its complexity. In Houtiniquadorp, some *boorlinge* have inter-generational landownership, which contributes to higher social standings not captured by income and occupation alone. However, the land issue in Houtiniquadorp is complex, since access to ancestral land is hindered by estate trusts and land restitution cases. The majority of these properties are located in Old Dorp. Old Dorp had a bigger population

²⁰ Grade 12 and Diploma, Certificate or Degree.

²¹ See Appendix 3.2 for 2011 census demographics of age groups and household incomes in Houtiniquadorp.

²² Of the 10,740 economically active Houtiniquadorpers, 13.5% were unemployed work-seekers (unemployment in George was 20.7% in 2011, and 24.7% in South Africa in 2013; StatsSA 2014).

than the others, which is understandable given its history and geographical spread. There is more space for residential development in Bergview than in Scheme, and the in-migration statistics confirm this. Where the highway restricts Bergview, Scheme cannot expand because of environmental reasons. Old Dorp has the highest in-migration figure, which is related to the residential development of vacant plots. Each neighbourhood also has different spatial features, related to affluence and poverty, which I describe below.

The demographic statistics show that more English speakers live in Bergview than the other two neighbourhoods. In an otherwise predominantly Afrikaans interaction, Henry (aged 20), an Old Dorp resident from a *boorling* family, switched to English when talking about Bergview: '[Bergview] is more the upper town, in [Houtiniquadorp]'. Henry's statement points to status hierarchies in Houtiniquadorp; the description 'upper' refers to both Bergview's geographical location and the perceived higher social status of its residents. Henry's switch to English indexes Bergview – and by extension its residents – as more prestigious, and thus he sets them apart from the rest of Houtiniquadorp.

Table 3.2 shows the self-reported language use in Houtiniquadorp in comparison to George, the Western Cape and South Africa (note that the census asked the respondents to state the language they spoke most often at home²³):

²³ The 2011 census's language question collects data on bilingualism. Respondents were asked to list the language they speak most often and second most often at home. The metadata further stipulates that the languages listed do not necessarily have to be the respondent's 'mother tongue'. Since English is the predominant lingua franca used in public domains, respondents were asked not to consider their language use outside of the domestic domain. See Appendix 3.3 for the census questionnaire formulations and metadata.

	Houtiniquadorp	George	Western Cape	South Africa
Afrikaans	91.0%	65.7%	48.4%	13.2%
English	5.1%	7.9%	19.7%	9.5%
isiXhosa	1.5%	21.2%	24.2%	15.8%
IsiNdebele	0.2%	0.2%	0.3%	2.0%
IsiZulu	0.2%	0.3%	0.4%	22.4%
Sepedi	0.1%	0.1%	0.1%	8.9%
Sesotho	0.2%	0.5%	1.1%	7.4%
Setswana	0.3%	0.4%	0.4%	7.9%
Sign language	0.3%	0.4%	0.4%	0.5%
SiSwati	0.0%	0.0%	0.1%	2.5%
Tshivenda	0.1%	0.1%	0.1%	2.3%
Xitsonga	0.0%	0.1%	0.2%	4.4%
Other	0.4%	0.8%	2.2%	1.6%
Not applicable	0.6%	2.3%	2.5%	1.6%
<i>Population</i>	<i>25,275</i>	<i>193,672</i>	<i>5,822,734</i>	<i>51,770,560</i>

Table 3.2. First language use according to the 2011 South African Census (StatsSA 2012)

Compared to the total population of George, Houtiniquadorp is more Afrikaans-dominant. The dominance of Afrikaans remained stable between the 1996 and 2011 censuses. However, home language speakers of English and isiXhosa increased slightly between 2001 and 2011. The Reverend of the Congregational Church stated in his interview that they started having one English Sunday service to accommodate new residents who cannot understand Afrikaans. However, he stated that once you have settled in Houtiniquadorp *raak jy gou Afrikaans* ('you quickly become Afrikaans'). Afrikaans-English bilingualism has a long history in in South Africa and has become an unremarkable social norm for the majority of Afrikaans-speaking South Africans, especially in urban centres (see Watermeyer 1996:102; Kamwangamalu 2003; Deumert 2004:266). The extensive language mixing between Afrikaans and English, as documented by McCormick (2002) among Coloured speakers in Cape Town, was not observed in Houtiniquadorp. However, three participants switched frequently to English during long stretches of narratives. I did not measure the Houtiniquadorp participants' bilingual proficiencies, nor collected data on language choices according to different domains, but during the interviews, several participants gave anecdotal accounts of their own language proficiencies or interactions with English speakers. The anecdotes show ambivalence towards English.

Bilingualism is valued locally because it facilitates communication with new residents who cannot (or will not) speak Afrikaans, and English is also used in tertiary institutions and in the work place. However, speaking English is regarded by some Houtiniquadorpers as a sign that “you do not belong here” or that you are not local, because Houtiniquadorp is historically an Afrikaans-dominant community. Some participants are also aware of a local stigma of snobbery associated with speaking English, especially to one’s children.

Old Dorp

As stated, Old Dorp is the oldest Houtiniquadorp neighbourhood, radiating from the missionary church (Figure 3.1).



Figure 3.1. Old Dorp street with Norman-style missionary church (1825) in background (own photo, June 2010)

Vast plots in Old Dorp are vacant, which makes the neighbourhood a target area for property and commercial developers. Several of these plots, however, are tied up in family estates. Residents also make use of the open areas for livestock grazing and vegetable gardens (see Appendix 3.4). Most of Old Dorp’s residents are *boorlinge*, having inherited land and properties. As stated Ant Fiela (aged 70), a member of a traditional *boorling* family:

11)

<i>Ons het die beste deel van Houtiniquadorp.</i>	We have the best part of Houtiniquadorp.
<i>Nou kyk, ek stam uit die,</i>	Now look, I originate from the,
<i>uit die ou habitante van Houtiniquadorp,</i>	from the old inhabitants of Houtiniquadorp,
<i>die Allerman familie,</i>	the Allerman family,
<i>en dis daarom,</i>	and it's therefore,
<i>lat ek nog, lekker in die middel sit.</i>	that I still, sit nicely in the middle.

As discussed, several Old Dorp participants reside on properties that had been in the family for generations. For example, Calvin (aged 63) and J.P. (aged 69) are brothers, and they showed me the section of the neighbourhood that used to belong to their great-grandfather. The two of them, and another brother, inherited the property through their father and they still reside there; for them, the streets were replete with memories. However, *boorlinge* do not only reside in Old Dorp: depending on life circumstances, some reside in the more affluent Bergview or the poorer Scheme areas. Newer developments initially started to the east of the Old Dorp, forming the Scheme. In the photograph below, a broad road forms the boundary between Old Dorp and Scheme.



Figure 3.2. Visible boundary between Old Dorp (left) and Scheme (right; own photo, July 2011)

Scheme

Compared to Old Dorp, the most striking visual aspects of Scheme are the neglected sidewalks, small plots, and closely packed houses, many of which are in disrepair or self-renovated (see Figure 3.3).



Figure 3.3. The Scheme streets (left; own photo, June 2010) and low-cost housing (right; *Google Street View*)

Participants from all three neighbourhoods described the Scheme as *rof* ('rough', colloquially meaning 'dangerous'). Some residents state that in the Scheme, people drink to excess, and that there are *smokkelhuise* ('smuggle houses', i.e. houses where people sell drugs or alcohol illegally) and other forms of criminality. I was warned against venturing alone in the Scheme and became aware of police presence in the area, especially over weekends. The majority of negative commentary about the Scheme made by participants in all three neighbourhoods pertained to the perceived influx of *inkommers*, especially to the most recent extension where low-cost houses were built in the late nineteen-nineties. For example, Fred (aged 51) is a *boorling* living in the Scheme, and when talking about the most recent low-cost houses in his neighbourhood, he expressed his frustration as follows:

12)

Ek weet nie

hoekom het die munisipaliteit

Sodom en Gomorra hier kom neersit nie,

die elemente wat hiervandaan kom

dis nie Houtiniquadorpers nie

glo my!

I don't know

why the municipality

came and put down Sodom and Gomorrah here,

the elements that come from here

it's not Houtiniquadorpers

believe me!

Fred's reference to Sodom and Gomorrah indicates his perception of the vice and depravity of some of the Scheme's inhabitants. He believes that the source of bad 'elements' are *inkommers*. 53.4% of Scheme residents had moved to the area between 1996 and 2001 (StatsSA 2012). The Scheme is currently saturated, and the population increase between 2001 and 2011 was a mere 1.1% (Table 3.1). As stated in Section 3.3, poorer *boorlinge* also live in the Scheme. Some participants in the other neighbourhoods believed that tensions arose between *boorlinge* and *inkommers* in the Scheme, because of the clashing of unsavoury *elemente* ('elements'). Immigration can contribute to an increased sense of territorialism, and during my interview with Sam (aged 46, residing in Old Dorp), he explained why poorer *boorlinge* struggle to get along with *inkommers*.

13)

<i>Maar die dinge het baie verander,</i>	But things have changed a lot,
<i>verskriklik baie verander.</i>	changed an awful lot.
<i>Veral, met die,</i>	Especially, with the,
<i>met die inkommer het die elemente saamgekom.</i>	with the <i>inkommer</i> the elements came.
<i>En die elemente wat hier was,</i>	And the elements that were here,
<i>het nou die inkomende elemente,</i>	now have the incoming elements,
<i>vir hulle was dit nou,</i>	for them it was now,
<i>is 'n betreding van, van hulle gebied.</i>	is a treading upon, upon their turf.
<i>So met die gevolg</i>	So as a result
<i>die konflik het dan nou net,</i>	the conflict just went
<i>verder en verder gegaan.</i>	further and further.

The term *die elemente* ('the elements') refers to vices (like drinking, fighting, stealing, etc.) that affect the moral standards in the town, and it is used as a metonym to refer to the group of people who engage in these vices. Discourses of place frequently involve notions of moral behaviour (see Modan 2007 in Chapter Two). Conflict between 'local elements' and 'incoming elements' is seen as causing violence and criminality, and negative changes in Houtiniquadorp more generally are related to these bad elements (and by extension, bad people) who moved into the town. Bergview was also associated with *inkommers*, albeit of a more affluent standing.

Bergview

Unlike housing in the Scheme, the plots in Bergview were sold to those who could afford to build their own houses. By the end of 1974, the first plots were sold for R150-R300²⁴ each (Du Preez 1987:261). Participants told me that civil servants were given preference, like Houtiniquadorp's first postmaster whom I interviewed. He was originally from Garies (Northern Cape) and resided on the plot allocated to him since he started working at the Houtiniquadorp post office in 1978. Six of the participants from Bergview were teachers (in addition, four teachers lived in Old Dorp, and two in the Scheme).

Where people in Old Dorp and Scheme were walking and interacting in the streets throughout the day, Bergview was fairly deserted during working hours – only children were seen walking to school and back. One of Houtiniquadorp's primary schools is in Bergview, but many of Bergview's residents placed their children in former Whites-only schools in George (also see Chapter Five). During the interviews, participants from the other neighbourhoods described Bergview as a *rykmansarea* ('rich man's area') where 'wow people' stay. The household incomes and employment statistics above (Table 3.1) confirm this. The area has bigger houses and plots and the sidewalks were maintained (see Figure 3.4).²⁵



Figure 3.4. Up-market houses (left; Google Street View) and maintained roads and sidewalks (left; own photo, June 2010)

²⁴ In 1975, the average nominal house price in South Africa was R 21,261. Source: *House Price South Africa* 2014, <http://housepricesouthafrica.com/>.

²⁵ Properties listed online show houses selling on 420-609 m² plots in Old Dorp, where Scheme had plot sizes of 270-583 m². In Delville, properties are selling on 846-1,128 m² plots (<http://www.iolproperty.co.za> and <http://www.property24.com>; accessed on 25 November 2013).

Bergview is spatially removed from the rest of Houtiniquadorp and participants explained that some Houtiniquadorpers felt that Bergview was not part of Houtiniquadorp. The separation was not only geographical, but also social. Ashley (aged 20, living in Old Dorp) stated that one would rarely see a Bergview resident in Old Dorp areas and vice versa. When he lived in Bergview, he did not consider himself a Houtiniquadorper. This separation seem to have a long history. For instance, Jimmy (aged 46, a *boorling* living in the Scheme) explained that when he was a child, children from Bergview did not want to play with him and other Scheme children, because they were richer than they were. Living in Bergview signalled social mobility, as explained by Jimmy:

14)

<i>Hulle kom nooit hierna toe nie,</i>	They [Bergview residents] never come here,
<i>hulle beweeg nie terug</i>	they don't move back
<i>in Houtiniquadorp in nie</i>	into Houtiniquadorp,
<i>ons beweeg/</i>	we move/
<i>wil vorentoe beweeg [laughs],</i>	want to move ahead [laughs],
<i>maar hulle wil nie terug beweeg na ons nie.</i>	but they don't want to move back to us.

Because of the perception that Bergview is a more affluent area, the participants believed that there were more *inkommers* living there than in the Old Dorp. 18.1% of Bergview residents moved to the neighbourhood between 1996 and 2001; this figure dropped by more than 10 percentage-points in the 2011 census. The population increase in Bergview was 3.1% between 2001 and 2011.

3.5. Conclusion

In this chapter, I gave an account of Houtiniquadorp as a place shaped by history, politics and social changes. Since its inception in the early nineteenth-century, Houtiniquadorp became a race-place, and Houtiniquadorp's history was discussed to show how the mission station played a role in establishing Houtiniquadorpers' sense of locality and belonging. Specifically, as a mission station, certain moral ideologies about respectable behaviour entered into local formulations of belonging and exclusivity.

In South Africa, place, race and social status are interconnected, and Houtiniquadorp is an example of how the legacies of the past politicise people's lived experiences. "Coloured" is a highly debated socio-political identity in South Africa and does not have a fixed social

meaning, as exemplified by the selected quotations from participants. I focused on three participants, because their views encapsulate the three main stances towards Coloured identity I observed in Houtiniquadorp: Colouredness as an intermediate status in South Africa's essentialist racial hierarchies; Colouredness as a valid identity that involves hybridity and fluidity; and anti-Coloured, pro-indigenous Khoesan revivalism as a form of identity politics driven by aims for self-determination. The socio-political construct points to the tension between reification and/or erasure of racial identities. Furthermore, the racialisation of place created contradictory sentiments, where belonging in Houtiniquadorp means embracing Coloured identity and Houtiniquadorp as a Coloured area, whilst living in a post-apartheid context of non-racial ideologies.

The census data showed continuous in-migration to Houtiniquadorp, which impacted on Houtiniquadorpers' sense of locality and belonging. The distinctions *boorling/inkommer* encapsulate the emic differentiations, based on residential status and duration of residency. The *boorling/inkommer* distinctions were also visible in the three main neighbourhoods where I conducted fieldwork, and contributed to local socioeconomic power struggles. Social and geographic mobilities are involved in the perceptions Houtiniquadorpers have of the different neighbourhoods and types of residents living there; thus the place is socially stratified. One can objectively locate Houtiniquadorp on a map, however, colonisation, apartheid, and post-1994 democracy have had an impact on the ways in which Houtiniquadorp is subjectively experienced as a place by the people living there, newcomers and established residents alike.

Chapter 4 Previous studies of Afrikaans /r/, language ideologies, and folk linguistics

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4.1. Introduction

In Chapter Two, I argued that language ideologies play an important role in shaping indexical associations. In this chapter, I draw on the notion of language ideologies in discussing racialised varieties of Afrikaans and the analysis of Afrikaans /r/ variants in previous research. Language ideologies have been found to influence the perspectives and approaches taken by linguists in their own work (see Irvine and Gal 2000; Kroskrity 2004). I also examine what factors influence folk perceptions about regional and social variation of Afrikaans /r/. As argued by Preston (1989:3), speakers' set of beliefs about language variation is 'essential knowledge for an approach to linguistics which emphasizes societal and interactional context.' Therefore, the literature review of Afrikaans /r/ is compared to laypersons' perceptions and attitudes about uvular-*r* as a regional, non-standard counterpart of the supra-local standard alveolar-*r*. Even though I draw from two distinct sources (scholarly writings and laypersons' written comments), I treat them as complementary and non-hierarchical. In concert, they provide a fuller picture of Afrikaans /r/ and the ideologies and indexicalities that accompany its use and stereotype its users.

Firstly, in Section 4.2, I discuss the role played by language ideologies in Afrikaans linguistics, before turning to research trends and developments in Afrikaans dialectology and variationist sociolinguistics. Previous research on Afrikaans spoken by South Africans, who were classified as Coloured, initially resembled regional dialectology studies (nineteen-twenties to seventies), and since the nineteen-eighties there were several studies using the variationist approach established by Labov (1972a). The term "Coloured-Afrikaans" used in these studies is critically discussed. The term is ambiguous, as it can refer either to a population group (Coloured) who speak Afrikaans (Coloured Afrikaans-speakers), or refer to a distinct variety of Afrikaans (Coloured-Afrikaans speakers). The labels used to describe the varieties of South African English similarly reflect the race or ethnicity of speakers, e.g. General White South African English (standard variety, with various sociolects), South African Indian English (as ethnolect), and Black and Coloured South African English (traditionally second-language varieties, but also ethnolects; see Bekker 2012). This labelling reflects the linguistic remnants of South Africa's colonial history and racially segregated past.

In Section 4.3, I discuss previous research on Afrikaans /r/. I show that whilst references were made to alveolar-*r* and uvular-*r* (*bry-r*, 'burr-*r*') since the early twentieth-century, early Afrikaans scholars' pleas for in-depth research into the regional and social use of /r/ have not sufficiently been met.

Finally, in Section 4.4, I turn to current folk linguistic views about /r/ to investigate a specific group of Afrikaans-speakers who have posted their views on a Facebook language interest group. This allows me to further explore perceptions about uvular-*r* as non-standard and regional, as suggested by the review of the literature. I examine comments about the origins of uvular-*r* and consider the language ideologies involved in the rationalisation of Afrikaans uvular-*r* as being French or European in origin. I then discuss comments made about specific regions associated with *bry* speakers. Finally, I consider comments made about types of *bry* speakers, where I argue that the ideologies about uvular-*r* as a regional, rural feature *emplace* the sound and lead to conflicting views about uvular-*r* as a speech defect.

4.2. Racialisation of Afrikaans varieties

Before I focus on previous research on Afrikaans /r/, it is important to consider the ideological foundations of the broader field of Afrikaans dialectology and sociolinguistics. I start this discussion with a quote from Le Roux's (1946) book *Afrikaanse Taalstudies* (Afrikaans Language Studies):

Die Nederlandse r word deur baie gebry, maar heelwat sterker as by Afrikaners wat bry. ('The Dutch *r* is burred by many, but considerably stronger than Afrikaners who burr.' Le Roux 1946:204)

The quote exemplifies a trend I observed in all the studies about Afrikaans /r/ I surveyed: White speakers of Afrikaans (i.e. Afrikaners) were prioritised by positioning their speech as the norm, and other South Africans were either implicitly or explicitly excluded. These studies about Afrikaans /r/ were conducted in the twentieth-century and were fully absorbed in the language ideologies of the time that saw Afrikaans appropriated for nation building by White speakers (Davids 1990:42; see Roberge 1990 below).

The view that Afrikaans is a colonial offshoot of Dutch (argued by Scholtz 1963, 1981 and Raidt [1972] 1991, 1994) formed part of language ideologies about Afrikaans as a European or White language. Starting in the late nineteen-sixties, Raidt promulgated a strong thesis about the European roots of Afrikaans. Raidt argues that Khoekhoe and slaves spoke different, non-native Dutch varieties (as forms of second language acquisition), and that these varieties played a marginal role in the development from Cape Dutch to Afrikaans. However, scholars such as Den Besten (1989, 2002, 2005) and Roberge (1993, 2002, 2006, 2012) have made strong cases for the role played by the Khoekhoe and slaves (as speakers of Khoesan,

Malay, and Portuguese Creole, inter alia) in the varieties of Cape Dutch, which led to the formation of Afrikaans.

Roberge (1990) examines the role played by socio-political ideologies in the formulation and establishment of language ideologies. He argues that White supremacist trajectories in the construction of Afrikaner nationalism ‘shaped the ideological character of Afrikaans historical linguistics’ (1990:146). This influenced Afrikaans linguistics in the twentieth-century, as it emerged within the context of a drive for the recognition of Afrikaans in all domains. As explained by Webb (2010:109):

The work of the early Afrikaans linguists, who defined Afrikaans as a “European” language, promoted it as a legitimate object of study, wrote grammars for it, developed technical terminology and compiled dictionaries. The white speakers of Afrikaans thus obtained control over decisions about what was “acceptable”, legitimate and authoritative Afrikaans (standard Afrikaans).

Furthermore, during the apartheid years, Coloured Afrikaans-speakers were de facto excluded from the regular social networks that linked White Afrikaans-speakers to one another (Hendricks 2012:44; see Chapter One). Due to the separation of social networks and constrained interactions, the Afrikaans spoken by Coloured South Africans was regarded to constitute a racial – and sometimes regional – non-standard dialect that differs from standard Afrikaans (phonetically, morpho-syntactically and lexically).

Regional and social dialectology: aspects of ethno-regional dialects

While dialectology is mainly concerned with regional dialects, Afrikaans dialectology took an ethno-regional perspective. Thus, the Afrikaans spoken by Coloured speakers (understood as a pre-defined racial group) was studied according to ethnic subgroups located in specific regions, as formulated during the colonial period and officialised during apartheid. For example, as discussed in Chapter 3.3, the *South African Population Registration Act* (Act 30 of 1950) stipulated the following ethnic subgroups under Coloured: Cape Coloureds and Malays (both located in the Cape Town area; Malays were primarily Muslims); and Griquas (located in the Northern Cape). Early Afrikaans dialectology reflected the racial ideologies that circulated during South Africa’s political past: the ethno-regional varieties of Afrikaans spoken by Coloured people were included under a separate racialised dialect of Afrikaans – called “*Kleurling-Afrikaans*” (“Coloured-Afrikaans”) – and treated as historically and structurally distinct from and inferior to “White-Afrikaans”.

Language geographers such as S.A. Louw (1941, 1959; see Map 4.2 below) describe and explain non-standard features of White Afrikaans-speakers as local or regional ways of speaking and use dialect questionnaires to draw an Afrikaans dialect atlas. S.A. Louw and Eksteen (1975) explain why they excluded Coloured Afrikaans-speakers from their Afrikaans Language Atlas; in their opinion, Coloured speakers form a social group distinct from the White speakers and therefore use a different Afrikaans dialect. Louw and Eksteen's (1975:2) main justification is the claim that Coloured speakers favour English and are therefore not "pure" Afrikaans-speakers. Language ideologies about the monolingual native speaker (see Ortega 2014) are implicit in Louw and Eksteen's statement and furthermore relate to anti-anglicisation attitudes and ideologies about racial purity inherent in Afrikaner nationalism. The Afrikaans language atlas fits into the Afrikaner nationalist ideologies of the time, given that conventional language maps are 'built on the perspective of the contemporary nation-state as a political form' (Gal 2010:33). Certain 'linguistic phenomena' are thus purposefully omitted to represent and create 'cultural notions of space': 'they help to construct the linguistic world they claim merely to reflect' (Gal *ibid*). Therefore, a speaker's race designated them a priori as a speaker of either standard "White-Afrikaans" (with social and regional variation) or "Coloured-Afrikaans" (with social and regional variation). A number of studies described different features of "Coloured-Afrikaans" according to different regions. These regions were not arbitrarily selected: most of the studies were conducted in areas where a concentration of people with designated ethnicities historically resided. These ethno-localities were later summarised by Van Rensburg's (1989; also see Ponelis 1987) reconstruction of three historical Afrikaans dialects. Two of these dialects are associated with Coloured speakers, viz. *Kaapse-Afrikaans* (Cape Afrikaans) in the area around Cape Town, and *Oranjerivier-Afrikaans* (Orange River Afrikaans) spoken in the north-western areas up to the northern border of South Africa (see Chapter One).

Rademeyer's (1938; based on his 1931 doctoral dissertation) study was the first work on *Kleurling-Afrikaans* spoken by the Griquas and people from the Rehoboth areas. The Griquas have been described as a sub-category of the Coloured designation by the apartheid administration (Van der Ross 1986; see Chapter Three), while research found that Griquas self-identify as an ethnic group (Waldman 2007:10-11). The people from Rehoboth were descendants of Khoekhoe and offspring of mixed relations (historically call *Basters* 'Bastards') who settled in Namibia (A. Louw 2010). Rademeyer compares their language use to standard Afrikaans and highlights deviations from the standard norms. He ridiculed the Afrikaans of the

Griquas and Rehobothers by stating that it can only be regarded as ‘amusing’ and also referred to them as ‘pitiable wretches’ (1938:5, 11-12). Furthermore, as stated by Roberge (1990:141), ‘Rademeyer’s dissertation (1938) stood for years as the only monographic treatment of black varieties of Afrikaans.’ Thus, the discipline of Afrikaans dialectology was shaped by a tendency to silence and/or ridicule Coloured speakers of Afrikaans. Webb (2010:118, n.11) states that it was only in the early nineteen-eighties that ‘Afrikaans linguists began paying serious attention to “non-standard” Afrikaans varieties’.

Nieuwoudt (1990:25-42) summarises forty-two publications about Afrikaans dialectal variation, starting in the early nineteen-twenties up to the end of the nineteen-eighties. I first focus on the studies that concentrated on specific regions and did not use Labovian variationist methodologies (but see below). In Table 4.1, I list fifteen studies that focus on specific regions; some of the titles position the studies ideologically and racial labels are used in distinct ways.

	Publication title	Speakers/Region
Rademeyer (1931, 1938)	<i>Kleurling-Afrikaans: Die taal van die Griekwas en Rehoboth-basters</i>	Griquas and Coloured people from the Rehoboth areas
Heiberg (1950, 1957)	<i>Die taal van die Velddrifse vissers</i> (1950, MA) <i>Afrikaanse Visserstaal</i> (1957, Ph.D.)	White fishermen in Velddrif (1950); White fishermen in the areas between Port Nolloth en Jeffreys Bay (1957)
Hupkes (1951)	<i>Die taal van die blanke gemeenskap in die Jonkersberg nedersetting</i> (M.A.)	White speakers in Jonkersberg
Loubser (1954)	<i>Aspekte van die Afrikaanse spreektaalgebruik in en om Loeriesfontein: 'n steekproef in die taal van die Noordweste</i> (M.A.)	White speakers in Loeriesfontein, Northern Cape
Bothma (1962)	<i>'n Algemene karakteristiek van die Kleurlinge aan die Rand</i> (M.A.)	Coloured speakers in areas surrounding Johannesburg
De Klerk (1968)	<i>Dialektiese verskeidenheid in Afrikaans</i> (Ph.D.)	Phonetic and grammatical regional dialectal differences of White Afrikaans-speaking South Africans (also see Section 4.3)
Boonzaier (1982, 1989)	<i>Die spreektaal van Piketberg</i> (1982, M.A.) <i>'n Taalkundige karakterisering van Bolandse Afrikaans</i> (1989, Ph.D.)	White Afrikaans-speakers in the Piketberg and Boland regions (also see Section 4.3)
Van Rensburg, et al. (1984)	<i>Die Afrikaans van die Griekwas van die tagtigerjare</i> (RGN-report)	Griquas in Northern Cape and Namibia
Eksteen (1984)	<i>Aspekte van Afrikaanse woordgebruik in die Saldanhabaai-omgewing</i> (journal article)	White farmers, fishermen, and townsmen in Saldanha (West Coast)
Links (1983, 1989)	<i>Die Afrikaans van die Kharkams</i> (1983, Ph.D.); <i>So praat ons Namakwalanders</i> (1989, book)	Coloured speakers in Kharkams (Namaqualand Afrikaans, a sub-variety of Orange River Afrikaans)
Fourie (1985, also see Fourie and Du Plessis 1987)	<i>Aspekte van die Afrikaans van Riemvasmakers</i> (1985, M.A.)	Coloured speakers in Riemvasmaak (in the Orange River Afrikaans dialect area)
Verhoef (1988)	<i>Aspekte van Oranjerivierafrikaans in die spontane gebruik van blanke boorlinge in Noord-Kaapland</i> (M.A.)	White speakers living in the Northern Cape, i.e. the Orange River Afrikaans dialect area
Nieuwoudt (1990)	<i>Variasie binne Oranjerivier-Afrikaans</i> (Ph.D.)	Afrikaans speakers living in the Orange River area, who use the following sub-varieties: <i>Griekwa-Afrikaans</i> (Griqua Afrikaans); <i>Blanke Oranjerivier-Afrikaans</i> ('White Orange River Afrikaans); <i>Riemvasmaak-Afrikaans</i> ; <i>Richtersveld-Afrikaans</i> ; <i>Rehoboth-Afrikaans</i> ; <i>Suide van Namibie se Afrikaans</i> (Southern Namibia's Afrikaans); <i>Botswana-Afrikaans</i>

Table 4.1. Examples of Afrikaans ethno-regional dialectology studies

Race entered Afrikaans dialectology in three ways. Firstly, studies of White Afrikaans-speakers were generally unmarked (i.e. defined in terms of region), unless when conducted in a lesser-known area (e.g. Jonkersberg, see Hupkes 1951). Secondly, no racial epithets are used for studies conducted in stereotypical Coloured ethno-regions: the studies of Coloured speakers of Orange River Afrikaans (e.g. Links 1983, 1989; and Fourie 1985) simply refer to the relevant regions. Thus, since Orange River Afrikaans is associated with Coloured speakers, Verhoef (1988) uses the racial classifier *blanke* ('white'). Nieuwoudt (1990) does not use racial labels in her title, but makes the distinction between different varieties of Orange River Afrikaans based on ethno-regions for Coloured speakers. Thus, she does not locate White speakers of Orange River Afrikaans in a specific region or place. Finally, all of these studies were conducted in rural areas, except Bothma (1962) who studied Coloured speakers in the residential areas around Johannesburg. Many of studies in Table 4.1 were Masters or Doctoral dissertations, and the aim was to describe aspects of phonology, morpho-syntax or lexis, etc. in comparison to standard Afrikaans. These studies are traditionally dialectological, focusing on the description of linguistic features of the regional dialects spoken by non-mobile and older speakers. However, they moved beyond place by also bringing in ethnicity/race.

The sociolinguistic turn: socio-ethnic categories and new directions

The variationist approach initiated by William Labov inspired South African sociolinguistic studies from the late nineteen-seventies onwards. Afrikaans variationist studies differ from the dialectological studies discussed above: instead of describing the linguistic aspects of ethno-regional dialects, the focus is on variation within ethno-social categories, where socioeconomic class and ethnicity are the main variables. In Table 4.2, I list studies on Coloured speakers, which are frequently cited by others (see Otto 2014), and I summarise the linguistic variables and main findings.

	Region/Speakers	Linguist variables	Main findings
Klopper (1976, 1983a, 1983b)	Coloured speakers from Cape Town	(r; œi; j; k) and their allophonic distribution	Omission of (r), unrounding of (œi), and the affricate allophones of (j; k), [dʒ; tʃ], correlate with lower socioeconomic class and informal speech style.
Kotzé (1983)	Malay Capetonians	(o; e; ə; œi; ø; j) and the grammatical variables (<i>gaan</i> ; SOV word order)	Undergoing changes towards the standard Afrikaans variants in the speech of younger participants.
Van de Rheede (1983)	Coloured people living in Bellville South (Cape Town)	(r; c; j; o; e)	The linguistic variables are stratified according to age, social status and gender, and the language use in Bellville South shows signs of changing towards the norms of standard Afrikaans.
Van Schalkwyk (1983)	Rehoboth Afrikaans	Ten phonetic variables	(ɔ), (o:) and (t) are the most salient markers of Rehoboth Afrikaans, where participants used [ɔ:], [u], and [d], respectively.
Dreyer (1986)	Capetonian Coloured speakers	Phonetic variables	Established a research model as guideline for future sociolinguistic research on “Coloured-Afrikaans” and compiled an inventory of linguistic variables of “Coloured-Afrikaans” based on previous variationist research.
Roux (1988)	Compared variants of Rehoboth Afrikaans to Griqua Afrikaans and standard Afrikaans	Syntactic, morphological, and lexical variables	Rehoboth Afrikaans is disappearing: younger speakers ‘do not acquire this variety’; i.e. they are using fewer local linguistic variants and are increasing their use of the supra-local standard Afrikaans variants.
Coetzee (1989)	Coloured Afrikaans-speakers in Johannesburg neighbourhoods	Phonetic variables	Unrounding of rounded front vowels and diphthongs; a lack of nasalized vowels; a tendency to shorten long vowels; the use of (z) variant in intervocalic environments (e.g. ‘huise’ /fiœyzə/ instead of /fiœysə/) as status variant; and the use of a high (ɛ) preceding /r; l; k; x/.

Table 4.2. Variationist studies on Afrikaans spoken by Coloured speakers

These studies were mainly conducted in two main urban centres in South Africa (Cape Town and Johannesburg), while others revisited sites studied by dialectologists. This selectiveness of research sites upholds the notion of “Coloured-Afrikaans” as a supra-regional dialect, giving the impression that Coloured Afrikaans-speakers from elsewhere simply speak a local variety that does not differ much from the documented ethno-regional sub-varieties of “Coloured-Afrikaans” (i.e. a supra-regional myth; see Wolfram 2007).

In the sociolinguistic work I have surveyed, only Van de Rhee (1983a; see 1983b:30-37) explicitly discussed the term *Kleurling-Afrikaans* (“Coloured-Afrikaans”). Van de Rhee argues that rejecting the label “Coloured” would also entail that one rejects the existence of “Coloured-Afrikaans”; language ideologies and politics are intertwined because of South Africa’s history (see Roberge 1990 discussed above). “Coloured-Afrikaans” as a linguistic entity does not reflect the multiple expressions of Coloured identities (see Chapter 3.3). Furthermore, because “Coloured-Afrikaans” is customarily compared to standard “White-Afrikaans”, this constructed dialect is cast as an inferior non-standard form (also see Webb 2010 and Hendricks 2012). Similarly, the term “Coloured English”, is, according to Finn (2004:964), problematic for two main reasons: firstly, for socio-political reasons related to the Coloured label as apartheid construct, and secondly, it is an over-generalisation that does not reflect socioeconomic class or regional affinity (also see Mesthrie 2012 discussed in Chapter 2.3). My stance is that the separate communication networks, created by colonialism and apartheid, contributed greatly to the historical reality of racialised Afrikaans varieties. Yet, the label “Coloured-Afrikaans” is a generalisation or umbrella term that obfuscates internal variation, and since none of the variationist studies were conducted post-1994, the possible impacts of changing social networks, deracialisation, and increased mobility have not been observed. As shown in Table 4.2, Kotzé (1983), Van de Rhee (1983), and Roux (1988) already found that especially younger Coloured Afrikaans-speakers show changes towards the norms of standard Afrikaans, which suggest a degree of deracialisation (see Mesthrie 2009 for a discussion of young South Africans and the deracialisation of varieties of South African English).

Few Afrikaans variationist studies were conducted during the twenty-first century (especially on phonetic variation). Wissing (2006) studies the rounding of the ‘aa’ /a/ vowel in the northern provinces of South Africa. De Vos (2009) led a research project to study morpho-syntactic variation of the Afrikaans spoken in the Northern, Western, and Eastern Cape

provinces. A database was compiled, and at least one published article (by Jantjies and Van Dulm 2012) resulted from the project. Jantjies and Van Dulm (2012) studied the use of *mos* as a discourse marker by Coloured Afrikaans-speakers residing in the Western Cape countryside.

Post-apartheid, some of the focus of Afrikaans researchers shifted to applied linguistic matters (e.g. language policies, etc.), while formal linguistics remained a core focus (e.g. Afrikaans syntax, etc.). The language ideologies about standard Afrikaans as an ideological construct of Afrikaner nationalism, formulated in the early twentieth-century, have changed somewhat by the twenty-first century. Established in 2008, the *Afrikaanse Taalraad* (Afrikaans Language Board, currently led by Michael le Cordeur) is an organisation at the forefront of redressing Afrikaans-speakers' segregated past (Le Cordeur 2011). It aims to promote inclusivity for all Afrikaans-speakers in the Afrikaans language community and to recognise the equality of all varieties of Afrikaans spoken (see Hendricks 2012). Nationally, 53% of speakers who indicated that Afrikaans is the language they speak most often at home, also selected the Coloured population group in 2011 census (42% White, 4% Black; StatsSA 2012). In the Western Cape, the 2011 census results for Afrikaans-speakers were 79% Coloured, 17% White and 5% Black. The large proportion of Afrikaans-speakers from the Coloured population group arguably contributes to the 'third Afrikaans movement', which is characterised by a renewed interest in integrating previously racially separated communication communities (see Webb 2010; Le Cordeur 2011; Van Rensburg 2012). For instance, a workshop conducted on the 24th and 25th of January 2011 focussed on incorporating Afrikaans regional varieties into the existing standard (Prah 2012). *Kaaps* (Cape Afrikaans), the variety spoken mainly by Coloured speakers in the Cape Town area, is one of the regional (and ethnic) varieties that have been foregrounded in the debates about expanding standard Afrikaans. However, these debates centre mainly on the inclusion of lexical items into standard Afrikaans dictionaries. My reviews of previous research show that the sociolinguistic variation of the linguistic features of *Kaaps* and other Afrikaans varieties remain under-researched and overgeneralised.

4.3. Afrikaans /r/: previous studies

General hypotheses about the origins of uvular-*r*

According to the literature, Afrikaans /r/ is predominantly realised as alveolar [r], which is also the standard variant. Uvular-*r*, locally and colloquially referred to as the *bry-r*, ('burr-*r*'; either a trill [ʀ] or fricative [ʁ]) is described in older phonetic texts not only as dialectal and regional,

but also as stigmatised and ‘aberrant’ (De Villiers 1970:52; also see Chapter Five). Ponelis, a prominent scholar in Afrikaans linguistics, explained the etymology of *bry* as follows:

Afrikaans “r” that is formed with the back of the tongue, is called the “*bry-r*”. This *bry* is like the Dutch *brouwen* [‘brew’], derived from *breu* and means *pap* [‘porridge’]. To burr, therefore, was like speaking as if you have porridge in your mouth.²⁶ In this rather unflattering expression, we read some aversion to the burr-*r*. Some of this attitude we received from the education authorities who insisted that the burr-*r* is a speech defect. Hopefully this absurd attitude no longer exists. (Ponelis 2000; my translation)

Apart from the word *bry*’s etymology, there is no clear historical evidence of earlier variation and change in Afrikaans /r/. Kloeke (1950) was the only source found speculating about the possible role played by the French Huguenots during the late seventeenth- to early eighteenth-century (see Kloeke 1950:231, n.304; 341, n.425). This hypothesis is similar to assumptions about the French origin of uvular-*r* in the Germanic languages. This account, known as *Trautmann’s hypothesis* after the Neogrammarian scholar, is explored by Trudgill (1974).

Chambers and Trudgill (1998:170-75) describe uvular-*r* as a linguistic feature in Europe that shows ‘a remarkable degree of geographical diffusion across language frontiers’. Assuming that all of Western Europe’s languages originally had alveolar-*r*, Chambers and Trudgill (ibid.) propose that Paris was the most likely origin of uvular-*r*. This is based on Trudgill’s (1974) argument that uvular-*r* is a seventeenth-century Parisian French innovation that spread to West Germanic languages through geographical diffusion. Uvular-*r* spread through Germany as a city-to-city shift, which is an important mechanism behind the geographical diffusion of linguistic features (Chambers and Trudgill 1998:170-175; see Labov 2007). Uvular-*r*’s large-scale diffusion was related to the high status of French in the upper classes of Europe (Van de Velde and Van Hout 2001:1). The main point drawn from Chambers and Trudgill’s discussion is that there is a long history of variation between alveolar-*r* and uvular-*r*, where the latter frequently replaced the former in prestige pronunciations in Western continental Europe (e.g. French, German, and Danish).

²⁶ The verb *bry* (currently *brou*) can also be a source, which meant ‘to muddle up’, e.g. *sy bry haar ‘r’* (‘she burrs her ‘r’). According to Harper’s (2001-2015) *Online Etymology Dictionary*, ‘burr’ meaning ‘rough sound of the letter ‘r’ might have originated as in the figure of speech ‘to have a bur/burr in one’s throat’, indicating a feeling of choking or huskiness. These descriptions indicate an association of uvular-*r* with indistinctness or hindrance, both in Dutch, Afrikaans, and English.

As will be discussed in more detail in Section 4.4, beliefs about the French origin of uvular-*r* are common in Afrikaans folk linguistics. However, historical linguistic studies on the development of Afrikaans agree on the marginal influence from French, via the migration of French Huguenots (as religious refugees) and French settlers (1688 to circa 1729). According to Raidt ([1972] 1991:114), the retention of French surnames and some lexical borrowings are the only remnants of an earlier French presence. The historical record shows that French speakers shifted quickly to Dutch. This language shift was mainly achieved through Dutch colonial policies that restricted the formation of French-speaking settlements in the Cape (Scholtz 1963:226-234; Raidt ([1972] 1991:84-85). Van Rensburg (1983:134-161) suggests that historical reconstructions of earlier varieties of Afrikaans spoken in the Western Cape can cast a light on current phenomena such as vowel raising and uvular-*r*. He argues that the fact that these forms are restricted to the Western Cape might indicate the retention of features from earlier forms of Cape Dutch/Afrikaans vernaculars. Therefore, instead of focusing on Dutch varieties (superstrate) spoken in the early Cape (late seventeenth-century), the different /*r*/ variants in the substrate languages should also be considered.

I propose a hypothetical scenario for the presence of both /*r*/ variants, based on the historical language contact situation that characterised the development of Afrikaans (see Deumert 2004). I draw on Mufwene's (2001, 2002) concept of the 'feature pool', which describes dialect/language contact situations as producing a pool (i.e. an assemblage) of variant linguistic features (phonological, morphological, syntactic or semantic variants) from the range of input varieties (Mufwene 2001:4-6; see Cheshire, et al. 2011:176). Speakers select 'different combinations of features from the pool', producing output varieties with restructured linguistic systems (Cheshire, et al. *ibid.*). According to Mufwene (2002:47), variant features in the pool are in competition, where one can become (more) dominant through increased use and thus mask the latent ones in a contact language. The language contact situation in the early Cape Dutch period was complex, and Deumert (2004:18) describes it as follows:

[...] a complex sociolinguistic variation continuum which comprises a wide range of varieties and variants [...] a typological, temporal and sociolinguistic intermediary between two clearly defined historical states (Early Modern Dutch and modern Afrikaans, respectively).

Input varieties in the Cape Dutch language contact situation were varieties of seventeenth-century Dutch (superstrate), and substrate French and German (through political/religious refugees and settlers); Khoesan (indigenous); and Malay, Portuguese creole, and other

languages spoken by slaves (i.e. a diverse feature pool). If uvular-*r* is a seventeenth-century Parisian innovation, it is improbable that it was present in the seventeenth-century Dutch superstrate, since ‘the prestigious uvular-*r* was introduced by the upper class in The Hague, around 1700 at the earliest and spread to other important cities from there’ (Sebregts 2014:133). Uvular-*r* is thus likely to be either a substrate feature, or a later innovation through language contact at the colonial frontiers. Migrations away from the Cape Town region towards rural areas at the colonial frontiers, together with farming practices, seem to be related to the diffusion and maintenance of uvular-*r*. Hickey (2011:70) discusses evidence from varieties of Irish English that shows that uvular [ʁ] was previously more widespread, but at present it is a recessive feature confined to regional dialects. This scenario is therefore also a possibility for uvular-*r* in Afrikaans varieties, where the sound might have been more widespread historically. However, the history of uvular-*r* in Afrikaans falls beyond the scope of this study, but the association of uvular-*r* with specific regions and non-standardness is of interest. This connection points to the maintenance of features of regional varieties in the presence of standard Afrikaans.

Status of Afrikaans /r/ in the literature: twentieth-century till present

Earliest studies

References to uvular-*r* by scholars of Afrikaans started in the early twentieth-century and coincided with a growing interest in the formal linguistic aspects and standardisation of Afrikaans. Le Roux (1910:96) describes the phonetics of Afrikaans and states that uvular-*r* is predominantly heard in the Malmesbury district (see Map 4.1 below). Seventeen years later, Le Roux and Pienaar (1927) argue that the distribution of uvular-*r* goes beyond Malmesbury: according to them, variants of uvular-*r* are commonly heard along the coastal areas of the erstwhile Cape Province. Uvular-*r* can thus be heard in the regions stretching up to the northern coastal districts where Clanwilliam and Vanrynsdorp are located, and towards the south-eastern districts of Caledon, Bredasdorp and Heidelberg (see Map 4.1 below). Von Weilligh (1925:198) observed that uvular-*r* is the dominant form in Oudtshoorn. Oudtshoorn is further east than Heidelberg and reasonably close to Houtiniquadorp (see Chapter Six where the participants discuss Oudtshoorn’s uvular-*r* in comparison to the one used in Houtiniquadorp). Le Roux and Pienaar (1927) remark that a lack of research makes it impossible to know the extent of uvular-*r*’s geographical spread. However, they state that while alveolar-*r* is the ‘rule’ in Cape Town, Paarl and Stellenbosch areas, uvular-*r* becomes the ‘rule’ as soon as one enters the more rural and agricultural districts (1927:143). This is supported by Swanepoel (1927) in

his exposition of Afrikaans (written for an English audience). His observation about uvular-*r* is as follows: ‘In certain Western Province districts the *Uvular-r* [ʀ] is so general that the local people have come to regard it as standard speech’ (Swanepoel 1927:72; his italics). Map 4.1 shows the main regions associated with uvular-*r* in the Western Cape Province (arrow indicates Houtiniquadorp).



Map 4.1. Areas associated with uvular-*r* in Western Cape Province²⁷

Contemporaneously to Le Roux, Pienaar and Swanepoel, Botha and Burger (1924:176-177) stigmatise uvular-*r* as a case of *verkeerde uitspraak waarteen die onderwyser moet waak* (‘wrong pronunciation against which the teacher must guard’). In their popular manual of instruction to Afrikaans teachers, they recommend that children in areas where uvular-*r* is used

²⁷ Online: http://mapsof.net/map/south-africa-western-cape-map#_UGBvEo3ZDjI.

must be taught to produce the alveolar trill instead.²⁸ Botha and Burger's prescriptive approach is symptomatic of the standardisation and institutionalisation of Afrikaans as an official language, which gained momentum in 1925 with its inclusion in the constitution.²⁹ Botha and Burger (1924) hold that their publication fulfils a 'crucial need' for guidance *noudat Afrikaans orals in skole ingevoer en geleer word* ('now that Afrikaans was introduced and learned in schools everywhere'; see Botha and Burger 1924:*Preface*; my translations). The fact that uvular-*r* is regarded as a non-standard as well as regional feature points to the ideology of promoting a supra-regional standard Afrikaans as a symbol of Afrikaner nationalism and unity (see Section 4.2).

Nineteen-sixties and De Klerk's dialectology of Afrikaans

In 1968, De Klerk completed his doctoral dissertation about *die aard van dialektiese verskeidenheid in Afrikaans* ('the nature of dialectal diversity in Afrikaans'). He discusses *bry-r* as a phonetic variant of the /r/ phoneme (1968:81). He used the traditional methodology of dialect geography and excluded Coloured Afrikaans-speakers from his corpus (1968:18-20). Like Le Roux and Pienaar (1927), De Klerk comments that White speakers from different regions state that they can distinguish between different uvular-*r* variants used in different areas. Therefore, there is not one definite *bry-r* and the term '*bry-r*' encapsulates uvular articulations that range from strong fricatives to softer trills. He lists three *bry* variants:

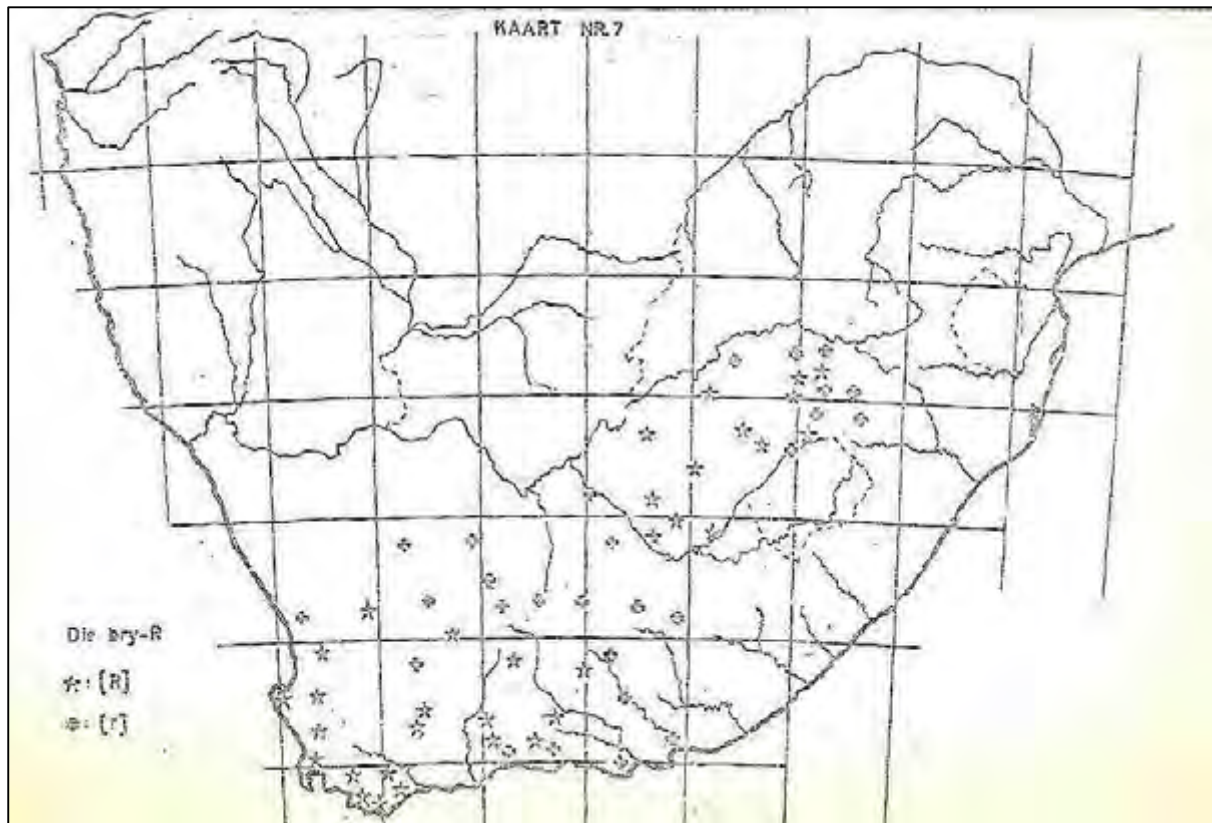
- a) The *baie fortis* ('very fortis') /r/ of the Swartland (Malmesbury, Morreesburg, Hopefield);
- b) The *meer lenis-bry* ('more lenis-burr') of the Overberg (Caledon, Bredasdorp);
- c) The Free State's burr. (De Klerk 1968:81; see Boonzaier 1982 below)

According to De Klerk, *bry*-speakers are not restricted to the erstwhile Cape Province (currently the Western and Northern Cape Provinces). He describes *bry* as a *sporadiese groepperskynsel* ('sporadic group phenomenon') or a *spraakgebrek* ('speech defect') among speakers who *bry* whilst everyone else in their *taalmilieu* ('language milieu') use alveolar-*r*. Therefore, there are two scenarios for uvular-*r*: one is dialectal and the other pathological (see

²⁸ The popularity is indicated by the fact that the text was reprinted four times in just four years; see *Preface* of Botha and Burger (1924).

²⁹ English continued to be the other official language of the South African Union, and when South Africa became a republic in 1961, both Afrikaans and English were recognised as official languages (Conradie and Groenewald 2014:54).

Section 4.4). To illustrate the geographical spread, De Klerk (1968) supplies a map (Map 4.2), presumably taken from the *Afrikaanse Taalatlas* (Afrikaans' Language Atlas; see S.A. Louw 1959; also see Section 4.2).



Map 4.2. Geographical distribution of uvular-*r* from De Klerk (1968)

Map 4.2 shows that uvular-*r* was not only observed in the Western Cape Province, and that it occurred in the Free State, especially around the towns Ficksburg and Winburg (De Klerk 1968:82; also see metalinguistic comments in Section 4.4).

Nineteen-eighties phonetics and Boonzaier's dialectology studies

In the nineteen-eighties, Afrikaans phonetics texts (e.g. Coetzee 1985; Odendal 1989), continued to describe uvular-*r* as commonly associated with people from the Cape Province's rural farming areas. In their textbook about Afrikaans phonetics, De Villiers and Ponelis

(1987:114-116³⁰) state that the alveolar trill is the most common /r/ sound, which is supplanting the *bryklank* ('burr-sound') because the latter is stigmatised: *die bryklank word aktief teëgewerk deur onderwysdepartemente en word bv. ook nie deur omroepers gebruik nie* ('the burr-sound is actively counteracted by the education department and is e.g. also not used by broadcasters'; see Section 4.4). De Villiers and Ponelis (1987:116) remark that the pattern of change from uvular-*r* to alveolar-*r* starts with a burr-speaker using alveolar-*r* in word- or syllable-onsets ('*anlaut*') and uvular-*r* in word- or syllable-codas ('*auslaut*') – I explore this phonological pattern in the quantitative results in Chapter Seven, with specific focus on participants who use both alveolar-*r* and uvular-*r*. According to De Villiers and Ponelis (1987:115), the burr-sound has several variants, distinguished by the following parameters: manner of articulation (trill, fricative or glide), place of articulation (alveolar, palatal, velar or uvular) and tenseness (fortis or lenis).³¹ These variants correspond to geographical areas in the Western Cape, and De Villiers and Ponelis (1987:116) conclude that although uvular-*r* has a vast geographical spread, the dialectal distribution of *bry* variants in South Africa still needs to be studied in-depth. Since De Klerk's (1968) brief exploration, no such study has seen been completed, apart from Boonzaier's dialectology studies in the West Coast and Boland.

Boonzaier's MA dissertation (1982) of the *spreektaal* ('spoken language' or 'colloquial speech') of *blankes in die Piketbergse distrik* ('whites in the Piketberg-area'³²) is a dialectological description of uvular-*r* as a regional feature of the West Coast, with several localised variants. The /r/ variants are one of several other regional phonetic features he describes, and he does not make social distinctions between speakers. His data base was recorded interviews – from the twenty-five partial transcriptions he supplies in his addendum, fifteen were men (ten were older than seventy and five younger than fifty years) and ten were women (five older than sixty and five younger than thirty-five). He identifies four variants of /r/; Boonzaier 1982:107, my translation³³):

³⁰ De Villiers and Ponelis (1987) cite Le Roux and Pienaar (1927:139-143) as the main source of information, which they reviewed and expanded on.

³¹ Although not explicitly stated, palatal and velar articulations are possible allophonic realisations of the uvular, especially if the manner is a glide (i.e. palatal) or fricative (i.e. velar).

³² He focusses on Redelinghuys, Porterville and Piketberg, which are towns along the West Coast District; see Map 4.1 (Piketberg and Porterville are also part of the Swartland agricultural area).

³³ I replaced Boonzaier's idiosyncratic symbols for the different /r/ variants with the IPA symbols corresponding to his descriptions.

- a) alveolar trill [r]: the rolled-*r* is rather rare, despite the fact that teachers tried to enforce its use in schools in the nineteen-twenties to try and eradicate the *bry-r*;
- b) uvular trill [R]: the common *bry-r*, which the majority of the speakers around Porterville use, and which has a characteristically strong throat trilling articulation;
- c) uvular fricative [ɣ]: the *strawwe bry-r* ('severe burr-*r*'), which sounds like a voiced velar fricative [x]. Teachers in Redelinghuys sometimes have difficulty in stopping children in the lower Grades from writing *maag* ('stomach') instead of *maar* ('but'), i.e. they confuse <r> with <g>.³⁴
- d) a weaker uvular trill [R]: the *r*-sound around Piketberg.

Boonzaier (ibid.) describes an articulatory continuum of West Coast /r/, with alveolar trill at the one end and uvular fricative at the other, and weak and strong uvular trills as intermediates. He judges the alveolar trill to be the correct (or *pront* 'pure') form and the uvular fricative as a hyper-articulation (i.e. *straf* 'severe'). According to his analysis, speakers from Redelinghuys use [ɣ] and [R], Piketberg speakers use a weaker [R], and speakers from Porterville use a lengthened [R]. Eksteen (1984) also conducted a study at the West Coast and looked at facets of Afrikaans regional speech in the Saldanha Bay area (1984:289). He does not describe his sample group, apart from that it consists of White farmers, fishermen and West Coast villagers. In his discussion of phonetic aspects, he states that the *bry-r* is common in the area. He defines this 'dorsal-uvular-*r*' as a voiced uvular fricative [ɣ]; however, he also observed voiced velar fricative [ɣ] realisations (Eksteen 1984:293).

For his doctoral study, Boonzaier (1989) used a similar methodology as above to describe 'Boland Afrikaans', the variety spoken in the Cape Winelands and Overberg regions (see Map 4.1). He observed anecdotally that in the early twentieth-century, only old people spoke *pront* ('pure') while children burred; during the nineteen-twenties, children had to practice the alveolar trill in school (see Botha and Burger 1924 above). However, according to Boonzaier, after school they reverted to uvular-*r*, and he states that uvular-*r* is used approximately '70% percent of the time' in the Boland-area (1989:224, my translation; he did not do a quantitative study and this figure is thus his estimate). In this study, Boonzaier observed at least five /r/ variants, which correspond to the three uvular-*r* variants from the Piketberg-area (northern West Coast), plus a 'very fortis' uvular-*r* used in the Swartland (West

³⁴ The children did not perceive a difference in the voiceless velar fricative [x] and the voiced uvular fricative [ɣ].

Coast) and the standard alveolar-*r*. He claims that the Overberg uvular trill is similar to the qualitatively weaker one used in Piketberg (Boonzaier 1989:224).

Twenty-first century

Uvular-*r* variants are not discussed in Wissing's (2014:91-125) chapter on Afrikaans phonetics in the most recent textbook of Afrikaans linguistics, *Kontemporêre Afrikaanse Taalkunde* ('Contemporary Afrikaans Linguistics'; edited by Carstens and Bosman 2014). However, he presented a poster with Pienaar at the 2015 *Linguistics Society of South Africa's* annual conference, which explores the acoustic and articulatory features of /ɾ/ in 'Malmesbury-Afrikaans', as used by a thirty-eight year old Coloured woman (Pienaar and Wissing 2015). In this exploration, they compared the acoustics of alveolar trill [r] to uvular fricative [ʁ]. Otto's chapter in *Kontemporêre Afrikaanse Taalkunde*, which focuses on Afrikaans (variationist) sociolinguistics, only refers to studies on the use of /r/ conducted in the nineteen-eighties (Otto 2014:321-322 and 327). These studies focused on alveolar-*r* and post-vocalic zero-*r* as (r) variants in Cape Afrikaans, specifically the studies by Klopper (1983), Kotzé (1983), and Dreyer (1986; see Section 4.2). High frequency zero-*r* is considered a feature of non-standard Afrikaans, and in these studies, it is associated with Coloured Afrikaans-speaking Capetonians. However, I would argue that these studies are outdated, and that they over-emphasised the social stigma of zero-*r*. There is no conclusive evidence whether this variant is in fact stigmatised, or whether it is a stable variant likely to occur frequently during informal speech anyway (as Klopper 1983 indeed shows). Also, social stigma is not unidimensional; i.e. overt versus covert prestige complicates issues of prejudice (see Chapter 7.2, where I discuss the occurrence of zero-*r* in the sample).

4.4. Folk linguistics and Afrikaans /r/

To explore whether some present-day Afrikaans speakers associate uvular-*r* with specific regions and speakers (i.e. indexical relations between a *linguistic* type and *social* types; Agha 2003, 2005; Silverstein 2003), I elicited metalinguistic comments from a Facebook group called *Taalgoggas en Balbyters*³⁵ ('Language-bugs and Ball-biters'). Cobus Bester, a radio presenter at a nationwide Afrikaans radio station (*Radio Sonder Grense* 'Radio without Borders'), created this group in 2011, and group discussions centre on questions of language and linguistic usage in Afrikaans. The group had over 8,000 members in February 2016, and

³⁵ See online: <https://www.facebook.com/groups/taalgoggas/>.

its members were predominantly White people in their thirties to seventies. The attitudes and ideas expressed are therefore not representative of all Afrikaans-speaking South Africans and reflect the ideologies of older speakers from a certain background (see Kroskrity 2004 about the diverse and multiple nature of ideologies). The group is described as a site ‘for anyone who works in Afrikaans or who simply loves the language,’ and members are invited to ‘come and kick language matters around, ask questions, help others, rationalise, debate’ (i.e. a potential source of language ideologies; see the original Afrikaans description in Appendix 4.1).

An online language-interest group such as this Facebook group is a good site to ask questions that elicit metalinguistic comments. On the 2nd of July 2012, I posted the following question:

Waar kom die Afrikaanse bry-r vandaan? Waar in Suid-Afrika kan mens dit hoor en wie gebruik dit meestal?

Where does the Afrikaans burr-*r* come from? Where in South Africa can one hear it and who usually uses it?

Over the next two days, seventy-five comments were made by thirty-one members. All commentators were White, except for one Coloured man in his thirties (John). Figure 4.1 summarises the six types of comments made (see Appendix 4.2 for all comments).

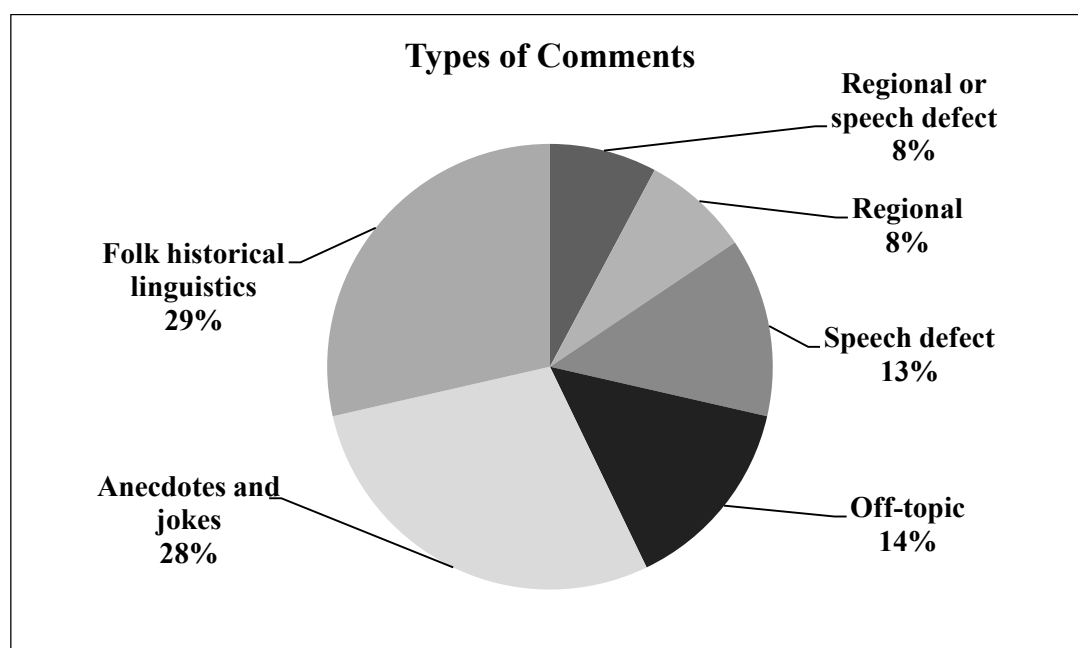


Figure 4.1. Types of comments made by Facebook group members

The high percentage of anecdotes and jokes indicates that although members of this group often engaged in serious discussions, they also liked to make jokes and talked about their own humorous experiences of *bry* and ways of speaking.³⁶ Staying with the question I posted, I focus three main themes in the responses: firstly, the origins of the sound (*folk historical linguistics*); secondly, *regions* associated with *bry* speakers; and lastly, possible *types of bry speakers*.

***Bry* as European**

The first part of my question asked about the possible origins of uvular-*r* in Afrikaans. Twenty-one participants commented on this theme. The responses were framed around authorised sources (linguistics scholars) and linguistic lectures attended in the nineteen-sixties. I use the term ‘authorised’ instead of ‘authoritative’ to indicate that the sources the members referred to have been *endowed* with authority because they were well-known scholars in Afrikaans linguistics. I divide my discussion of these responses into its two threads.

The first thread was initiated by Gerda’s (a woman in her sixties) comment *Sekeg die Fganse invloed* (*Seker die Franse invloed*, ‘Probably the French influence’), which emphasised the French connection (Appendix 4.3, comment 2). The non-standard spelling, which replaces <r> as <g> (*sekeg* instead of *seker*, *Fganse* instead of *Franse*) playfully indicates a fricative articulation of [ɣ] (since <g> typically represents the fricative [x] in Afrikaans orthography). Gerda supported her argument by referring to her ancestors who used uvular-*r* and were French decedents. Marko disagreed with Gerda’s idea of a French origin. Instead he argued that the origins can be found in the Brabant dialect; a fact that he remembered from the Afrikaans-Netherlands linguistics course he did under Edith Raidt (at the University of Cape Town in 1969; comment 5). Raidt was the doyen of Afrikaans historical linguistics in the nineteen-seventies and early eighties, and she articulated a strong thesis about the European roots of Afrikaans (which is, however, contested by several scholars; see Section 4.2). Marko supported his claim by quoting a description of the Brabant dialect written in Dutch from an online

³⁶ Anecdotes and jokes are important sites for the articulation of ideologies, but for reasons of space, I focus on the other comments.

source.³⁷ He also supplied socio-historical information and argued that the Brabant sailors who came to the Dutch Cape Colony used uvular-*r*.

The second thread is an example of Gerda and Marko's discussion in reverse: a member based her answer about French influence on an authorised source, which was contested by another member. This thread consists of six comments between two people (comments 69-75). Riette (a woman in her sixties) stated that Professor Willem Kempen discussed this question in their 1966 Afrikaans-Netherlands course. Kempen (1909-1986) was a lecturer and professor in Afrikaans linguistics at Stellenbosch University (1935-1974).³⁸ According to Riette, Kempen claimed that uvular-*r* was the only linguistic remnant from French in Cape Dutch. Riette's (and Kempen's) claims were challenged by Anton (a man in his seventies), who argued that Germans also *bry*. Riette deferred to the authority of Kempen as a linguistics professor, and yielded by broadening the source of uvular-*r* as possibly from *'n samesmelting van al die ander tale wat hier saamgekom het* ('a merger of all the languages that came together here'; see comments 73-74). Therefore, for Riette, uvular-*r* must have some European source, albeit not necessarily French. Anton asserted that he too had heard Kempen's proclamations in 1966, but there were already dissident views about the influence of French. He argued that at the time of the French Huguenot migration, French indexed semi-aristocratic status; this inflated people's claims to be French or French-speaking.

The speculations made by group members about the linguistic history of uvular-*r* in Afrikaans involved comparisons to other modern European languages (mainly Dutch, French and German). Their ideas are in the form of logical predication based on language ideologies:

Modern European languages have uvular-*r*;

Afrikaans originated from these languages;

Therefore, uvular-*r* in Afrikaans came from any of these languages.

However, as discussed in Section 4.3, Trudgill's hypothesis about the seventeenth-century diffusion of uvular-*r* makes it unlikely that uvular-*r* was part of the superstrate input for Afrikaans. While uvular-*r* is used in varieties of German and Dutch, it is arguably the status of

³⁷ It is unclear whether Marko refers to the Dutch North Brabant Province, or the Province of Brabant in Belgium. He does not supply the source, but a *Google* search shows that he took it verbatim from the Dutch website <http://www.scholieren.com/werkstuk/10402>.

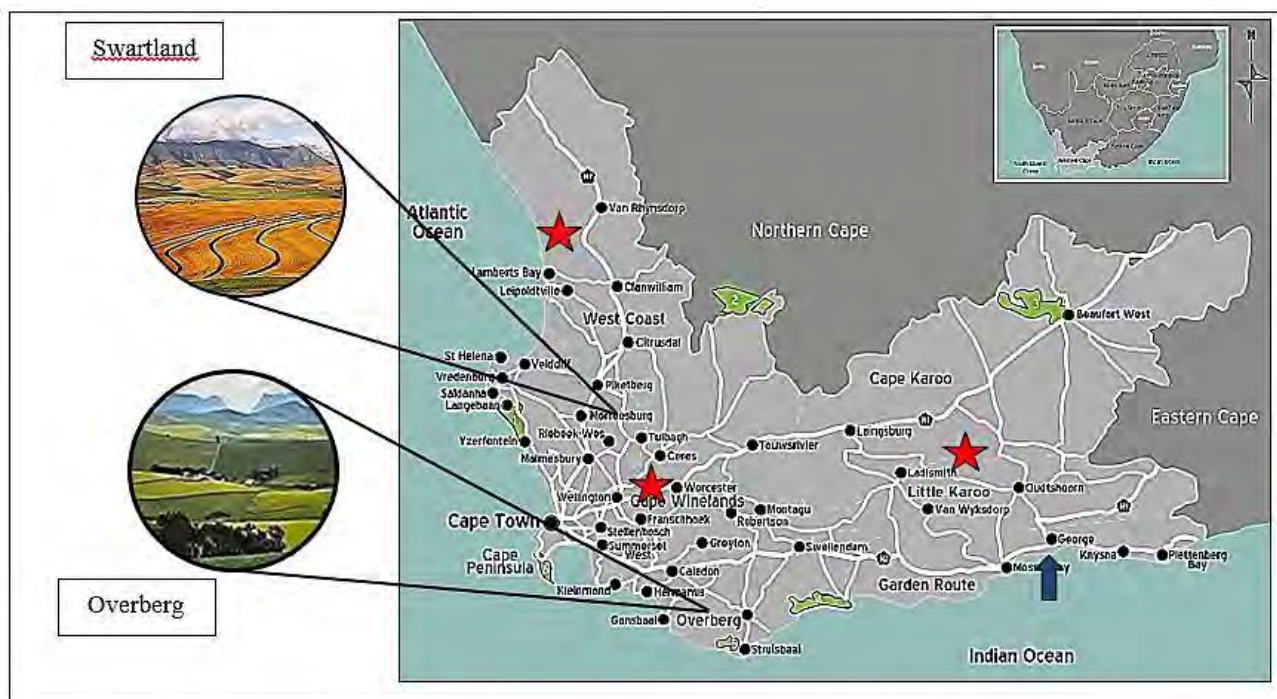
³⁸ See R. Breuer, <http://www.stellenboschwriters.com/kempenw.html>; accessed on 5 September 2013.

uvular-*r* as a stereotype of French that strengthens the link many group members make between uvular-*r* and French. For example, see the reference made to Edith Piaf (comment 70): *Nô nô greegrêets... (Edith Piaf?)* [sic]. French uvular-*r* is mimicked here with the respelling of <r> as <g>, as is the case with other uvular-*r* respellings. Furthermore, apart from uvular-*r* as stereotypically French, the broader ideology about the European roots of Afrikaans is involved in these group members' opinions about uvular-*r* originating from Dutch or French. The role of French was challenged, but no one in the group challenged the ideology about the European roots of Afrikaans. The European roots of Afrikaans remain an unchallenged orthodoxy amongst the group members, i.e. a hegemonic position that is not open for debate. The only person who contested this idea was John. John was younger than the other commentators (in his thirties), and he was also the only Coloured person who responded. He supported the Dutch idea, but stated that other languages also had an influence on Afrikaans. He listed six languages, two of which were non-European: Sesotho³⁹ and 'a Malay dialect' (comment 61). By drawing on authorised sources, Marko and Riette expressed epistemic stances (Ochs 1996), showing that they are knowledgeable on the subject. Appeals to authorised sources form part of language ideologies and are used 'as a rationalisation or justification of perceived language structure and use' (Silverstein 1979:193), while simultaneously erasing, ignoring, or transforming 'facts that are inconsistent with the ideological scheme' (Irvine and Gal 2000:38).

***Bry* as regional stereotype**

The second theme concerns the comments that referred to specific areas where speakers *bry* ('burr'). The consensus among the majority was that if speakers *bry*, then they are using a *streektaal* ('regional dialect'). Regions most frequently referred to are the agricultural areas of the Swartland (mainly the town Malmesbury; West Coast Municipal District) and Overberg (see Map 4.3; Boland, Namaqualand and the Karoo were also mentioned, indicated with stars; the arrow indicates the fieldwork site).

³⁹ Three other members mentioned that Sesotho has uvular-*r* (comments 48, 49 and 67) and three comments were made about uvular-*r* in Setswana (comments 44, 46 and 48). Sesotho and Setswana did not play a role in the development of Afrikaans, but Malay dialects did.



Map 4.3. Swartland and Overberg areas in the Western Cape Province⁴⁰

The areas mentioned by the group members correspond to the *bry* regions discussed in previous studies (see Section 4.3 and Map 4.1). The metalinguistic comments indicate that *bry* is seen as a stereotypical feature of especially the Swartland region. Two members from the Overberg recognised *bry* as a feature of their region, albeit qualitatively different from the Swartland *bry*:

1) Lollie (comment 33)

... Overberg is nog 'n brystreek – dis my oorsprong. Hulle bry r rol meer as die Malmesbury ene. Malmesbury is dieper agtertoe, amper waar die g gevorm word. ...

‘... Overberg is another burr region – that’s my origin. Their burr r rolls more than the Malmesbury one. Malmesbury is deeper backwards, almost where the ‘g’ is formed. ...’

In this comment, Lollie (a woman in her fifties) described the pronunciation of Malmesbury *bry* as being deeper back in the throat, hence sounding similar to a voiceless velar fricative [x] (spelled <g> in Afrikaans standard orthography). However, in terms of place of articulation, velar articulation is less back than uvular. Instead, it is her description of the *manner* of articulation that shows the *perceptual acoustic differences* between Lollie’s Overberg-*r* and the

⁴⁰ Map from <http://mapsof.net/map/south-africa-western-cape-map#.UGBvEo3ZDjI>. Additions are my own.

Swartland-*r*: Overberg-*r* is more ‘rolled’ (i.e. trilled) than the Swartland-*r*, which is a fricative (see Chapter Five, where I discuss the acoustic distinctions in detail). As stated by Agha (2003:233): ‘In the case of geographic accents, speech that is ‘closer ... to home’ is experienced more frequently and, on average, tends to be characterizable in more specific ways.’ Because Lollie lives in a *bry* area, she heard and used the sound more frequently than others who were not from *bry* areas. Thus her experience of different types of /r/ increases her awareness that the colloquial term *bry* encapsulates two different uvular-*r* sounds: uvular fricative [ʁ] and uvular trill [ʀ].

The following two comments are examples of different indexical values of uvular-*r* associated with Malmesbury, a main town in the Swartland, as expressed by group members:

2) Chris (comment 1)

die goeie mense van Maaalmsbrry se kontrrrry

‘the good people from Malmesbury’s region’

3) Susan (comment 60)

Malmesbugy se boege bgy so, is ons altyd vertel toe ons kinders was

‘Malmesbury’s farmers burr like that, we are always told when we were children’

Chris (a man in his fifties; also see below) and Susan (a woman in her forties) both used respellings to mimic the pronunciation of uvular-*r*. Chris’ respelling of Malmesbury approximates the pronunciation of the town name, [ˈma:ms₁bri], and the reduplication of <r> mimics his perception of the sound’s emphatic pronunciation. Susan also attempted to approximate the pronunciation of the town name, this time by replacing <r> with <g> (velar fricative [x]; see above). These respellings illustrate two perceptual characteristics of Malmesbury (i.e. Swartland) uvular-*r* in terms of its strength and friction of articulation.

Uvular-*r* is not only a second-order indexical of the Malmesbury region. It also indexes further characteristic attributes of speakers, such as the rural identity of farmers (third-order indexicality). In example 2, Chris associated uvular-*r* with *goeie mense* (‘good people’) who live in the Malmesbury area. It is difficult to know with certainty what Chris meant by “good people” – there must be some ideological schema at work that created the association between “good people” and the regional, rural context of Malmesbury. In example 3, Susan associated uvular-*r* with farmers from Malmesbury. She further explained that she was told this as a child.

These associations reflect folk linguistic ideologies that relate rural and regional ways of speaking to particular social personae.

The media can play a role in creating social personae, whose ‘language use reflect the social ideologies that the [media] creators wish to use or convey’ (Hiramoto 2010:235). In the case of Swartland *bry*, a television advertisement portrayed the indexicality of the sound as a trait of Swartland wheat farmers. Chris and Susan both mention the town Malmesbury, which is the iconic centre of the Swartland wheat district, commonly referred to as *die hart van die Swartland* (‘the heart of the Swartland’). This phrase was also used in a *Bokomo Weet-bix*⁴¹ television advertisement, which aired on South African television in the nineteen-eighties. In this advert the actress Trix Pienaar (1939-) speaks about *die goedheid van die koring ... uit die hart van die Swartland* (‘the goodness of the wheat ... from the heart of the Swartland’), while walking through rolling fields of wheat. Trix Pienaar was born in Malmesbury and was portrayed throughout her career as a prototypical Swartlander who *spog met ’n Swartlandse bry* (‘boasts with a Swartland’s burr’).⁴² I would argue that the *Bokomo* advert reflects, visually and linguistically, an association between *bry*, wholesomeness, wheat farming, and the Swartland. The advert is part and parcel of Afrikaans popular culture and continues to be point of reference in popular media. For instance, in a 2015 agriculture article, the author writes:

Sal die beoogde reddingsplan vir die koringbedryf dus hierdie aspek genoegsaam ten gunste van koringboere verreken? Of sal ons oor ’n paar jaar net nostalgies kan terugdink aan die heilsaamheid van die Swartland se goue koringlande wat Trix Pienaar eens in ’n advertensie besing het? (“Nuus: Soos ek dit sien ...” 2015:12-13)

Will the planned salvage plan for the wheat industry thus sufficiently settle this aspect in favour of the wheat farmers? Or will we in a couple of years only think back with nostalgia to the wholesomeness of the Swartland’s golden wheat fields, which Trix Pienaar once celebrated in an advertisement?

⁴¹ *Weet-bix* is a wheat-based breakfast cereal biscuit manufactured by *Bokomo*, and is ‘the biggest selling breakfast cereal in South Africa’ (see <http://www.bokomocereals.co.za/>). *Bokomo* has a large factory close to Malmesbury.

⁴² Coenie de Villiers, presenter of *Kwela* (an Afrikaans actuality program on *KykNet*), when introducing an insert about Trix Pienaar (June 2008). Available online: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=fGU79Z70KN0>.

In another article, this time in a travel magazine, the journalist foregrounds the location of the town Riebeek-Kasteel in the Swartland wheat district (McFarlane 2013). McFarlane starts her article by quoting a line from the *Bokomo* advert:

Vanmelewe het ons as kinnegs, hieg in die Swagtland, sommeg die kogingkoggels so van die age afgepluk en gekou tot so 'n bolletjie innie kies... [sic.]

Long ago we as children, here in the Swartland, just plucked the wheat grains from the ears and chewed it into a little ball in the cheek...

Similar to the examples above, McFarlane replaced all the <r> letters with a <g> to mimic Trix Pienaar's Swartland accent in the advert (in **boldface**). <g> is thus again used to represent the uvular fricative associated with speakers from the area.

Returning to the notion of place and emplacement, I argue that through regional stereotypes, speakers create *emplaced* sounds (see Chapter Two). Uvular-*r* is an emplaced sound, which is indexically related to the Swartland region and wheat farmers. The metalinguistic comments show how speakers make connections between this place, its speakers, and their local ways of speaking (i.e. local accent).

Bry as speech defect

The third theme concerns comments about speakers who *bry*, but who are not originally from a stereotypical *bry*-area. These comments usually concern individuals, rather than groups of speakers. Writing about the accents in British English, Wells (1986:411) mentions that in some parts of Scotland (e.g. Aberdeen), a uvular fricative [ʁ] for /r/ is 'surprisingly common as a personal idiosyncrasy' and not a local-accent feature. In the Facebook group, several members equate this idiosyncrasy with a speech defect. André (a man in his early-sixties) wonders why his son-in-law burred. His son-in-law is from the Gauteng province, which is not a stereotypical *bry* area:

4) André (comment 36)

Bostaande kommentaar baie insiggewend maar hoe verklaar mens dat my Botha-skoonseun, gebore en getoë in 'n Pretoriase huis, met familie wat nie één bry nie, bgy dat dit klink soos betonvibrator??

'Commentary above very insightful but how does one explain that my Botha son-in-law, born and bred in a Pretoria house, with family where no one burrs, burrs that it sounds like concrete vibrator??'

André's question is compounded by the fact that no one in his son-in-law's family *bry*; his and several other members' comments express the notion that *bry* is not only a social or regional feature, but involves family networks. Lollie, who already established herself as knowledgeable about different types of uvular-*r*, provides the following advice:

5) Lollie (comment 38)

Dan is dit 'n spraakgebrek, maar as almal hom verstaan, André, los hom dat hy vibreer.

'Then it is a speech defect, but if everyone can understand him, André, leave him to vibrate.'

Therefore, the rationalisation is accepted that if speakers *bry*, then they must either come from a *bry* area or it must be a family characteristic – if these conditions are not met, then the speaker has a speech defect. The discussion about the *bry* as speech defect generated several responses, which elicited rebuttals from others (especially from those who *bry*). The comments made by members who *bry* took, at times, a confessional slant:

6) Chris (comment 42)

Self was ek in die 70s op laerskool in Kaapstad. Daar is my spraak ontbry & ek geforseer om met my regterhand nie links nie te skryf! Nee dis glo beter vir die kind is geglo.

'I was in the 70s in primary school in Cape Town. There my speech was un-burred, and I was forced to write with my right hand, not left! No that's apparently better for the child, was believed.'

As discussed in above, since the nineteen-twenties, Afrikaans-speaking teachers were advised that the *bry* is a case of *verkeerde uitspraak* ('wrong pronunciation') against which they should guard (Botha and Burger 1924:176-177). From Chris' comment we can see that this pedagogical practice was upheld at least until the nineteen-seventies. The equation of *bry* with being left-handed and in need of corrective measures points to larger normative ideologies being at work. Afrikaans speech therapists are aware of the perception of uvular-*r* as a speech defect. Van Dulm (2003:2-3) urges that when it comes to Afrikaans-speaking children who *bry*, speech therapists should not necessarily treat *bry* as a speech defect, because uvular-*r* is the norm in 'certain geographical dialects (e.g. in some parts of the West Cape countryside)' (ibid.; my translation).⁴³ Yet, for some people the implication remains that speakers who *bry* in non-*bry* areas have a speech defect. Hennie (a man in his early-sixties) continues the persecutory theme:

⁴³ The speech defect called rhoticism refers to the inability or difficulty in pronouncing /r/ (see Catford 2001).

7) Hennie (comment 55)

Nee ONS noem bry nie 'n spraakgebrek nie Francois HULLE doen dit. Die reëlmakers. Hulle sê dis slegtigeit want die bryer is te lui om sy/haar tong op te lig en dit teen die verhemelte laat vibreer soos dit hoort. Nou vorm hulle sommer die r agter in die keel, vat kortpad. Glo nie dis genetika nie tensy jy na die luigeit verwys. Ek ploeter voort die lewe is moeitevol genoeg ek wil nie nog 'n stryd voer om my tong teen my verhemelte vas te klap nie. En kom tot dusver nog heel goed klaar sonder vibrating dankie.

‘No WE don’t call burr a speech defect Francois THEY do it. The rule-makers. They say it’s slovenliness because the burrer is too lazy to pick up his/her tongue and vibrate it against the palate as it ought. Now they just form the r back in the throat, take shortcut. Don’t believe it’s genetics unless you refer to laziness. I plodder along, life is troublesome enough I don’t also want to struggle to slap my tongue against my palate. And thus far managed quite well without vibrating thanks.’

According to Hennie, people who *bry* were forced to unlearn it, because the ‘rule-makers’ regarded it as stereotypical of a lazy person. In Plato’s *Cratylus*, Socrates states that ‘the letter *r* appears to me to be the general instrument expressing all motion ... the tongue was most agitated and least at rest in the pronunciation of this letter’ (426c-e; see Fowler 1926). Socrates’ claim is supported by the fact that alveolar-*r* is commonly described as rolled, rolling or trilled, which captures the sound-symbolic notion of motion. Therefore, speakers who do not use alveolar-*r* are regarded as lazy or lethargic (i.e. unwilling to employ *motion*). For instance, Sankoff and Blondeau (2007:563) state that when uvular-*r* increased in certain areas in early twentieth-century Quebec, Canada, a university professor stated:

Dorsal articulation was a defect of pronunciation which may stem from a certain linguistic laziness, more often from affectation, or else from a habit contracted from childhood.

Thus, it seems that certain stereotypes about the types of speakers using uvular-*r* when alveolar-*r* is the standard is a cross-linguistic phenomenon.

4.5. Conclusion

This chapter focused on three aspects. Firstly, it provided a review of previous dialectological and variationist studies of Afrikaans, where I focused on the racialising of Afrikaans varieties, especially during the twentieth-century. I also considered the role played by language ideologies on Afrikaans linguistics and provided an overview of previous research on Coloured and White Afrikaans-speakers to exemplify my point.

Secondly, I focused on scholars discussing variants of Afrikaans /r/ since the early twentieth-century. Several dialectology studies confirmed the occurrence of variant forms of Afrikaans /r/, predominantly regarded as non-standard and regional in comparison with standard alveolar-*r*. These studies focused on White speakers only and found that the uvular variant is strongly a regional feature of the Western Cape. Since the practice was to exclude Coloured speakers from the sample groups in these studies, it is unclear whether uvular-*r* indexes ethnicity – and whether such possible associations might be in any way meaningful to speakers. Furthermore, the geographical distribution and social stratification of /r/ have not been fully researched, and in a current textbook about Afrikaans linguistics, discussions of uvular-*r* variants of Afrikaans /r/ are omitted *in toto*. This is perplexing, given the strong regional presence of uvular-*r* in especially the Western Cape.

Thirdly, I explored speakers' perceptions about uvular-*r*. I examined metalinguistic comments I collected from a Facebook group according to three emerging themes, which indicate language ideologies within a particular social group (White, older). Even though French is largely excluded from scholarly discourse, group members drew on authorised sources to argue a French or other European origin of uvular-*r* in Afrikaans. In terms of regions associated with uvular-*r*, the metalinguistic comments indicated that *bry* is a stereotypical accent feature of especially the Swartland region, which entered into the popular media. Beliefs about uvular-*r* as an *emplaced* sound caused tension for speakers who use uvular-*r* outside of stereotypically *bry* areas and for others not from *bry* areas. The data presented here indicate the conspicuousness of Afrikaans /r/, the language ideologies about the origin of Afrikaans, perceptions of regional features as aberrant or quaint, and the beliefs that speakers' pronunciations must be 'corrected' to approximate the standard. In part II, Chapter Six focuses on metalinguistic talk from Houtiniquadorpers and sheds light on how uvular-*r* and social meanings are linked to locality and belonging for speakers from a non-stereotypical *bry* area.

Finally, the ideological inheritance from the twentieth-century needs to be acknowledged, as I seem to continue within the tradition where Coloured Afrikaans-speakers are studied separately from White. It is not my intention to minimise the legacies of colonialism and apartheid by assuming that racialised distinctions in the Afrikaans language community are outdated. In fact, the presentations made at the *Mainstreaming Afrikaans Regional Varieties* workshop highlighted the on-going debates about the post-apartheid realities and statuses of all Afrikaans varieties and the attempts to redress the exclusion of South Africans from other population groups (see Prah 2012). My focus on Coloured Afrikaans-speakers is a consequence

of my choice in the research site and the overlap of race and place. Houtiniquadorp is a race-place (Chapter Two), and post-apartheid racial diversification in Houtiniquadorp remains low (see Chapter Three). I am not conducting a study of regional “Coloured-Afrikaans”; my focus is on social meaning, of which race/ethnicity is but one dynamic aspect. In Chapter Five, I continue with an explanation of the methods I employed in this endeavour.

Chapter 5 Researching the rhotic variable

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5.1. Introduction

This chapter discusses the methodology I used to study Afrikaans /r/ in Houtiniquadorp. Preliminary analyses of the recorded pilot interviews confirmed (r) as a linguistic variable, with alveolar-*r* and uvular-*r* as variants, and I used quantitative and qualitative methods to investigate (r) variation and social meaning.

In Section 5.2, I describe the sample group and show how I worked with social categories. Firstly, I focus on Age and Gender, and I explain my delineation of age cohorts based on the socio-political eras in South African education, which involve racial segregation during apartheid, and post-apartheid integration. Taking the focus on social and geographic mobility further, I show how the sample group is stratified according to three different neighbourhoods (Neighbourhood as proxy for socioeconomic status; see Chapter Three) and residential status scores (Residential Status Score as emic/etic formulation of local positionings and geographic mobility).

I describe rhotics as a class of sounds in Section 5.3 and discuss the acoustic and articulatory methods employed in other studies of *r*-sounds. Here I also explain my use of impressionistic analysis of (r) tokens, supported by the acoustic distinctiveness between variants of (r).

In Section 5.4, I focus on the research design of my study, which is a third-wave variationist study incorporating ethnographic, qualitative perspectives. I first define Speech Style, which is an independent variable accounting for intra-speaker variation, and consider speech styles as specific kinds of speech events or activities, which can elicit casual or careful speech. I continue discussing the procedures I followed during the fieldwork and specify what happened before, during and after the sociolinguistic interview. The interviews were also a source of qualitative data, and I consider how ethnographic approaches strengthened my fieldwork and data collection. The qualitative side of my study necessitated additional reflections on ethical practices, and I discuss anonymity as *continued consent*. Finally, I did statistical analyses in Rbrul, R, and SPSS and in Section 5.5, I describe the regression and cluster analyses I used.

5.2. The participants as sample group and social variables

I used non-probability sampling to select participants for the sociolinguistic interviews. A combination of convenience, purposive, and snowball sampling was used. The sample is stratified according age, gender, neighbourhood, and residential status. These factors are also the independent social variables, which I explain below. Between July 2010 and July 2011, I interviewed seventy-five participants for the qualitative data and analysed phonetic data from seventy-two participants (see Appendix 5.1 for a list of the interviewees, and interview locations and durations). I excluded three participants from the phonetic data for the following reasons: one participant was part of the pilot interviews, and he was not available for a follow-up interview to do the picture descriptions (follow-up interviews were conducted with the other five pilot-study participants); one participant had a speech impediment; and one participant had a visual impairment and could not do the picture descriptions.

The social variables

Gender and Age

The participants were between the ages of 13 and 85 at the time of recording. Age and Gender are used as independent variables to investigate (a) whether there is a change of (r) use in apparent time, and (b) whether there is an interaction between use of (r) variants and gendered age groups. Although gendered identities are socially constructed (see Chapter Two), I divided the participants into groups of men and women, because I did not explore the participants' formulations of gendered identities. I delineated age cohorts based on the socio-political eras in South African education, which involve racial segregation up to 1994, followed by integration. As stated by Milroy and Gordon (2003:39): 'age by itself has no explanatory value; it is only when examined in the context of its social significance as something reflecting differences in life experiences that it becomes a useful analytical construct.' Hence, I regard high school as a significant life experience, because of the social networks formed and degrees of opportunities afforded by levels of education (see Eckert 1988, 1989a).

The first age cohort includes participants who were born between 1986 and 1998 (i.e. those younger than twenty-five at the time of the interviews). The post-apartheid government introduced a single, desegregated educational system in 1994, based on legislation such as the *South African Schools Act* (Act 84 of 1996; NDoE 1996a), and the *National Education Policy Act* (Act 27 of 1996; NDoE 1996b; see Bell and Morton McKay 2011:34). This group had the opportunity to experience desegregated and non-racialised schooling in George. The

population group demographics at the local Houtiniquadorp high school remained predominantly Coloured (related to the town's slow-changing racial demographics; see Chapter Three). This cohort thus contains internal dynamics in terms of the type of school attended, which will be explored in further research (see Chapters Seven and Nine).

Older participants received schooling during apartheid and had to attend what the participants referred to as *Kleurling skole*, "Coloured schools". The high school in Houtiniquadorp opened in 1976; before then, Houtiniquadorpers attended the Coloured high school in George called George High (Afrikaans medium). Participants in the second cohort were born between 1966 and 1985 (i.e. between twenty-six and forty-five years old).

The third age cohort includes participants who were born between 1946 and 1965 (i.e. between forty-six and sixty-five years old). The educational context for this cohort is as follows: the school in Houtiniquadorp was a mission school (see Chapter Three), and in 1955, it was announced that all subsidies to mission schools would cease by 1958 (Troup 1976:24). The *Coloured Person's Education Act* of 1963 placed control of Coloured education under the Department of Coloured Affairs. Education was made compulsory and continued to be separated from White schooling. The majority of participants born before 1960 completed their schooling at the Houtiniquadorp primary school. Some went to high school elsewhere, typically exiting school after Grade 10 (usually at the age of sixteen).⁴⁴

The fourth age cohort consists of participants who were born before 1946 (i.e. older than sixty-six at the time of the interviews). These participants attended the mission primary school, and many of them did not go to high school for financial reasons. For all four cohorts, the ability to attend high school – and the type of high school – had direct and indirect consequences for an individual's social and geographic mobility. In Table 5.1, the sample group composition according to Age and Gender is shown:

⁴⁴ Many of the participants with Grade 10 either started working or directly went to teaching or nursing colleges. Grade 10 was accepted for entry into these colleges, many of which were some distance from Houtiniquadorp.

	Men	Women
<25 (<i>n</i> =22)	10	12
26-45 (<i>n</i> =12)	6	6
46-65 (<i>n</i> =29)	15	14
>66 (<i>n</i> =9)	6	3
	37 (51.4%)	35 (48.6%)

Table 5.1. Sample group according to age cohorts and genders

Neighbourhood and Residential Status Score

Apart from the interaction between Age and Gender, I also focused on the interaction between Neighbourhood and Residential Status Score. To recap the discussion from Chapter Three: Bergview is the more affluent neighbourhood, followed by Old Dorp and the Scheme (the latter has a large low-cost housing area). Thus, residents of Bergview have higher socioeconomic status than those living in Old Dorp and Scheme. Furthermore, Old Dorp, the historical heart of the town, is associated with *boorlinge* (i.e. those who have lived in the town for generations). Ancestral property ownership complicates the notion of socioeconomic status based on household income and education (see Chapter 3.4). As I have previously explained, some Old Dorp *boorlinge* have a higher degree of local social status, because of their connection to land ownership.

The emic social categories involving geographic mobility and residential status was discussed in Chapter Three, where I explained how participants discursively construct the terms *boorling* and *inkommer* as locally meaningful place identities. In order to operationalise place identity (see Chapter Two) as a variable for statistical analysis, I established a Residential Status Score (RSS), which measures local residential status and geographic mobility. In conceptualising this variable, I draw on Chambers (2000) who developed a Regionality Index (RI), which provides ‘an empirical basis for inferring the sociolinguistic effects of mobility’ (Chambers 2000:1; see Chapter Two). RI constitutes a variable that groups people according to their degree of mobility and non-mobility. The RI allows linguists to take into account the fact that some of the participants in a regional dialectology study might not have been born in the region and might have migrated to the area at some stage in their lives. Chambers’ RI is

based on participants' answers to his Dialect Topography questionnaire, and he operationalised regionality as a function of four main components, which are:

- the place where the participant was raised from 8 to 18
- the place where the participant was born
- the place where the participant lives now
- the place where the participant's parents were born (Chambers 2001: 8)

Chambers' participants were given index scores on a scale from 1 to 7, based on their answers to these four components. The participants who were 'the best representatives of the region' received a score of 1, and those who received a score of 7 where 'the poorest representatives' (Chambers *ibid.*). In this dissertation, I used RI as an inspiration to develop the RSS, which involves both localness (non-mobility, *boorlinge*) and in-migration (mobility, *inkommers*). Following Chambers, I used four components, where each participant received a score based on their biographical information I gathered during the interviews.

Component	Score
<i>Length of residence as a factor of age</i>	0-1 ⁴⁵
<i>Place of birth</i>	0 – born in town
	1 – born in region
	2 – born in province
	3 – born in different province
<i>Age of arrival</i>	0 – birth to 6 years
	1 – 7-14 years
	2 – 15-18 years
	3 – older than 18 years
<i>Parents' place of birth</i>	0 – born in town
	1 – not born in town

Table 5.2. Components and scores used to calculate a total residential status score (RSS)

Let me explain the calculation of the different components. Firstly, dividing a participant's length of residence by their age takes into account that some *inkommers* might have been living

⁴⁵ Depending on result of the calculation, e.g. age = 45, length of residence = 35. Thus the score is 0.8.

in the town longer than others; time and experience in a place are important for people's sense of place and place identities to develop (Smaldone 2006; also see Chapter Two). Secondly, place of birth is important, because some linguistic variants – such as uvular-*r* – are features of the greater South Cape region and might have been acquired in places other than Houtiniquadorp. The third component considers the participants' age of arrival. Drawing on research on language acquisition, especially the idea of a critical or sensitive period, participants who were born in the town, or moved there before the age of six, received a score of 0 (see Labov [1966] 2006:119). Finally, the participants' parents' place of birth serves to distinguish between participants who were born in the town, but were not part of the traditional *boorling* families. All family *boorlinge* therefore received a RSS of 1. Table 5.3 shows the RSS, the corresponding profile, and the number of participants who received each score.

Status	Residential Status Score (RSS)	Profile	Number of participants
<i>boorlinge</i>	1	Born in town; parents born in town (family <i>boorling</i>)	34
	2	Born in town; parents not born in town	15
	3-4	Born in region; young age of arrival	3
	5	Born in region	4
	6	Born in province; long length of residence	6
<i>inkommers</i>	7	Born in different province and/or short length of residence	10

Table 5.3. A breakdown of residential status scores and number of participants

As discussed in Chapter 3.4, residential status and neighbourhood (as a proxy for socioeconomic status) interact: more affluent *inkommers* reside in Bergview and poor *inkommers* in the Scheme. The stratification of the sample group according to Neighbourhood and RSS is shown in Table 5.4.

	Bergview	Old Dorp	Scheme
<i>RSS 1 (n=34)</i>	6	15	13
<i>RSS 2-5 (n=22)</i>	6	9	7
<i>RSS 6-7 (n=16)</i>	6	5	5
	18 (25%)	29 (40.3%)	25 (34.7%)

Table 5.4. Sample group according to neighbourhoods and residential status scores

5.3. The linguistic variable (r)

When analysing the pilot interviews conducted in 2010 (see below), I noticed variation in the six pilot participants' use of /r/. Some of the speakers used alveolar-*r* or uvular-*r* categorically, while others made variable use of both. This observation, plus the dearth of previous research on this variable in Afrikaans (see Chapter Four), led to my selection of (r) as linguistic variable.

Rhotics as a class of *r*-sounds

Rhotics, as a class of sounds, have highly variable phonetic realisations and can 'both be an opportunity and a challenge to variationists' (Scobbie 2006:337-338). Rhotics are informally referred to as '*r*-sounds' (Ladefoged and Maddieson 1996:215). Together with laterals ('*l*-sounds') they constitute the class of consonants called liquids. Cross-linguistically, approximately three-quarters of languages have at least one /r/ phoneme (Maddieson 1984:78-81). Both the place and manner of articulation of *r*-sounds are variable and this contributes to phonetic heterogeneity. The rhotics recognised by the *International Phonetic Association* (IPA) are shown in Table 5.5, according to manner and place of articulation (place of articulation is underlined).

Definition	IPA symbol
Voiced <u>dental</u> or <u>alveolar</u> trill	ʀ
Voiced <u>uvular</u> trill	ʁ
Voiced <u>alveolar</u> tap or flap	ɾ
Voiced <u>retroflex</u> tap or flap	ɽ
Voiced <u>uvular</u> fricative	ʁ̥
Voiced <u>dental</u> or <u>alveolar</u> approximant	ɹ
Voiced <u>retroflex</u> approximant	ɻ
Voiced <u>dental</u> or <u>alveolar</u> lateral flap	ɺ

Table 5.5. Rhotics recognised by the IPA (Ladefoged and Maddieson 1996:216)

Linguists who study /r/ refer to Lindau's (1985) oft-cited work on the cross-linguistic phonetic heterogeneity and allophonic variability of /r/. The main distinction between allophones and variants is that in variationist sociolinguistics, variants are different phonetic realisations of a specific phoneme, which can be correlated to social variables such as Age, Gender and Socioeconomic Status; variants index different social meanings. A phoneme is a mental integration of the specific phonetic (i.e. acoustic, articulatory and auditory) properties of the sounds used in language (Odden 2013:326). Allophones are also different phonetic realisations of a specific phoneme, but allophones arise in phonological environments due to phonological processes and generally do not index social meaning. Lindau (1985) shows how rhotics differ phonetically, while their phonological behaviour is alike. She concludes that rhotics exhibit a familial resemblance: the rhotic 'family' does not share all of the articulatory and acoustic features, but show relations of similarities and degrees of phonetic separation. Thomas (2011:129) describes these relations as follows:

a uvular fricative is similar to a uvular trill [in terms of place of articulation], which resembles an apical trill [in manner of articulation], which shares properties with a retroflex approximant [in place of articulation], and so on.

The family resemblance metaphor is more optimistic than Ladefoged and Maddieson's (1996:215) stance that *r*-sounds only have an orthographical symbol in common (the letter <r>).⁴⁶ Furthermore, members of the class of rhotics have the same phonotactic distribution,

⁴⁶ Note that the flap [ɾ] is an allophonic realisation of /t/ in varieties of American English, e.g. 'butter' [bʌɾə].

even though they do not share any phonetic features (e.g. a uvular trill and a retroflex approximant). Based on cross-linguistic data, Proctor (2011:44) summarises the unifying phonotactic characteristics of rhotics (as a type of liquid) as follows:

1. Rhotics are cluster-enabling consonants: complex onsets and codas typically involve, and often require, liquids to combine with obstruents to facilitate clustering.⁴⁷
2. Rhotics exhibit an affinity for the nucleus: the ordering of consonants in onset and coda clusters is typically asymmetrical, locating liquids closer to the nucleus; liquids often function as syllabic consonants.
3. Rhotics exhibit a high degree of interchangeability within the class, observed in rhotic-lateral (/r/-l/) allophony, as well as phonological processes including merger, neutralisation, alternation, dissimilation, assimilation and harmonisation.

Phonologically, rhotics are prone to influence, and can be influenced by, the syllabic and phonetic environment, which contributes to high allophonic variation. For instance, rhotics in the coda can be weakened, vocalised or omitted (*r*-lessness or zero-*r*), especially in informal, connected speech. Non-rhoticity results from the weakening or lenition of *r*-sounds. Lenition increases the sonority of a consonant, and *r*-lessness is arguably the result of gradual *r*-lenition (as seen with a vocalised-*r* to zero-*r* continuum). Kerswill (2010) argues that connected speech processes (CSPs) contribute to the lenition of consonants. In Afrikaans, zero-*r* occurs mainly in post-vocalic environments under CSPs (also see below).

This study focuses on variation between the alveolar and uvular trill, and I provide a brief description of these sounds. Trills are unified under manner of articulation and are produced by

the vibration of one speech organ against another, driven by the aerodynamic conditions. One of the soft moveable parts of the vocal tract is placed close enough to another surface, so that when a current of air of the right strength passes through the aperture created by this configuration, a repeating pattern of closing and opening of the flow channel occurs. (Ladefoged and Maddieson 1996:217)

⁴⁷ The onset is the portion of a syllable that precedes the syllabic nucleus, e.g. [st] in [stɒps] ‘stops’. The coda is ‘the portion of a syllable which may follow the syllabic nucleus’, e.g. the [ps] of [stɒps] (Crystal 2008:82).

There are three kinds of trills: lingual, uvular, and bilabial.⁴⁸ These differ from each other in terms of the movement of the articulator and have the following articulatory features: lingual trills are [coronal], articulated with the tip or blade of the tongue against the teeth or alveolar ridge; uvular trills are [dorsal], articulated with the tongue body and the uvula; and bilabial trills are [labial], articulated with the lips. Trills are predominantly voiced, but can be devoiced when preceded by a voiceless consonant, e.g. Afrikaans [t̥rap] *trap* ‘step’. Tops (2009:114-115) describes the alveolar trill as the prototypical realisation of rhotics, based on Malmberg’s (1963:46) claim that the trilled [r] is the ‘primitive form’ of the Indo-European /r/ phoneme. According to Maddieson’s (1984:82) quantitative generalisation of rhotics in 316 languages, 86.4% of these languages have a dental or alveolar /r/, with the alveolar trill [r] as the most common. This is confirmed by Verhoeven (2002:171-172), who found that language varieties with trills in their inventory predominantly have a dental/alveolar trill phoneme (83.2%), while only 0.9% have a uvular trill /ʀ/. The presence of a uvular trill in a language’s sound system is cross-linguistically exceptional, but it is found in the ‘prestige dialects of Western European languages’ (such as German and French) despite its rarity (Maddieson 1984:84). Tap, flap, approximant, and fricative realisations are frequently studied together with trills, because they are variant (and in some cases allophonic) realisations. In this study, I do not focus on these possible allophonic realisations and use ‘alveolar-*r*’ to refer to coronal realisations and ‘uvular-*r*’ for dorsal realisations (in Houtiniquadorp, both are predominantly trilled, with some fricative articulation co-occurring with the latter).

Variation of (r) has been studied in particular in Dutch, German, and Flemish Dutch (see Van de Velde and Van Hout 2001; Wiese 2003; Tops 2009). These languages share more of Afrikaans phonotactics than other languages that show (r) variation, such as Spanish or Italian. I treat these studies’ acoustic and articulatory phonetics methods as guidelines for my study of this linguistic variable. They focus specifically on variation and change of alveolar-*r*, approximant-*r* and uvular-*r* and investigate linguistic and extra-linguistic factors that correlate with the frequency use of variants of the (r) variable. They also document the geographical spread of these different variants across the European continent. Tops and her colleagues focus on (r) in Flemish Dutch and state that in the course of the twentieth-century, two variants have been spreading in the wider Dutch language area alongside alveolar-*r*: uvular-*r* and – more

⁴⁸ Bilabial trills are not included in the class of rhotics (Ladefoged and Maddieson 1996:215); with the lingual trills, distinction can be made between trills where the tip of the tongue vibrates (apical trills) and trills where the blade of the tongue vibrates (laminal trills).

recently and exclusively in the Netherlands – approximant-*r* [ɹ]. Tops (2009) makes use of the variationist paradigm and sociophonetic approaches to sound changes (where sociolinguistic and phonetic methods are combined; also in line with Labov's [1966] 2006 formulations).

Afrikaans /r/ and variants of (r)

Afrikaans /r/ has various variants and allophonic realisations (see Chapter Four). As noted above, in this dissertation I investigate variation between alveolar-*r* and uvular-*r*. In Chapter Seven, I briefly consider the frequency of zero-*r* as a phonological and stylistic feature. As discussed in Chapter Four, previous studies, such as Klopper (1983) and Dreyer (1986), treat zero-*r* as an (r) variant in their studies of Cape Afrikaans. As stated above, sounds are frequently weakened and omitted during connected speech processes (CSPs). In the case of zero-*r*, it is inconclusive whether its occurrence decreases during formal, careful speech because speakers talk slower and increase their enunciation, or whether they avoid it because it is stigmatised (see Chapter 4.3). I would argue that studying variants in weakened CSPs forms needs careful consideration, especially taking into consideration underlying language ideologies associating hyperarticulation with care and hypoarticulation with laziness (see Eckert 2008:468).

Acoustic (instrumental) and articulatory (impressionistic) analyses of (r)

The (r) variants were analysed impressionistically, because the articulatory differences between alveolar-*r* and uvular-*r* are distinct. However, it is possible to perform acoustic analyses on (r) variants. De Villiers (1970:115) states that the liquids /r/ and /l/ differ *acoustically* from other consonants because they contain a resonating element similar to vowels and constriction similar to consonants. He refers to this feature of /r/ and /l/ as '*n gemengde karakter*' ('a mixed character'). The resonance of *r*-sounds allows for acoustic description and instrumental analysis. I explored instrumental analyses of alveolar-*r* and uvular-*r* with the software *PRAAT* (Boersma and Weenink 1992-2013) and *SFS/WASP* (Huckvale 2013). These programmes generate spectrograms and waveforms, which are acoustic time-frequency representations of speech sounds. Tops (2009:33-50) and Ladefoged and Maddieson (1996:217-230) show how waveforms and spectrograms illustrate the acoustic differences between the alveolar and uvular trills. These instruments also show the effect of phonetic contexts and sound duration. As defined above, trills are produced by successive closing and opening phases of airflow. With alveolar trills, the closure occurs between the tip of the tongue and the alveolar ridge. The uvula and the dorsum of the tongue are in contact for the closed

phases of the uvular trill. The closure-opening phases of trills can last from one to several phases. These phases are clearly visible on the spectrograms in Figures 5.1 and 5.2.

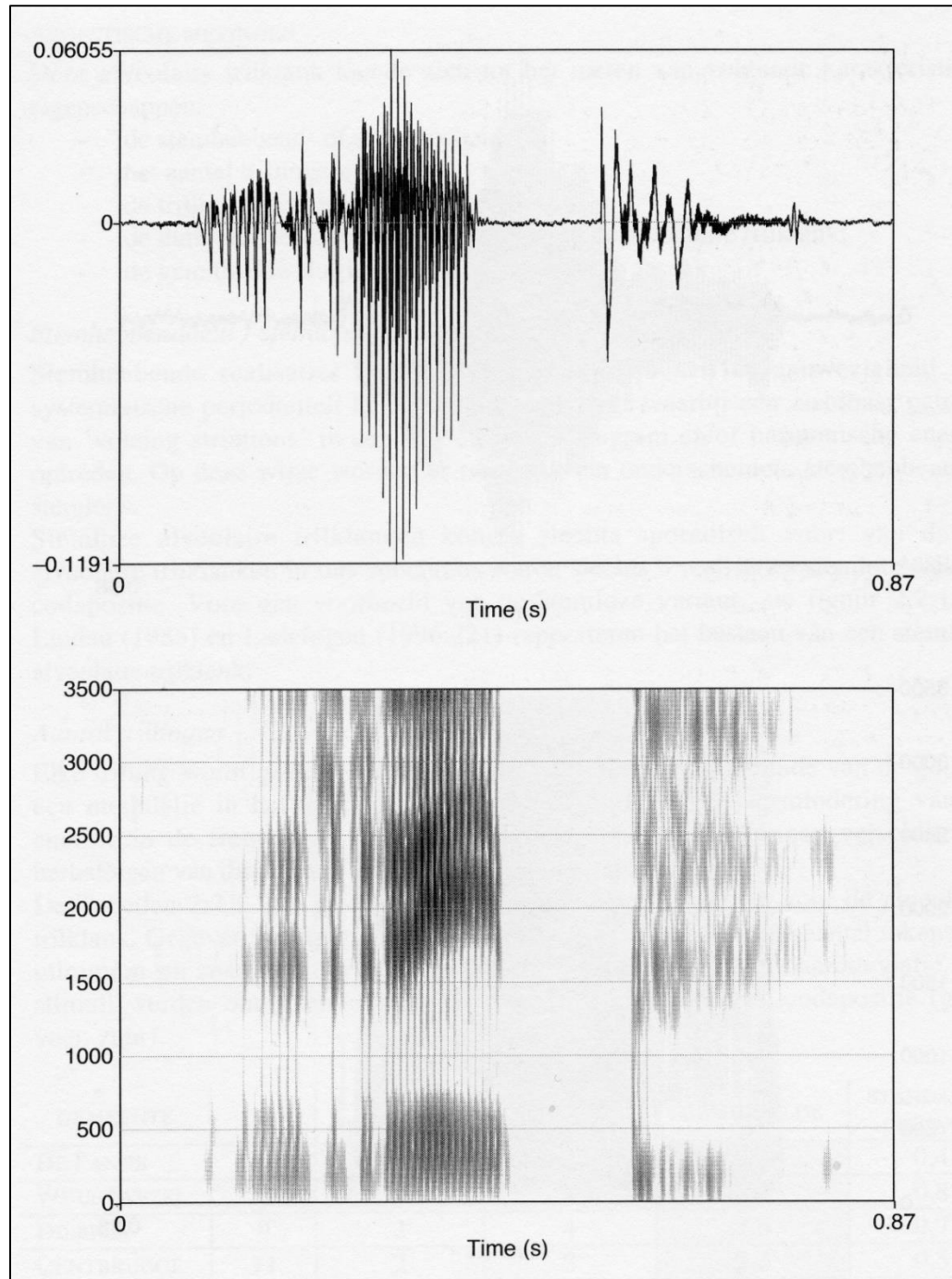


Figure 5.1. Waveform and spectrogram of alveolar trill in the Dutch word '*reep*' (Tops 2009:35)

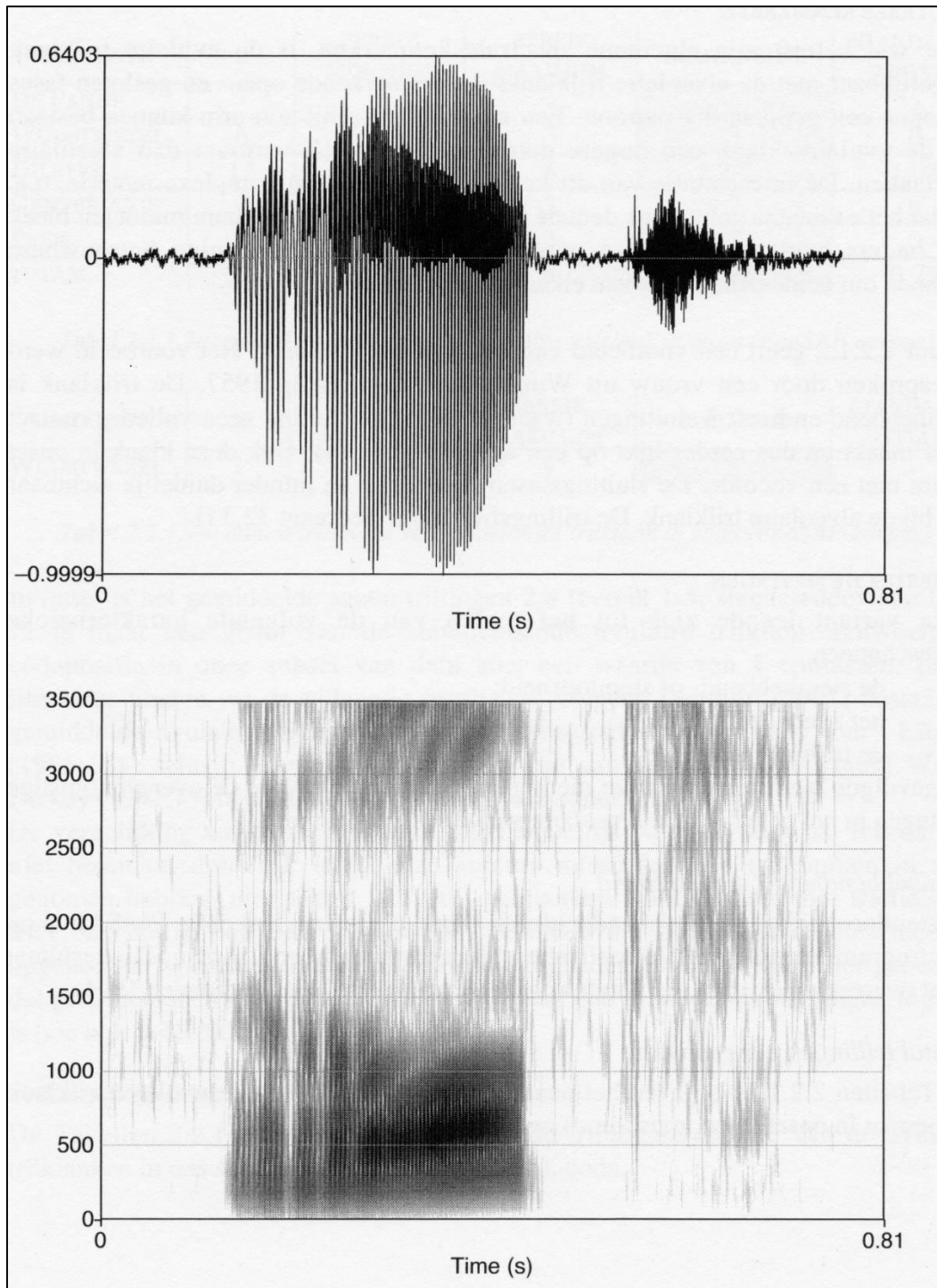


Figure 5.2. Waveform and spectrogram of uvular trill in the Dutch word ‘rood’ (Tops 2009:51)

The waveforms plot the values of amplitude against time. Distinguishing between an alveolar and uvular trill, the closed phase of the alveolar is longer in duration compared to the uvular. The closed phases are light bands on the spectrogram, confirming weak acoustic strength. The open phases are the dark formant bands, which confirm the vowel-like acoustic

structure. These vowel-like moments can be analysed further through formant measurement. This approach is generally used for vowel formant analyses, where the formant values are plotted on a scatterplot. Formants are energy peaks and are measured in Hertz. The F1 formant captures tongue height and the F2 formant is the tongue position during articulation (back or front of the oral cavity). One can use the formants to demonstrate the position of the tongue, especially in terms of backness (uvular) or frontness (alveolar; see Appendix 5.2 for a formant scatterplot of alveolar and uvular trills produced by two of my participants; the uvular formants are high and back). Sound clips from these two speakers can be listened to online by following these two links: alveolar-*r* user <https://db.tt/pYKLKAsB>; uvular-*r* user <https://db.tt/3GbIDXQ9>.

The focus of my analysis is on contrasting places of articulation, i.e. dorsal/uvular versus coronal/alveolar production. As noted above, the different realisations are distinctive enough for the use of impressionistic analysis. In terms of zero-*r*, Thomas (2002) argues that impressionistic analyses are adequate. As stated by Lindblom (1980; cited by Thomas 2002:168), ‘acoustic measurements are useful only in so far as they reflect linguistically relevant factors’. The acoustic details of Afrikaans alveolar-*r*, uvular-*r* or zero-*r* fall beyond the scope of this study, but see Pienaar and Wissing’s (2015) exploration into the acoustic and articulatory features of alveolar trill and uvular fricative in Malmesbury Afrikaans.

5.4. Sociolinguistic interviews as conversations with purpose

Speech style as an intra-speaker variable in the sociolinguistic interview

In this section, I discuss the main data collection method – the sociolinguistic interview – and the two different speech styles from which I extracted the (r) tokens. I start by overviewing the classical Labovian approach, before considering alternative positions on intra-speaker variation during an interview. The observer’s paradox is a well-known challenge that one encounters when using sociolinguistic interviews. The researcher wants to investigate linguistic forms used by speakers in informal contexts, but, as stated by Labov ([1966] 2006:64), the interview creates the immediate problem of being a formal speech situation. The objective is that the linguistic variable under investigation should not be unduly influenced by the context of the interview. The challenge, according to Labov, is ‘to construct interview situations in which casual speech will find a place, or which will permit spontaneous speech to emerge, and then set up a formal method for defining the occurrence of these styles’ (Labov *ibid.*).

Speech style, as an intra-speaker variable, is a theoretical construct that allows Labov ([1966] 2006:64) to describe language use as being located on a continuum of casual to formal speech. Labov locates speech styles in the individual's psychological awareness, where '*styles can be ranged along a single dimension, measured by the amount of attention paid to speech*' (Labov 1972a:208; italics in original). To elicit the speech style variants, Labov used 'style shifting devices'. This refers to methods one employs to elicit a speaker's range of styles. The 'devices' include certain types of questions, which elicit narratives (e.g. the 'danger of death'), and activities such as reading passages or wordlists. Labov (1972a:59, my italics) warns that the style shifting devices 'were introduced as *heuristic devices* to obtain a range of *behaviours* within the individual interview, not as a general theory of style shifting.' The methods of eliciting speech styles are thus *proactive*, assuming that they are stimuli that have an effect on the speech events that occur subsequently. The Labovian approach to speech styles aims to obtain some external control over individual linguistic variation during the interview and is based on a premise that speakers share the same interactional norms (Kiesling 2001:91). The idea that speakers will respond in similar fashions to changing interactional contexts forms the foundation for quantifying speech according to speech styles. Thus, quantifying speech according to speech styles implies the belief that speakers who share the same social characteristics, generally tend to behave similarly during different speech events; individual speech patterns are seen as forming 'part of a highly systematic structure of social and stylistic stratification' (Labov ([1966] 2006:vii).

This view of intra-speaker variation suggests that speakers are speaking more 'naturally' when they do not pay attention to their speech (i.e. use 'the vernacular'; see below). When they start paying attention to their speech, they start to approximate to a formal style, usually associated with a standard variety (Kiesling 2011:93). This process clearly involves language ideologies, namely, an ideology that assumes that the standard variety (or some degree of approximation to it) is appropriate for formal contexts (see Silverstein 2003:219-220). However, speakers have different kinds of access to the standard variety, as well as different kinds of attitudes towards a standard – especially if the standard indexes certain *social types* (Agha 2011:51), which speakers may want to accommodate to, or diverge from. For instance, with Afrikaans, notions of "standard" are intertwined with race, where White speakers believe their variety is more standard than that of speakers from other population groups (see Chapter Four). Thus, it is unrealistic to expect that when all types of Afrikaans speakers are speaking more formally, they are necessarily approximating the standard variety, especially if

the standard itself is stigmatised. Therefore, ‘hearer-focused’ and ‘speaker-focused’ axes of individual style shifting should also be considered (Kiesling 2011:93).

A hearer-focused approach to intra-speaker stylistic variation was developed by Bell (1984, 2001). Bell introduced the notions of ‘audience design’, i.e. that idea that speakers shift their speech style to accommodate towards, or diverge from, the addressee and others who might hear them (i.e. an actual and/or potential audience). Speaker-focused approaches, on the other hand, draw on ‘multidimensional ethnographic and interactional sociolinguistic approaches’ (Schilling-Estes 2008:971; see Schilling-Estes 2002). According to Shilling-Estes (2008:974), Labov’s formulations of attentive speech and the vernacular were criticised mainly for two reasons: one, attention paid to speech is but one dimension of communication, and it is difficult to identify or measure consistently; and secondly, there is ‘no one single, ‘genuine’ vernacular for any one speaker, since speakers always shape their speech in some way to fit the situation or suit their purposes, even if they’re not feeling particularly self-conscious’ (Shilling-Estes 2008:974; see Milroy and Gordon 2003:49-51; Coupland 2007). However, the vernacular is a useful idealisation when it refers to a speaker’s way of speaking with intimate friends or family (Labov 1972a:86). Although casual speech in the interview is generally not the same as used with family or friends, one can focus on casual speech obtained when the interview has ‘shifted towards genuine conversational exchange’ (Labov 1972a:93). Thus, the speaker-focused approach I follow here acknowledges the speaker’s agency during the interview interaction; i.e. the speaker is not simply reactive to interactional contexts, but actively involved in the unfolding of speech events during the interview. In my study, I use two speech styles for the quantitative data analysis. Firstly, I analyse speech that was casual, spontaneous and outside of a question-answer interview format as ‘conversational style’. Secondly, instead of reading passages, wordlists and minimal pairs, I asked the participants to perform a picture description task (see below). The picture descriptions focused their attention not necessarily on *how* they were speaking – unlike reading or wordlist activities – but rather on their performance in the task activity. I analyse this speech as ‘description style’ (akin to wordlist or careful style). The main benefit of *describing* pictures instead of *reading* wordlists is that speakers might *read* what they *see*: thus, if participants see the letter <r> they might be more likely to also pronounce it, displaying a citation reading style. Citation style is ‘the style of speech you use to show someone how to pronounce a word’ (Ladefoged and Johnson 2006:33).

Silverstein (2003:218) refers to Labov's speech styles as different instances of 'contextual style'; i.e. speakers respond to the register-demands of the different interactional contexts, and these register-demands are culturally specific. Thus, the interview can also be seen as a specific genre and a particular type of situated speech. It is not necessarily constructed as being formal or informal (Duranti 2009:7). Therefore, one works with the assumption that speakers share similar metapragmatic awareness about appropriate or effective ways of speaking in interactional contexts (Silverstein 2003:219). Speakers' metapragmatic awareness relates to individual and group notions of what the *purpose* of the interaction is. I therefore treat speech styles not only as speakers' attention to their own speech, but also as speakers' attention to the *purposes* of specific kinds of speech events or activities, which can elicit casual (i.e. conversational) or careful (i.e. descriptive) speech behaviour. Following Silverstein (2003), there will be metapragmatic differences between speech styles. Thus, acknowledging metapragmatic awareness as part of intra-speaker variation moves one towards understanding why speakers might vary their speech when the interactional contexts change. In Chapter Eight, I focus on individuals in interaction, which allows me to move beyond conversational and description styles to investigate how participants use variation during micro-interactional moves – or *moments of meaning* – across and within conversational topics. Thus, I consider not only factors external to the speaker (e.g. speech situation, audience, and topic), but also factors involved in speakers' projection of a particular type of persona (Schilling-Estes 2002; Coupland 2007; Mendoza-Denton 2007).

Interview procedures: before, during and after

As stated by Mason (2002:225), 'interview methodology begins from the assumption that it is possible to investigate elements of the social by asking people to talk, and to gather or construct knowledge by listening to and interpreting what they say and to how they say it.' Furthermore, I agree with Mason (ibid.) that 'asking, listening and interpretation' are underpinned by the study's *theoretical projects*, where the types of questions asked, and the kind of knowledge we interpret from the answers, correspond to the theoretical orientations of the research. As explained in Chapter Two, I focus on linguistic variation reflecting and creating social meanings. I therefore used interviews for quantitative and qualitative data collection. In this section, I describe my interview procedures in the broader context of the fieldwork I conducted.

In 2010, I visited Houtiniquadorp for the first time and conducted six pilot interviews (see Appendix 5.1). On my first visit to the town, I met Sam, who is a lecturer at a Further Education and Training (FET) college in George. I interviewed him when I conducted the pilot

study. When I returned to Houtiniquadorp in 2011, I asked him to be my fieldwork assistant, since he showed extensive knowledge of Houtiniquadorp and the social structures in the town. Sam was forty-six years old and has lived in Houtiniquadorp since the age of ten. He is seen as an *inkommer* by *boorlinge*, but frequently stated that he sees himself as a Houtiniquadorper:

1)

<i>Ek ag en beskou myself as 'n Houtiniquadorper,</i>	I deem and regard myself as a Houtiniquadorper,
<i>want ek het my beste jare hier gehad.</i>	because I had my best years here.
<i>En ek het hier opgegroeï.</i>	And I grew up here.
<i>So, en 'n, daar's vir baie Houtiniquadorpers</i>	So, and a, there are many Houtiniquadorpers
<i>wat ek goe djies kan vertel</i>	for whom I can tell things
<i>wat hulle self nie eers weet nie.</i>	that they themselves don't even know.
<i>So, my hart is hier.</i>	Thus, my heart is here.

His family had to move to Houtiniquadorp from a nearby residential area under the *Group Areas Act* in the nineteen-seventies, and he attended the local high school. He was previously a teacher at a local primary school and knew many Houtiniquadorpers through his interactions with students and parents. Sam insisted that I interviewed ten older *boorlinge* first, because, according to him, they would feel affronted if I did not consult them. Sam probably drew on existing *boorlinge* discourses to determine who and what a *boorling* is. I explained my interview plan to him, and he assisted me in contacting participants of different ages, genders, residential statuses, and neighbourhoods. Some of the participants were his friends, but the majority of the participants were mere acquaintances. Sam furthermore took me on excursions in the town and showed me historical sites, different neighbourhoods, and recreational areas. I also spent some time relaxing at his home with his wife, daughter (aged 14) and son (aged 20).

Sam would either telephone or visit the participant to arrange the interview on my behalf. Other participants I met through my presence in the town. Most of the interviews were conducted in the participants' homes. The others were either conducted at the participant's workplace or at a local church. The church was used, because some participants preferred it to their home: these participants lived in difficult situations at home, due to poverty and overcrowding. Furthermore, because most of the interviews took place in the participants' homes (usually in the sitting room), it was seldom the case that we were alone. Family members came into the room, briefly joined the conversations, made tea or played with children in the background, and sometimes we suspended our conversation when friends dropped by. Seven

out of the seventy-five interviews consisted of me and two participants in conversation. I interviewed the three youngest participants together (a thirteen and two fourteen year old girls), which greatly alleviated their initial shyness.

The interviews formed part of my qualitative data collection, and I made use of semi-structured interviews that aimed to elicit emic perspectives from the participants about Houtiniquadorp (see prompts in Appendix 5.3). After explaining the ethics (see below), I asked the participants for their consent to participate and to be recorded. Their consent was also audio-recorded. The interview started with general biographical details, such as place of birth, age, current place of residence, and family background. I framed the interviews as a discussion about Houtiniquadorp and its people, and the participants spoke about their perceptions about Houtiniquadorp and other experiences that affected their lives. I emphasised that I was also concerned with each participant's own lived experiences and did not only want to talk about Houtiniquadorp, but also about life in general. During the interviews, I asked the participants about what it meant to be a Houtiniquadorper, *boorling* or *inkommer*, and our discussions about Houtiniquadorp as a place and its different neighbourhoods gave me a sense of how the participants orient themselves to the notions of locality, being local, and belonging. Some participants used the interview as an opportunity to express their moral and political views about changes in Houtiniquadorp (similar to Labov's, 2001:91, soap-box style). Older *boorlinge* especially took the interview more seriously and it became apparent that they were better versed in the circulating discourses about locality and belonging than younger *boorlinge* or *inkommers*.

Near the end of the interview, I asked the participants to perform a picture description task. Picture descriptions were successful for elicitation of (r) variants in Tops' (2009:7) study of (r) variation in Flanders, and I compiled my own sets of clipart pictures (see Appendix 5.4 for the sets of pictures). The picture descriptions focused the participants' attention on their performance in the task activity (see above). I asked them to wear a headset microphone for this activity, which increased their awareness of being recorded. The picture description task was divided into four different activities: firstly, the participant was shown nineteen clipart pictures and asked to state what he/she saw. The aim was to elicit the target word for each picture, and this word usually contained an (r) token in a pre-determined phonological environment. Each of the four main phonological environments was represented at least twice (see Table 5.6 below). Therefore, if a participant missed the target word, he/she had another chance of producing the desired token. With the second task, the participants were asked to

identify the different parts on a picture of a human body. This task was chosen because in Afrikaans, the names for several body parts contain an *r*-sound. Thirdly, the participants were asked to narrate what they saw in eleven different pictures; these pictures were more complex than the first set. Lastly, I showed six colours to the participant and asked him/her to name the colours. Five of the colour words contained an (r) token. The first and last task are most similar to the traditional wordlist activity, i.e. the speaker provides a one-word response.

The mixed-methods approach (qualitative and quantitative methods) required fieldwork strategies and adaptation whilst in the field. The variationist quantitative analyses necessitated a larger sample group than an in-depth ethnographic study. I spent several weeks visiting three to four (sometimes five) people per day, interviewing them for one to two hours. The shortest interview was 58 minutes and the longest 2 hours and 14 minutes. The total interview duration is 96 hours and 45 minutes (see Appendix 5.1). The interviews were recorded on an *Olympus DM-5* digital recorder with built-in stereo noise-cancelling microphones. As stated, I connected an external headset microphone to the recorder for the picture description task to optimise the sound quality.

I used Express Scribe and Microsoft Office Word 1997/2003 to transcribe the interviews, which resulted in a transcribed corpus of 267,853 words. The qualitative data analysis programme MAXQDA 11 (VERBI GmbH. 1995-2014) was therefore an invaluable tool for the management of the transcriptions, and it also facilitated the qualitative analyses. In MAXQDA, I coded each interview according to key words, topics and themes. For the qualitative data analysis, I specifically focused on metalinguistic comments (see Chapter Six) and conversations about the town, in-migration and social changes, and childhood memories (see Chapters Three and Eight). For the interactional analyses in Chapter Eight, I re-transcribed sections of selected individuals' interviews in ELAN Linguistic Annotator (Sloetjes and Wittenburg 2008).

I now describe the procedures followed in extracting the (r) tokens. Tokens are individual instances of a linguistic variable (i.e. the variant forms; see Wolfram 1991). For the quantitative analyses discussed in Chapter Seven, I have extracted the (r) tokens at least thirty minutes into the interview when the participants have relaxed somewhat with the situation and me. I avoided using data from conversations with soap-box style topics (Labov [1966] 2006:64ff.). The participants were conversing about topic/s of their choice (i.e. not during question-answer styles), and I used these tokens for the conversational style. Both the

conversational and description style (r) tokens were extracted according to phonological environments. The environments are: initial (r) in a word like *rooi* ('red'; #-r-V); post-consonantal onset (r) in *groot* ('big'; #-C-r-V); final (r) in *meer* ('more'; V-r-#); and pre-consonantal coda in *swart* ('black'; V-r-C-#).⁴⁹ Table 5.6 shows the grid used to extract tokens, with a selection of words used by a participant as examples.

	Alveolar- <i>r</i>	Uvular- <i>r</i>	Zero- <i>r</i>	Total
Initial (#- <i>r</i> -V)	<i>raak</i>	<i>ge.reeld</i>		2
Onset – post-consonant (#-C- <i>r</i> -V)	<i>trein</i>	<i>vriende</i>		2
Final (V- <i>r</i> -#)	<i>ouer</i>	<i>kuier</i>	<i>daar</i>	3
Coda– pre-consonant (V- <i>r</i> -C-#)	<i>werk</i>	<i>dorp</i>	<i>anders</i>	3
<i>TOTAL</i>	4	4	2	10

Table 5.6. Grid used for token analysis

Tops (2009:7) notes that other phonological criteria may also be relevant, such as the placement of stress and vowel length. In this study, these factors are acknowledged, but linguistic-internal sources of (r) variation were not further explored, apart from the phonological environment.

The picture descriptions, instead of wordlists, might pose problems for replication; however, I would argue that the pictures are generic enough to elicit similar responses in other studies. The congruence in responses from the majority of the participants supports this claim. Klopper (1983b; see Chapter Four) used a wordlist to study (r) in Cape Afrikaans with alveolar-*r* [r] and zero-*r* as variants: he found that zero-*r* is stratified according to speech style, with a high frequency in casual style and a low frequency in wordlist style. This finding is used as a benchmark: if my description style shows similar results for zero-*r*, it can be concluded that it elicited a careful style similar to wordlists. For the picture descriptions, all the (r) tokens were counted; excluding (r) tokens that did not form part of the primary picture description task would have caused deceptively low instances of zero-*r*, since *r*-elision occurs less frequently with content words (such as *tier* 'tiger' or *rot* 'rat'). Afrikaans words containing *-die* (e.g. *hierdie* 'this') or which are followed by *nie* (e.g. *sal nie* 'shall not') undergo connected speech

⁴⁹ Notations used to indicate position of /r/ in syllables, where 'V' refers to 'vowel', 'C' to consonant, and '#' indicates the syllable boundary.

processes, for example *hie.rie*, *sa.lie*, *by.rie* (*by die* ‘at the’), and *vi.rie* (*vir die* ‘for the’). These words were not included in order to simplify the analysis. I extracted 4,178 tokens from the picture description tasks (i.e. description style), and 5,943 tokens from the interview interactions (i.e. conversational style; 10,121 tokens in total).

Contextualising the interview: fieldwork and reflexivity

In addition to employing a traditional variationist methodology, I also took an ethnographic approach to explore other social contexts in the fieldwork site (i.e. third-wave variationism). This approach entailed getting to know the main context, the research site, as well as micro-contexts where the participants interact with their family, friends, neighbours, and the community. I followed Rickford’s (1986:216) adoption of Warner and Lunt’s (1942:90) ethnographic method of ‘evaluated participation’, which enables the researcher to discover ‘the groups recognised by the community ... [and the] distinctions made by the people themselves.’ Discerning the local categories and perspectives enables the researcher to comprehend the speakers’ systems of differentiation and distinctiveness (Rickford 2007:31). However, Warner and Lunt’s evaluated participation was criticised for neglecting ‘economic relations and power asymmetries’ (Rickford 1986:216). Therefore, where I initially observed emic categorisations such as *boorlinge* and *inkommers*, I soon realised that these categories also interact with socioeconomic status and local power relations in different neighbourhoods, as well with different formulations of individual place identities (see Chapter 3.4).

I did participant observation through revisits to the homes of some of the participants with whom I had become acquainted. Furthermore, I attended church services and helped at social events. Acting as a waiter and kitchen-hand gave me the opportunity to observe and participate in conversations. Living in Houtiniquadorp for the duration of my fieldwork allowed me more time to interact with Houtiniquadorpers in the streets, shops, and get-togethers. I gained more ethnographical depth by spending qualitative time with smaller groups of people and individuals in these contexts. However, some of my movements were restricted: at the outset of the fieldwork, my fieldwork assistant, Sam, advised against my usual practice of travelling by bicycle, thinking that it would be too unsettling for the residents. He explained:

2)

<i>Baie van onse mense is nog nie gewoond</i>	Many of our people are not yet used
<i>aan Witmense in Houtiniquadorp nie,</i>	to White people in Houtiniquadorp,
<i>daar gaan sommer nog baie water</i>	there will have to be a lot more water
<i>in die see moet loop.</i>	flowing into the sea. ⁵⁰

Sam's comment reflects the tangible reality of Houtiniquadorp as a traditionally Coloured town (see Chapter Three). Apart from being a stranger, I was also an outsider: not only was I not a local, I was a White person in a residential area that was previously a "Coloureds-only" area, which threw the legacy of apartheid into sharp relief. Yet, most Houtiniquadorpers did not treat me with hostility and several spoke about their experiences of apartheid and their political views. My presence was noted, but everyone I met was hospitable and curious about my endeavours there. My status as stranger worked, at times, to my advantage. It gave the participants the sense that they were educating me about Houtiniquadorp and were sharing their own experiences and memories of Houtiniquadorp with me.

The town has a rather ample geographical spread, which meant walking was not always practical. Furthermore, Sam advised me not to walk alone in certain neighbourhoods. Since I never came across any other White people during my time there, I understand that people were suspicious about my presence there. During the interviews, I became aware that some Houtiniquadorpers associated a White person with property developers. Since I could not walk or cycle through the town, I had to hire a car, which possibly made me look more like a property scout. Fortunately, Sam accompanied me on many of my drives through the town, and through him, the word spread about my presence and study there. Conducting fieldwork without an assistant in a town such as Houtiniquadorp would be considerably more challenging, given some of the residents' instinctive distrust of White outsiders, and strangers in general. It also raises the question: if someone else had assisted me, could it have shaped the study differently? I would argue that it might have been if the residents did not know and trust the assistant, which was not true in my case. Also, the age and gender of the assistant might play a role. In terms of reliability, the fact that I had clear research objectives meant that my fieldwork would not have been remarkably different if I used someone else as assistant. Yet, another assistant might have

⁵⁰ The last clause is metaphorical, meaning that 'many things still need to change'.

had a different view of Houtiniquadorp and might thus have foregrounded different types of residents. See Appendix 5.5 for images of my fieldwork activities.

Ethics procedures and ethical practices

Since the research involved human subjects, I obtained clearance from the Research Ethics Committee (REC) of the Linguistics Section at the University of Cape Town. This study's research accords with the University of Cape Town's code for research, its statement of values, and the University's various statutes and policies. I followed the main ethical guidelines for collecting informal interviews and conversations. Before each interview, I explained the ethical implications and recorded the participant's informed consent for the interview to be taped and used for academic purposes. My explanation included the following five points:

- (1) The participant's informed consent to be audio-recorded must be obtained (written consent forms were made available to the participant);
- (2) The participant's anonymity will be guaranteed;
- (3) The participant's involvement is voluntary, and the participant has the right to deny or cease participation at any stage;
- (4) The participant has the right to request partial or full deletion of the recordings if he or she is concerned about certain disclosures;
- (5) The participant will have access to the researcher and research findings, if they so request.

Anonymity as continued consent

As part of the obtaining consent before starting an interview, I promised the participants that I will guard their privacy by keeping them anonymous. Pseudonyms are used to protect the anonymity of participants. My process of creating pseudonyms was as follows: I created a pseudonym that reflects the person's real name, e.g. whether the first name is English (e.g. *John*), Afrikaans (e.g. *Hannes*), or a name that is unusual (i.e. nonce creations, a common practice amongst Afrikaans-speakers in general, e.g. *Jeffrica*). However, during the writing process, I was confronted with the following question: How much do you reveal about the history and the context of the fieldwork site without inadvertently revealing who the participants are? It became apparent that too much information about the town created the risk of participants having *superficial anonymity*, especially for participants who are well-known in the town (see Walford 2002; Posel and Ross 2014). Houtiniquadorp is a relatively small town and many of the residents – including the participants – know each other either as family,

friends, acquaintances, or colleagues. I therefore realised that I needed to go beyond using pseudonyms to guard the participants' anonymity and decided to anonymise the town itself, thereby ensuring the *continued consent* of my participants.

For a purely quantitative study, anonymising the town would not have been necessary, but this study contains a large amount of qualitative data and focuses on several individuals in great detail. I therefore changed the name, and it now reflects the town's pre-colonial heritage. The three neighbourhoods are also pseudonyms. The risk is that by anonymising the place, I diminish my capacity to make verifiable claims about my fieldwork site (see Kirkham 2013:16-17; Walford 2007:163). However, I have continuously remained cognisant of upholding the participants' expectations of truth and fairness in representation, as I explained to them while obtaining their consent.

5.5. Statistical analyses

The descriptions of the statistical tests and programs I supply here are specifically focused on my application of them in the analyses. My discussion is based on explanations provided by Tagliamonte (2012) and Johnson (2009). To explore and test patterns in the quantitative data, I mainly used regressions in Rbrul and R. I also used Microsoft Office Excel (2010/2013), and SPSS 13-22 to manage the data sets and for exploratory and descriptive statistics. In this section, I provide a non-technical summary of the methods I employed and give explanations for why I chose them.

In variationist sociolinguistics, the effects of independent social and linguistic variables on the realisation of a dependent linguistic variable are tested through regression modelling (Tagliamonte 2012). The variable rule program – referred to as a generalized linear model by statisticians – was specifically developed with sociolinguistic data in mind and is performed in software packages called Varbrul (Cedergren and Sankoff 1974), Goldvarb 2.0 (Rand and Sankoff 1990), or Goldvarb X (Sankoff, et al. 2005). The type of regression modelling performed in Goldvarb involves binary dependent variables with multiple independent variables (also called 'factors') influencing them. I initially used GoldVarb X (Sankoff, et al.:2005) to determine the strength of factors conditioning alveolar-*r* and uvular-*r* use. However, since the inception of the variable rule program, developments in statistics have introduced new types of statistical models, which counterbalance some of the variable rule program's drawbacks. The main drawback is the fact that 'the variable rule program is a single statistical tool – logistic regression – that can model discrete, fixed effects only' (Tagliamonte

2012:137). Fixed effects are independent variables or factors with a restricted set of categories. For example, gender is a factor group with two discrete categories, male and female. The problem with only accounting for fixed effects in variationist data is that it inadvertently treats the speaker as a factor that is fixed, when it is actually random. The speaker is a random factor, because in variationist data, each speaker contributes more than one observation to the data set. The speaker is therefore not one case, but multiple, because each token of the variable used by a speaker is counted as an observation. As stated by Tagliamonte and Baayen (2012:143), ‘this presents a problem for statistical modelling because as soon as a given individual contributes more than one observation, the individual him or herself becomes a source of variation that should be brought into the statistical model.’ The consequence of not accounting for speaker variance is explained by Tagliamonte (2012:130):

Not having the individual in an analysis while at the same time grouping individuals into one external factor or another (e.g. age, social group, education) may create inappropriate aggregations, especially with unbalanced numbers of tokens across individuals (as is typically the case).

Thus, not accounting for variance introduced to the data set by individual speakers results in over-estimation of the strength of the effects of the independent variables (see Johnson 2009). This problem is resolved by using a generalized linear mixed effects model, which incorporates both fixed and random effects. The package Rbrul developed by Johnson (2009) is based on the traditional variable rule program, but allows for the testing of mixed effects. Mixed effects models are also computed in R (R Core Team 2014; see below).

The data set I used for Rbrul and R was the same, since both programs can work with a binary dependent variable and multiple independent variables. With my data, all the independent variables were categorical. See Table 5.7 for the variables (or factor groups).

Variables (factor groups or fixed effects)	Factors	Number of tokens
GENDER	Female	3,836
	Male	3,579
AGE	<25	1,852
	26-45	1,251
	46-65	3,152
	>66	1,160
NEIGHBOURHOOD	Bergview	1,906
	Old Dorp	3,003
	Scheme	2,506
RSS	1	3,588
	2-5	2,151
	6-7	1,676
STYLE	Conversational	3,866
	Description	3,549
PHONOLOGICAL ENVIRONMENT	Coda	305
	Final	750
	Initial	500
	Onset	734

Table 5.7. Independent variables in the data set and (r) tokens

As discussed in Chapter Seven and below, I did not test for the effect of phonological environment as a factor group for the whole sample, because of the large amount of near-categorical alveolar-*r* or uvular-*r* users in the sample group. This factor is tested for with a sub-sample of nineteen speakers who use both variants, and the last four rows in Table 5.7 show their tokens.

Rbrul

As stated, based on the arguments for mixed effects models being more suited to linguistic data, I analysed the data discussed in Chapter Seven in Rbrul (Johnson 2009). I first used the step-up/step-down multiple regression feature to obtain an indication of the effect each factor group has on the model. The step-up/step-down analysis builds up to the full model by adding one factor group at a time, and then steps down by omitting one factor group at a time. The step-up/step-down results indicate which model is the strongest, and which factor groups should be omitted from the regression. I used Rbrul's step-up/step-down analysis for all the

independent variables (i.e. fixed factor groups), with speaker as random factor. The best result was computed for a model that includes Age, Gender, and RSS: Neighbourhood and Style were thus dropped from the model (see Chapter Seven). As stated by Tagliamonte (2012:127), ‘the factor weights selected for presentation of the results come from the best stepping down iteration of the logistic regression.’

Similar to Goldvarb, Rbrul provides centred factor weights for each factor in the factor group. I chose uvular-*r* as the application value, and the factor weights show what factors favour or disfavour the presence of uvular-*r*. A weight above 0.5 favours the application value, while a weight below 0.5 disfavors it. The closer the factor weight is to 1, the stronger the probability of choice (see Tagliamonte 2012:141). While factor weights range between 0 and 1, Rbrul also supply log-odds, which ‘can take on any positive or negative value from negative infinity to positive infinity and are anchored around zero’ (Tagliamonte *ibid*). Log-odds (or estimated coefficients in R) show the degree of contrast among factors in a factor group and also provides a hierarchical organisation of their effect strength. As stated above, a fixed-effects program like Goldvarb ‘may overestimate the statistical significance of social factors (creating the possibility of Type I errors), where a mixed effects model is more conservative’ (Tagliamonte 2012:141). In Rbrul, factor groups are selected as statistically significant only ‘when they are strong enough to rise above the inter-speaker variation’ (Johnson 2009:365). However, being more conservative, the possibility of Type II errors are higher with Rbrul, and it can fail to detect significant effects (Johnson 2009:365).⁵¹ I therefore also fitted a generalized liner mixed effects model in R.

Generalized linear mixed-effect models in R

The statistics I discuss in Chapter Seven were also obtained from regressions in R (R Core Team 2014). I fitted a generalized linear mixed-effect model (GLMM) using the R packages ‘lme4’ (Bates, et al. 2014), ‘lmerTest’ (Kuznetsova, et al. 2014), and ‘languageR’ (Baayen 2013). I used a binomial distribution model with the following formula:

```
glmer(RESPONSE ~ PREDICTOR1 + PREDICTORn + (1 | RANDOM), data=data,
family="binomial")
```

⁵¹ ‘A Type I error is when a factor group is selected as significant, but it is actually not significant. A Type II error is when a factor group is not selected as significant, but it actually is significant’ (Tagliamonte 2012:141).

Based on my data, the formula I used was as follows:

```
glmer(Alve_Uvul ~ Gender + Age + Neighbourhood + RSS + Style (1 | Speaker), data  
= ALLglm, family="binomial")
```

For this analysis, the dependent variable is binomial, consisting of alveolar- $r=0$ and uvular- $r=1$ (as baseline). With Rbrul, I focus on the log-odds and factor weights, where in GLMM the estimated coefficient (i.e. log-odds), z-value and p-value are used. The odds are taken for the use of uvular- r , therefore, a positive estimated coefficient shows the likelihood for use of uvular- r and a negative estimated coefficient shows use of alveolar- r .

Cluster analyses

The main statistical approaches used in this dissertation are examples of inferential statistics, where I investigated the distribution patterns of (r) according to pre-determined macro-social categories. To distinguish between participants who categorically used either variant, and participants who used both, I draw on descriptive statistics. Cluster analysis is useful in exploring sociolinguistic patterns, because the method does not require one to pre-group speakers into social categories. For instance, Le Page and Tabouret-Keller (1985), Horvath and Sankoff (1987) and Deumert (2004) used Principal Component Analysis to facilitate cluster analyses with complex multivariate data, which enabled them to reveal structures and patterns in the data that are otherwise not self-evident. I use cluster analysis as an exploratory method to see whether the 72 participants form clusters according to their (r) use. Thus, only the two (r) variants are used to group the participants.

In SPSS, I used a hierarchical cluster analysis using *Ward's method*, applying *squared Euclidean Distance* as the distance or similarity measure. This initial step allows one to determine how many clusters exist. For a full description of the clustering algorithm and distance method, see Burns and Burns (2009:556-557). In short, Ward's method uses analysis of variance to determine the distances between clusters. The SPSS hierarchical analysis starts with each case in its own cluster and builds up by adding cases 'closest' (i.e. most similar) until they all form one cluster (Burns and Burns 2009:555). Each participant formed a case, and their use of (r) variants were expressed as percentages.

The first result was an agglomeration schedule (see Appendix 5.6), which provided a solution for every possible number of clusters, ranging from 1 to 72 (the number of speakers). Following Burns and Burns (2009:560), the agglomeration schedule (in Appendix 5.6) should

be read from the bottom upwards to observe the changes in the coefficients as the number of clusters increases. Table 5.8 shows the reworked agglomeration schedule.

Number of clusters	Agglomeration last step	Coefficients this step	Change
2	247,909.32	25,097.56	222,811.75
3	25,097.56	8,721.43	16,376.13
4	8,721.43	4,793.75	3,927.68
5	4,793.75	2,885.12	1,908.63
6	2,885.12	1,646.82	1,238.30

Table 5.8. Reworked agglomeration table (clear demarcation points)

The final column, labelled ‘Change’, enables one to determine the optimum number of clusters. It clearly shows two main clusters. The change in coefficients furthermore indicates the existence of a third cluster. A dendrogram corresponds to the agglomeration schedule and in Figure 5.3 shows two main clusters and a minor one. This diagram illustrates the stages where clusters joined, and the distance between the clusters when they joined (see Cornish 2007). One can also determine which participants were grouped in each cluster, based on their case number.

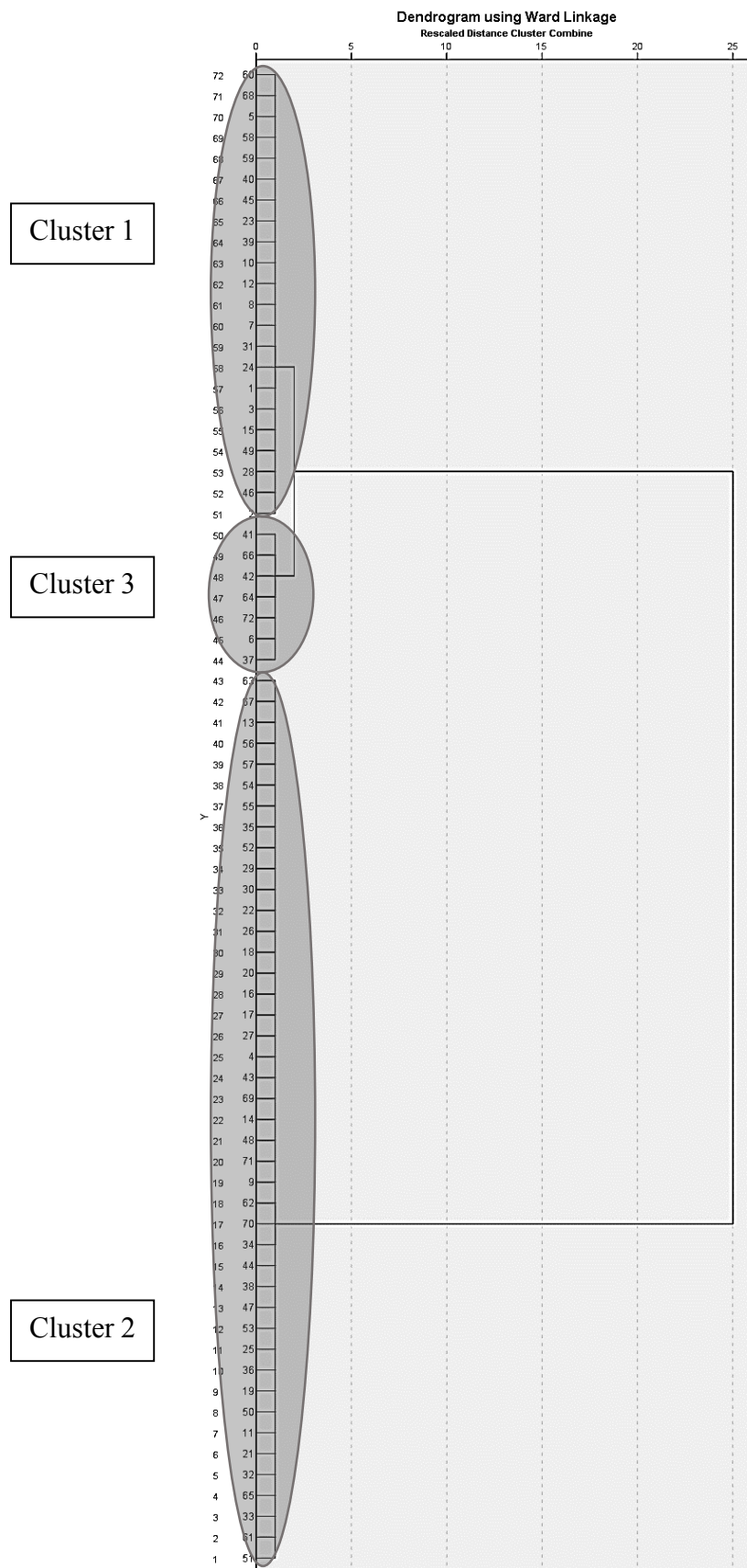


Figure 5.3. Dendrogram showing three clusters of (r) use in the sample group

The cluster near the top of the figure contains participants who predominantly used uvular-*r* (Cluster 1), and those who predominantly used alveolar-*r* were grouped in the bottom cluster (Cluster 2). The third cluster contains participants who used both variants (Cluster 3). The next step I took was to rerun the cluster analysis, using the *k-means* method. The k-means method allows one to stipulate how many clusters the data should be divided into (Burns and Burns 2009:557). I first stipulated that the data should form two clusters. Cluster 1 had 27 cases (cluster centre 89.15% uvular-*r*), and Cluster 2 had 45 (cluster centre 92.78% alveolar-*r*). SPSS provided a list of cluster membership, which indicated the Euclidian distance of each case (i.e. participant) from the respective cluster centre. Visual inspection of this list showed that there were outliers in both clusters, which were cases that had a greater distance from the cluster centre. To determine whether these outliers formed the third cluster, I ran a k-means analysis for three clusters. The results are in Table 5.9 and correspond to the results from the dedrogram.

	Number of cases
<i>Cluster 1</i>	22
<i>Cluster 2</i>	43
<i>Cluster 3</i>	7
<i>Total</i>	72

Table 5.9. Number of participants (cases) in each cluster

The k-means cluster analysis provided the mean percentage of alveolar-*r* and uvular-*r* (called ‘final cluster centres’) for each of the three clusters (see Table 5.10).

	Cluster		
	1 (n=22)	2 (n=43)	3 (n=7)
<i>Alveolar-r</i>	4.7%	94.4%	43.9%
<i>Uvular-r</i>	95.3%	5.6%	56.1%

Table 5.10. Final cluster centres showing the mean percentage (r)

Again by inspecting the list of cluster membership, outliers in Clusters 1 and 2 were noted. These cluster analyses provided the basis for me to re-inspect the total data set (i.e. each

participant's use of (r) during the conversational and description styles) for participants with variable (r) use. Based on the outliers identified by the k-means analysis and visual inspection, I divided the sample group into three groups: near-categorical users of either alveolar-*r* or uvular-*r*, and a group of variable use. I discuss these results in Chapter 7.5, with specific focus on the participants who used both variants.

5.6. Conclusion

In this chapter, I described the methodology of the study. My sample group is stratified according to Gender, Age, Neighbourhood and Residential Status Score. I explained my use of socio-political eras to delineate my age cohorts, specifically because speakers experienced different social and educational opportunities in the different contexts of racial segregation and integration. The notions of socioeconomic status and local social status in the context of social and geographic mobility are relevant to my study, and I show how the sample group was stratified according to neighbourhoods and residential status scores.

Next, I discussed rhotics, which constitute the class of sounds that include the linguistic variable I focus on. The phonetic heterogeneity and highly allophonic behaviour of rhotics pose a challenge for a variationist study, and a clear distinction needs to be made between linguistic-internal (i.e. phonological) and external (i.e. social) factors causing variation of rhotics in speech. Cross-linguistic studies on French, German and Dutch (inter alia) found that uvularisation of alveolar-*r* is more common than the reverse, and in certain Dutch-speaking areas, for example, uvular-*r* is progressively replacing alveolar-*r*. Similarly, in my study I am concerned with investigating whether uvular-*r* (a regional variant) is in competition with alveolar-*r* (the standard variant), and whether variation can be explained by considering the indexicality of the variants. In order to study this, I made use of sociolinguistic interviews that were semi-structured to gather quantitative and qualitative data. In Section 5.4, I explained my approach to Labovian speech styles, where I regard speech styles comparable with different interactional contexts where speakers *behave* more casually (conversational style) or more carefully (description style).

Section 5.4 continued with a discussion of my fieldwork. The main challenge I faced was a restriction on my movements; as a White woman in a former Coloured town, I was a conspicuous outsider. Seeking the aid of Sam as a fieldwork assistant helped to alleviate residents' suspicion about my presence. He served as a cultural broker, explaining local customs to me as well as explaining my presence to the residents who were curious. His insights

into the community greatly shaped my fieldwork conduct and experience, but I remained aware of his subjectivity. The mixed-methods I used meant that I aimed to collect data from the emic or insider's perspective (qualitatively) and used traditional variationist methods to achieve an etic perspective (quantitatively) of the macro-social patterns of (r) in Houtiniquadorp. In Section 5.5, I explained how these macro-social patterns were tested with mixed-effect regression models, which account for the variance caused by one speaker contributing many tokens in variationist data. Finally, I described the procedures I took using cluster analyses, which clustered the sample group according to the participants' use of (r).

PART II

**THE STUDY OF (r) VARIATION: METALINGUISTIC COMMENTS,
QUANTITATIVE PATTERNS, AND QUALITATIVE CONTEXTS**

Chapter 6 Houtiniquadorpers' metalinguistic comments: the multiplicity of indexicality

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6.1. Introduction

This chapter is the first of Part II, where I apply the theoretical and conceptual aspects described in Part I to the empirical data. I argue that regional speech can function as a resource for expressing locality and belonging and at times can thus be more than an ‘automatic consequence’ of where one was born or raised (Johnstone 2010:389). I proceed by examining Houtiniquadorpers’ metalinguistic comments about local and extra-local ways of speaking. With extra-local, the focus is on language use in places *outside* of the local, i.e. Houtiniquadorp, such as Cape Town or Oudtshoorn. Local and extra-local are distinguished from supra-local, which refers to the standard variants of a given language that are ‘more widely adopted at the expense of more locally specific forms’ (Britain 2010:193). Thus, in the case of Afrikaans /r/, alveolar-*r* is the supra-local form. The notion of supra-regional features is also important in this discussion, and refers to perceptions of the structural homogeneity of a language variety regardless of region (see Wolfram 2007). The distinctions between local and extra-local allow me to explore whether the indexicality of /r/ relates to mobility or locality and belonging.

In Section 6.2, I discuss the types of metalinguistic comments the participants made, where their awareness of Cape Town and Oudtshoorn as salient extra-local linguistic localities came to the fore. The two places are different types of extra-localities, and are positioned differently in local discourse. Cape Town is the capital city of the Western Cape Province and about four-hundred kilometres away from Houtiniquadorp. Oudtshoorn is a town in a semi-desert sheep farming area, about sixty-five kilometres from Houtiniquadorp. Participants associated Houtiniquadorp and Oudtshoorn with uvular-*r*, and in Section 6.3, I explore the folk-phonetic descriptions participants provided for uvular-*r* in these two places. I further examine their awareness of the different types of uvular-*r* they associated with speakers from different regions. The chapter concludes with Section 6.4, where I take an in-depth look at participants who expressed multiple meanings for *bry* (‘burr’, i.e. uvular-*r* use) as an index of locality and belonging to Houtiniquadorp. They discussed different types of beliefs, rationalisations, and local personae associated with uvular-*r*, which are, at times, *extremely local*.

6.2. Houtiniquadorpers' metalinguistic comments: local and extra-local awareness

In Chapter Four, I considered metalinguistic comments about Afrikaans /r/, particularly uvular-*r*. With the Facebook group's responses, one could observe certain language ideologies about the origins of uvular-*r* in Afrikaans, its status as an emplaced sound, as well as attitudes towards speakers who use the variant. In this chapter, I explore the participants' metalinguistic comments and specifically focus on the ideologies they express towards uvular-*r* as a feature of their own and/or other people's speech. Speakers express their language ideologies in metalinguistic comments, which are discourses about ways of speaking.

The metalinguistic comments made on the Facebook group were different from those made during the interviews; not only was the context different (online forum compared to face-to-face conversation), the Facebook group members were predominantly White and older. Furthermore, I did not always directly ask Houtiniquadorp participants about their opinions of uvular-*r* use, since my aim was to establish which linguistic features were salient or locally meaningful to the participants. During the interviews, I phrased the question aimed at eliciting metalinguistic comments as follows: 'Can you hear if someone is from Cape Town or Houtiniquadorp, or can you hear if someone is not from here?' Because of the conversational dynamics of the interview-interaction, I did not always have the opportunity to broach metalinguistic topics. Depending on the kinds of responses, I asked further questions about places, people and local ways of speaking.

Thirty of the seventy-five participants made metalinguistic comments. These participants have the following characteristics:

- Age: twelve were younger than 25 years old; six were between 26 and 45; ten were between 46 and 65; and two older were older than 66;
- Gender: seventeen were women and thirteen were men;
- Neighbourhood: eight lived in Bergview; ten in Old Dorp, and twelve in Scheme;
- Place of birth: twenty were born in the town, and ten were not (three of these were born in the region); and
- Use of (r): fourteen near-categorically used alveolar-*r*; nine used both variants; and seven near-categorically used uvular-*r*.

There is no discernible pattern that linked any of these social characteristics to specific types of comments made. However, all the participants who commented that they were told by others that they sounded different (see below) were younger than twenty-five. Fourteen out of the thirty participants mentioned *bry* as a Houtiniquadorp feature (four of them were not born in the town or region). Specific comments about *bry* also involved references to Oudtshoorn (see Section 6.3). The participants referred to *bry* as a feature of these two towns without any elicitation or prompting from my part, which indicates that this accent feature is perceived to be a salient regional marker – while two participants imitated other phonological features they associated with Oudtshoorn.

The participants' types of metalinguistic comments can thus be themed as follows: thirty percent of the comments were about their awareness of extra-local differences (predominantly Cape Town); thirty percent of the comments were about the fact that Houtiniquadorpers *bry*; twenty-three percent of the comments located the *bry* among people from Oudtshoorn; and just under twenty-percent were comments about being told by others that Houtiniquadorpers speak differently (see Figure 6.1). As I will discuss below, being told by others that they sounded different contributed to some participants' awareness of their own local ways of speaking, which for some strengthened their awareness of uvular-*r* as indexical of locality.

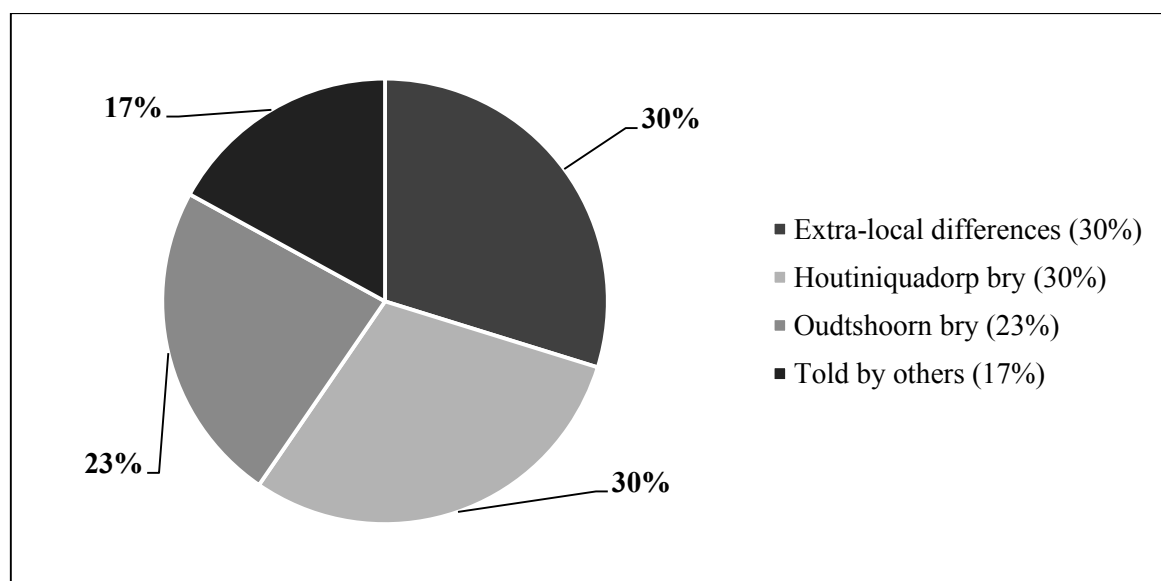


Figure 6.1. Metalinguistic themes from the comments made by thirty Houtiniquadorpers

Local ways of speaking and Cape Town as extra-local

I used Cape Town as a reference point in the interviews and the participants responded that they could easily hear if someone is from Cape Town. The participants frequently used the word ‘slang’ to describe the Afrikaans spoken in Cape Town; only one participant, Eleanor, referred to Capetonians’ speech as *Kaaps* (i.e. Cape Afrikaans; see Chapters One and Four). I discussed Eleanor’s distinctions between being a *boorling* or an *inkommer* in Chapter Three. To recap, Eleanor (aged 62) was born in Namaqualand (Northern Cape Province; her mother’s family is still there), went to school in Cape Town from Grade 3 and qualified as a high school teacher in Cape Town before starting her teaching career at a George high school in 1976. She has been living in Bergview for about thirty-four years and lectured at a college in George. I asked Eleanor if she can hear if someone is from Cape Town, and the conversation went as follows:⁵²

1)

Eleanor: *As hulle Kaaps praat ja.* If they speak *Kaaps* yes.

Yolandi: *Hoe klink Kaaps?* How does *Kaaps* sound like?

Eleanor: *So, ‘jy weet’ [laughs]* Like, ‘you know’ [laughs]

[dʒəi vit]

In Excerpt 1, Eleanor provided two examples of *Kaaps*, a variety she was familiar with: raising and monophthongisation of /eə/ to [i] in *weet* [vit] (‘know’); and affrication of the palatal approximant /j/ in [dʒəi] *jy* (‘you’; see Klopper 1983; Dreyer 1986). In addition to phonological features, several participants made comments about Cape Town slang and the mixing of Afrikaans and English, which has been found amongst the Coloured speakers from the city (see McCormick 2002).

Many participants saw Afrikaans-English mixing, and the phonological features discussed above, in a negative light. For example, Clive (aged 47) was born in the Eastern Cape and moved with his family to Old Dorp in 1974. After high school in Houtiniquadorp, he started his studies at the University of the Western Cape (in Cape Town). He moved back to

⁵² I underline the words that are phonetically transcribed or commented on. The comments are also in square brackets.

Houtiniquadorp in 1984 and had a successful career in local government before becoming a pastor in 2002.

2)

<i>Ek meen ek het daar [Kaapstad] gaan studeer</i>	I mean I have gone to study there [Cape Town]
<i>en daar gebly vir hoe lank.</i>	and stayed there for how long.
<i>Ek is lief vir die taal [Afrikaans]</i>	I love the language [Afrikaans]
<i>en ek het my voorgeneem</i>	and I had planned [that]
<i>my taal gaan nie opgemors word</i>	my language will not be messed up
<i>deur deur die Kapenaars nie.</i>	by by the Capetonians.
<i>So so 'jy weet'</i>	Like like 'you know'
<i>[dʒəi vit]</i>	
<i>en 'staan daar onder die boom'</i>	and 'stand there under the tree'
<i>[bum]⁵³</i>	
<i>en sulke goed nie.</i>	and things like that.
<i>So so nee,</i>	So so no,
<i>ek het ongeskonde daaruit gekom.</i>	I came away unscathed.

Clive's purist attitude is not only found among older participants; younger speakers also express an "us-versus-them" attitude when discussing Capetonians' speech. For example, Elaine (aged 19) grew up in Houtiniquadorp since birth and lives in the Scheme. She frequently visited her friends in Cape Town and socially regarded the city in a positive light. However, when talking about Capetonians' way of speaking, she told me about being teased by her Capetonian friends, who told her *jy praat snaaks* ('you speak funny'):

3)

<i>Dan sê ek vir hulle [Kapenaars], Tannie,⁵⁴</i>	Then I say to them [the Capetonians], Aunty,
<i>'ek praat regte Afrikaans',</i>	'I speak real Afrikaans',
<i>hulle sit aan.</i>	they pretend.
<i>En dan joke ons nou</i>	And then we joke now
<i>so onder mekaar</i>	like that amongst one another
<i>oor hoe ons praat, Tannie.</i>	about how we speak, Aunty.

⁵³ An example of raising and shortening of the high back vowel [o:] in [bo:m] *boom* 'tree' to [bum].

⁵⁴ Elaine used 'Tannie' (Aunty) instead of my first name to address me, which indexes informal politeness towards me as an older woman. This politeness practice is a wide-spread norm.

Elaine showed no linguistic insecurity about her way of speaking (also see Nicolene in Section 6.4). Having Cape Town as a reference point arguably strengthens Houtiniquadorpers' awareness of their own local way of speaking. This is an example of how speakers from smaller towns and rural areas formulate their place identity in opposition to city dwellers.

In his study of the geographical distribution of (t), Mesthrie (2012) argues that place is as important as ethnicity when it comes to varieties of South African English (see Chapter 2.3). According to Mesthrie (2012:373), 'for Coloured and Indian speakers, regional differences loom large.' He finds that speakers from smaller towns specifically show metalinguistic awareness about how their counterparts sound in the three largest cities (Johannesburg, Cape Town, and Durban). Mobility plays a role, and my data suggest that those who travel frequently to Cape Town to visit friends and family take stronger positions about Capetonian speech as different than their ways of speaking. Similar to Mesthrie's findings about varieties of South African English, I would argue that these examples show that in some cases, place identity can both subsume and surpass notions of racial or ethnic identity and complicates broad generalisations about racialised varieties of Afrikaans (see Chapter Four).

6.3. Folk-phonetics and different types of *bry* in the South Cape

Folk-linguistic perceptions refer to the ways in which laypersons 'regard the categorisation of the linguistic use of others (and their own) as belonging to a specific social and/or regional variety' (McKenzie and Osthus 2011:100). In this section, I specifically focus on participants' awareness and emic descriptions of the phonetic aspects of uvular-*r*, which they associated with speakers from different regions.

When talking about whether one can hear if someone is from Houtiniquadorp, some of the participants described Houtiniquadorpers' *bry*. Clinton (aged 71), described it as follows:

4)

<i>Dis nie heeltemal bry nie,</i>	It's not completely burr,
<i>maar daar's ietsie,</i>	but there's something,
<i>nie so suiwer 'er' wat uitkom nie.</i>	not so clear 'r' that comes out.

Clinton was born and grew up in Knysna (63 kilometres east of Houtiniquadorp) and moved to Houtiniquadorp in 1974 to start a Pentecostal church. When I interviewed him, he was still living in the same house he bought in Old Dorp approximately forty years ago and retired as

pastor in 2004. In Excerpt 4, Clinton distinguished between a full *bry* and a *suiwer* ‘er’ (‘clear ‘r’; the standard trilled alveolar [r]) – the Houtiniquadorp uvular-*r* is somewhere in-between.

Hanwell (aged 23) and Zeinab (aged 17), who were both born in Houtiniquadorp, made the following comments about the Houtiniquadorp uvular-*r*:

5) Hanwell

...bietjie van ’n bry ja jy kry hom.

‘...bit of a burr yes you get it.’

6) Zeinab

Hulle sal meer half bry.

‘They will more half burr.’

Hanwell, Zeinab, and Clinton’s comments are an example of folk-phonetics. Hanwell and Zeinab described the *bry* in terms of strength of articulation, where it was not regarded as a full *bry* (i.e. ‘a bit of’ or ‘half’). This ‘half-*bry*’ might also be an emic description of the uvular trill (as opposed to the harsher uvular fricative; see Lollie in Chapter 4.4 and Susan below). The word ‘*bry*’ has its roots in folk-phonetics: as discussed in Chapter Four, Ponelis (2000) explained the etymology of the word as related to speaking unclearly, i.e. not *suiwer* (with the concomitant present-day association of a speech defect; Chapter 4.4). Clinton’s comment above involves an implicit value judgement through his use the term *suiwer* (‘clear’ or ‘pure’) for the standard alveolar-*r*. These three participants’ comments indicate their awareness of subtle differences between *r*-sounds, and I would argue that these differences allow people to construe locality.

As argued in Chapter Four, there is not one definite *bry-r* and the term *bry-r* encapsulates uvular articulations that range from strong fricatives to softer trills. Susan (aged 53) provided an account of uvular-*r* in Houtiniquadorp that links to Hanwell, Zeinab and Clinton’s descriptions of the sound quality. After the picture description task, she asked whether my study concerns Houtiniquadorpers’ speech: *jy wil seker kyk waar ons aksente val nê?* (‘you probably want to see where our accents fall right?’). She then initiated the metalinguistic discussion by asking whether I could hear that her husband has *’n lekker bry* (‘a nice burr’). I responded by asking where the *bry* came from and if other Houtiniquadorpers *bry*, to which she answered: *Suid-Kapenaars bry so* (‘people from the South Cape burr like that’). According to Susan, *bry* is thus characteristic of the larger South Cape region. When I

asked about the Swartland *bry*, Susan explained the qualitative difference between *bry* in the Swartland and the one heard in the South Cape:

7)

- | | |
|---|--|
| <p>Yolandi: ... <i>mense praat altyd van die mense</i>
 <i>in die Swartland</i>
 <i>wat ook bry?</i></p> <p>Susan: <i>Ja-nee, <u>kyk</u> hulle bry verskriklik.</i></p> <p>Yolandi: <i>Maar dit klink vir my,</i>
 <i>amper 'n bietjie anders</i>
 <i>as die Suid-Kaap bry?</i></p> <p>Susan: <i>Dit is,</i>
 <i>die Suid-Kaap het 'n sagte bry,</i>
 <i>maar die Malmesburriers <u>nê</u>,</i>
 <i>hulle het daai definitiewe, <u>harde bry</u>, so.</i></p> | <p>... people always talk about the people
 in the Swartland
 who also burr?</p> <p>Indeed, look they burr extremely.</p> <p>But it sounds to me,
 almost a bit different
 than the South Cape burr?</p> <p>It is,
 the South Cape has a soft burr,
 but the Malmesburriers right,
 they have that definite, hard burr, like this.</p> |
|---|--|
- [hɑɾde bɾəi]

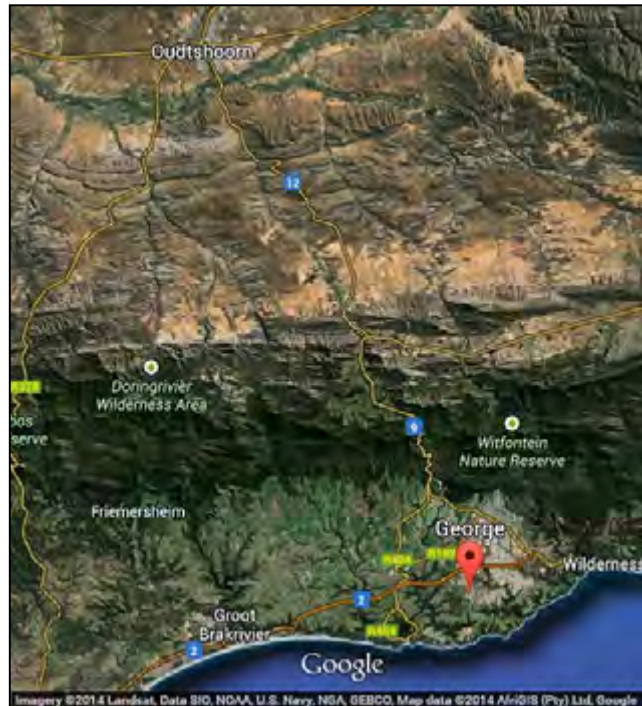
In Excerpt 7, Susan used *kyk* ('look') and *nê* ('right') as discourse markers to position herself as knowledgeable about *bry* as a regional feature, which legitimates her evaluation of the differences between the Swartland and South Cape. *Kyk* indicates that she is about to impart new information, and *nê* invites the interlocutor (i.e. me) to acknowledge or agree with her statement. Susan's explanation echoes a comment made by Lollie in the Facebook group, who distinguished between the Swartland fricative uvular-*r* and a rolled Overberg uvular-*r* (see Chapter 4.4). Similarly, Susan described the qualitative difference in manner of articulation, which she perceived as a *sagte bry* ('soft burr') used by people in the South Cape (where Houtiniquadorp is located) in contrast to the explicit – i.e. definite – *harde bry* ('hard burr') heard in Malmesbury (Swartland). In this excerpt, she imitated the hard burr by using uvular fricative [ɾ]: [hɑɾde bɾəi] 'hard burr', while using alveolar-*r* elsewhere. Susan's description of uvular-*r* in Houtiniquadorp as a *sagte bry* is similar to the comments cited above, which describe the sound as not a full *bry*. Thus, here is another example of folk-phonetics, where the qualitative adjectives Susan used show that speakers can not only perceive the distinction between a lenis uvular trill (i.e. weakly articulated) and a fortis (i.e. stronger) uvular fricative, but also describe it. This supports the finding that Le Roux and Pienaar (1927) and De Klerk

(1968) made with regards to Afrikaans speakers from different regions being able to distinguish between different regional uvular-*r* variants.

Coming into contact with speakers of other regional varieties can contribute to a speaker's awareness of similarities and differences. Sumner and Samuel (2009) have found that the type and amount of experience a speaker has with different dialectal variants influences their ability to perceive, produce, and represent different variants (also see Drager 2010). Even though Susan was born in Houtiniquadorp, she ascribed her awareness of /r/ variation and lack of uvular-*r* use to her geographic mobility, mostly due to her father's career as a preacher. According to her, her husband burrs because *hy't mos al die tyd hier gebly* ('he actually stayed here all this time'). She felt that *jy gaan nie einlik agterkom nie* ('you won't really notice') that she has a *bry*, because her /r/ *het 'n invloed van die Kaap, en van die Noord-Kaap* ('has an influence of the Cape, and of the Northern Cape'). Her family moved to Paarl (approximately 62 kilometres from Cape Town) when she was three, and she grew up in the Northern Cape (Calvinia). She met her husband (originally from George) whilst working in Cape Town. From there they moved to the West Coast before returning to Houtiniquadorp in 1985, residing in the Bergview neighbourhood.

Where the *bry* in Houtiniquadorp was described as 'a bit of a burr', participants were also aware of articulatory differences between uvular-*r* in Houtiniquadorp compared to Oudtshoorn. Whereas fourteen participants associated *bry* with Houtiniquadorpers (and, by extension, the South Cape), eleven stated that you can hear if someone is from Oudtshoorn, because they *bry*. Of these eleven participants, four also noticed a *bry* in Houtiniquadorp (albeit qualitatively different; see below). Oudtshoorn is approximately sixty-five kilometres (about 60 minutes' drive) from Houtiniquadorp. Even though George and Oudtshoorn both fall under the Eden District Municipality, the towns are separated by the Outeniqua Mountains. The mountains form a range that runs parallel to the coast, and it creates a physical barrier between the two areas referred to as the Garden Route (with George as main centre) and the Little Karoo (with Oudtshoorn as main centre; see Map 6.1).⁵⁵

⁵⁵ The Karoo is a sparsely populated semi-desert area known for sheep farming.



Map 6.1. Google map showing the locations of George and Oudtshoorn

The mountains form a geographical boundary, and such boundaries can influence speakers' *perceptions* of different regional varieties in dialectology studies (see Preston 2010). Bob (aged 65) grew up in Oudtshoorn and moved to George when he was nineteen to find work (in 1965). According to him, *Oudtshoorn se mense kom na George, want werk is baie skaars daar* ('people from Oudtshoorn come to George, because work is very scarce there'). He was ordained as a Pentecostal Protestant pastor in 1972. Approximately twenty years ago, he and his family moved to Houtiniquadorp, where he built a house in Bergview. In 1997, he started his own Pentecostal church in Houtiniquadorp. Having grown up in Oudtshoorn and spending the majority of his life in the Eden district, he provided the following explanation when I asked him whether one could hear if someone is from Houtiniquadorp:

8)

<i>Jy kan sê van die Suid-Kaap,</i>	You can say from the South Cape,
<i>want jy kan hoor</i>	because you can hear
<i>Oudtshoorn se mense praat anders,</i>	Oudtshoorn's people speak differently,
<i>as die mense hierso.</i>	than the people here.
<i>Oudtshoorn se mense het meer 'n bry</i>	Oudtshoorn's people have more a burr
<i>in hulle 'rrrr',</i>	in their 'r',
[emphasising [r]]	[emphasising [r]]
<i>meer 'ggrrrr'.</i>	more 'ggrrrr'.
[imitating [ɣ]]	[imitating [ɣ]]
<i>So hulle praat amper meer</i>	So they speak almost more
<i>soos Namaqualand se mense</i>	like Namaqualand's people
<i>as dit kom by die bry.</i>	when it comes to the burr.
<i>Hulle't meer 'n bry aan hulle,</i>	They've more of a burr to them,
<i>Oudtshoorn se mense.</i>	Oudtshoorn's people.

Bob made a point of comparison here: Oudtshoorn people have 'more' of a *bry*, and Houtiniquadorpers in the South Cape also have a *bry* (by implication), but a softer one. Bob's description places the Oudtshoorn *bry* close to the fricative [ɣ], which he associated with speakers from Namaqualand (geographically close to the Swartland). Furthermore, similar to Susan, Bob showed his knowledge of different *r*-sounds through mimicking. Some of the other participants also perceived a qualitative difference between Houtiniquadorp uvular-*r* and uvular-*r* in Oudtshoorn, which they enacted through mimicking of the sounds.

The spontaneous mimicking of uvular-*r* is similar to the Facebook group members who used pronunciation spelling (Chapter 4.4). For example, Victorine (aged 20) was born in Houtiniquadorp and lives in the same house in Old Dorp since birth. Her mother – who died when Victorine was eleven – was from Houtiniquadorp, while her father came from a farm in the district. She attended the Houtiniquadorp high school and studied for a Tourism certificate at a college in George. After talking about recognising people from Cape Town, she mentioned Oudtshoorn:

9)

Yolandi:	<i>En dan mense van ander plekke, kan jy hoor as iemand van/</i>	And then people from other places, can you hear if someone from/
Victorine:	<i>Ja, ek kan hoor as iemand van van, van Oudtshoorn is.</i>	Yes, I can hear if someone is from from, from Oudtshoorn.
Yolandi:	<i>Ja?</i>	Yes?
Victorine:	<i>Daai [dr:]</i>	That [dr:]
Yolandi:	<i>Hoe's hulle r?</i>	How's their r?
Victorine:	<i>Hulle sê 'n woord met die [r:] in, dan weet ek sommer 'nee die's 'n Oudtshoornaar'.</i>	They say a word with the [r:] in, then I just know 'no this is a Oudtshoorn'.
Yolandi:	<i>Kan jy vir dit vir my weer namaak lat ek kan hoor?</i>	Can you mimic it for me again that I can hear?
Victorine:	<i>Uhhh, 'rond', 'rond' ja. [R:ɔ̃nd] [R:ɔ̃nd]</i>	Uhhh, 'round', 'round' yes.

Victorine's first imitation of Oudtshoorn-*r* was a combination of an initial alveolar stop [d] followed by a lengthened alveolar trill [r:]. When I asked her to mimic the Oudtshoorn *bry* a second time, she produced an emphatic, lengthened uvular trill [R:]. For Victorine, Houtiniquadorp-*r* sounds different, because *daar's nie er einlik in nie* ('there's not really an 'r' in'). This can be understood to mean a softer sound, unlike the hyper-articulated uvular trill she used to mimic Oudtshoorn. During the interview, her 6-year-old niece hovered in the background and joined Victorine in the picture description task. Amidst the activity, Victorine addressed her niece directly and used trilled uvular-*r*, but when she continued with the task, she switched back to alveolar-*r* (her niece only used uvular-*r*). Victorine used both variants during the interview conversations, which indicates that, to her, the speech associated with the picture description task requires a particular style (see Chapter Five) in which regional vernacular features are avoided. In Chapter Seven, where I focus on the production data, I reflect on the interview as a speech situation and what we can learn about people's repertoires in casual and careful styles.

I asked Lionel (aged 18) if he can hear that people from Oudtshoorn sound different and he immediately referred to the way they pronounce their /r/, which he found different than

‘their’ (i.e. Houtiniquadorpers’) /r/. In his imitation of Oudtshoorn-*r*, he produced a cluster of velar fricatives [x] and uvular trills [ʀ]:

10)

Ja, hulle grrr

‘Yes, their/they [xʀ]’

Lionel inserted a fricative to distinguish the *bry* sound he associated with Oudtshoorn from his own uvular trill. I return to Lionel in Section 6.4, because his comments reflected multiple meanings for *bry* as an index of locality and belonging to Houtiniquadorp. It does not matter that when Victorine and Lionel imitated Oudtshoorn-*r*, they did not actually produce an *r*-sound that was different from uvular trill used in Houtiniquadorp. Rather, the fact that they *believed* that they could perceive acoustic differences between speakers from these two towns is what is important.

Instead of mimicking uvular-*r* as a stand-alone sound, other participants, like Susan (discussed above), used a uvular fricative in specific words. The following three comments show how participants used a uvular fricative in specific words when I asked them if they could hear where someone is from:

11) Clive (aged 47)

Ek hoor as iemand van Oudtshoorn is ... aan die [bʁɛi]

‘I hear if someone is from Oudtshoorn ... through the burr (‘*bry*’ [bʁɛi])’

12) Sam (aged 46)

Jy kan sommer onmiddellik hoor wanneer ’n ou van [outsʰo:ʁən] is

‘You can just immediately hear when a person is from Oudtshoorn [outsʰo:ʁən]’

13) Letitia (aged 58)

Kyk hier, soos mense van Oudtshoorn. Look here, like people from Oudtshoorn,
[outsʰo:ʁən]

hulle gaan weer vir jou so praat, they will again speak like that to you,
hulle bry. they burr.

By replacing /r/ only in the words *bry* and *Oudtshoorn*, these three participants bind the sound to the place, in effect *emplacing* it by perceiving a clear co-occurrence between uvular fricative and Oudtshoorn. Clive (see Section 6.2) and Sam have been living in Houtiniquadorp since the

age of ten, while Letitia was born in Houtiniquadorp. All three associated the *bry* exclusively with Oudtshoorn. Clive and Letitia categorically used alveolar-*r*, and Sam, who categorically uses uvular trill [R], changed to a fricative articulation to mimic the Oudtshoorn *bry*.

Sam's imitation of uvular fricative can be seen as parody. Drawing on Bakhtin's ([1929/1963] 1984) dialogic concept of double-voicing, by imitating an Oudtshoorn, parody enables Sam to depict at least two voices simultaneously: his own, and the voice of the parodied, i.e. people from Oudtshoorn. In Excerpt 14, Sam continued imitating Oudtshoorners by giving more examples of their presumed ways of speaking, compared to his (and by extension, Houtiniquadorpers') ways of speaking.

14)

<i>Hulle sal nie sê</i>	They won't say
<i>'n <u>wit huis</u>' nie,</i>	'a white house'
[vɪt hɔis]	
<i>hulle praat van 'n <u>wit huis</u>'</i>	They talk about 'a white house'
[və'dɔis]'	
<i>of [unclear].</i>	or [unclear].
<i>Ja '<u>mjelk</u>' en '<u>gield</u>',</i>	Yes 'milk' and 'money'
[inserted glide after initial consonant]	
<i>en, 'ek moet <u>gat</u>',</i>	and, 'I must go'
<i>[instead of 'gaan']</i>	
...	...
<i>Ons sal nou sê</i>	We will now say
<i>'ek gaan nou <u>hout haal</u>'.</i>	'I will get wood now'.
[hœut fa:l]	
<i>Hulle sê</i>	They say
<i>hulle gaan '<u>hout haal</u>'.</i>	they will 'get wood'
[hœu,dal]	
<i>Hulle is so,</i>	They are so,
<i>amper so 'n lui manier van praat.</i>	almost such a lazy manner of speaking.

These further examples, along with the uvular fricative, are used by Sam to portray Oudtshoorners as parochial, with a *lui* ('lazy' or 'laid-back') way of speaking, where they hypo-articulate and use stereotypically rural forms such as the palatalization in *melk* [mjɛlk]

(‘milk’). Palatalization is observed as a feature of Orange River Afrikaans varieties, spoken in the north-western rural regions (see Otto 2014:331). Also recall the discussion in Chapter 4.4, where a Facebook group member objected to being seen as lazy because he burrs: *die bryer is te lui om sy/haar tong op te lig* (‘the burrer is too lazy to lift his/her tongue’). Through these mimicked voices, Sam created Houtiniquadorp and Oudtshoorn as two distinct sound-scapes. Sam’s use of the uvular fricative to index an Oudtshoorn *bry* shows that the meaning of the word *bry* can be narrowly defined for some speakers and restricted to only fricative articulations, whereas for others (such as Susan and Lionel) *bry* is a broader concept that includes trilled and fricative articulations.

6.4. *Bry* and multiple indexicalities: being different, being local, and belonging

In this section, I focus on participants whose metalinguistic comments show that uvular-*r* can index multiple and indeterminate meanings in Houtiniquadorp. As stated in Section 6.2, some participants commented on that fact that they were told by others that Houtiniquadorpers speak differently. Being made aware by others of their linguistic difference contributed to some participants being more reflexive in their metalinguistic comments about their own, as well as local ways of speaking.

Being (un)noticed: socialisation and difference

As I will show, Nicolene (aged 23) compared herself to speakers from other places, which made her more reflexive about her own way of speaking. Nicolene grew up in the Old Dorp neighbourhood and her family later moved to the Scheme due to difficult circumstances. She attended the Houtiniquadorp high school and frequently visited her aunt and cousins in Cape Town. I prompted the discussion by asking her whether Capetonians sounded different from Houtiniquadorpers.

15)

- Nicolene: *Jy kan sommer gou weet
as iemand van die Kaap is,
want, soos hulle praat,
hulle kan nie 'n woord voluit praat nie
alles moet mos 'n afkorting wees, ja.*
- En hulle't even vir my gesê
ons bry verskriklik/*
- Yolandi: *Is dit?*
- Nicolene: *Maar ek voel nie ons bry nie.*
Hulle't vir my gesê
'oe',
of ek sê 'n woord,
'jy bry'.
Dan sê ek
'nee ek bry nie'
dan sê hulle
'ja jy bry'.
So, hulle voel weer
ons bry
en ek voel weer
hulle kan 'n woord,
waar hulle net 'nee' kan sê
[neə]
nou sê hulle 'niee'
[ni:]
of 'naai'
[nai:]
en so.
Hulle kan nie 'n woord reg sê nie,
hulle Afrikaans,
ek weet nie,
het seker Afrikaans
op 'n ander plek geleer.
- You can just quickly know
if someone is from the Cape,
Because, like they speak,
they can't speak a word out in full
everything must rather be an abbreviation,
yes.
- And they even told me
we burr extremely/
Is it?
But I don't feel we burr.
They told me
'oh',
or I say a word,
'you burr'.
Then I say
'no I don't burr'
then they say
'yes you burr'.
So, they again feel
we burr
and I again feel
they can a word,
where they can just say 'no'

now they say 'nooo'

and 'nooh'

and like that.
They can't say a word right,
their Afrikaans,
I don't know,
have probably learned Afrikaans
at another place.

Nicolene highlighted phonetic differences, specifically the Capetonians' pronunciation of vowels (see Section 6.2) and said *hulle praat nie voluit nie* ('they do not speak in full'), because, in her view, they hypo-articulated words by omitting and changing sounds. Later in the interview, she extended her criticism to written forms and included Afrikaans-English mixing as another example of Capetonians' *deurmekaar* ('jumbled') language use. However, she portrayed a dialogue of tit-for-tat, voicing a Capetonian comeback in *jy bry* ('you burr'). She saw this as an accusation of sounding strange, which she vehemently contended by using /eə/ monophthongisation (e.g. [ni:] *nee* 'no') as an example of how Capetonians *kan nie 'n woord reg sê nie* ('can't say a word right').

Her comments also indicate that for some speakers, language socialisation happens *in place*, where Capetonians' Afrikaans is an Afrikaans *op 'n ander plek geleer* ('learned at another place'). When asked whether she could hear that Houtiniquadorpers *bry*, she explained that she did not feel that Houtiniquadorpers burred, because she was socialised to be accustomed to a Houtiniquadorp way of speaking:

16)

- | | | |
|-----------|---|--|
| Nicolene: | <i>Ek het seker, vir my,</i> | I have probably, for me, |
| | <i>ek het hier groot geraak</i> | I have grown up here |
| | <i>en goed</i> | and stuff |
| | <i>so <u>ek voel nie ons bry nie</u>,</i> | so I don't feel we burr, |
| | <i>want ek is gewoond.</i> | because I am used [to it]. |
| | <i>Ek het dit opgegroeï met.</i> | I have grown up with it. |
| | <i>Hulle praat so hier</i> | They speak like that here |
| | <i>so praat ek</i> | I speak like that |
| | <i>en so.</i> | and so. |
| | <i>So vir my persoonlik,</i> | So for me personally, |
| | <i><u>ek voel ons bry nie</u>.</i> | I feel we don't burr. |
| | <i>Ek voel</i> | I feel |
| | <i>die mense van Uitenhage, PE,</i> | the people from Uitenhage, PE, ⁵⁶ |
| | <i>hulle bry,</i> | they burr, |
| | <i>want hulle praat verskriklik bry,</i> | because they speak extremely burr, |
| | <i>so alles rek hulle.</i> | so they stretch everything. |
| Yolandi: | <i>Hoe praat hulle?</i> | How do they speak? |
| Nicolene: | <i>Nee, hulle praat snaaks,</i> | No, they speak funny, |

⁵⁶ PE is colloquial for the city of Port Elizabeth in the Eastern Cape. Uitenhage is relatively close to PE.

	<i>soos 'trui'</i>	like 'jersey'
	[tx:R:œy]	
	<i>en so/</i>	and so/
Yolandi:	<i>Sê weer?</i>	Say again?
Nicolene:	<i>Nee hulle praat snaaks,</i>	No they speak funny,
	<i>as hulle 'grrr'</i>	when they 'grrr'
	[x:R:]	
	<i>is hulle altyd langer, of so.</i>	they are always longer, or so.

A difference can be seen in Nicolene's underlined statements in Excerpts 15 and 16, *ek voel nie [ons bry] nie* ('I don't feel [we burr]'), compared to her statement in Excerpt 16, *ek voel [ons bry nie]* ('I feel [we don't burr]'; see underlined). I use square brackets to indicate the nuance, which is observable in the different scopes of negation: in the first case, she expressed her personal sense of lack of experience or perception that Houtiniquadorpers *bry* (i.e. 'I don't feel ...'), and in the second instance, her stance is that Houtiniquadorpers do not *bry* (i.e. '... we don't burr'). This ambivalence might be caused by Nicolene's opinion that speakers from other areas burred *verskriklik* ('extremely'), which makes them sound like *alles rek hulle* ('they stretch everything'). Like Lionel in Section 6.3, she mimicked the sound by inserting a velar fricative [x] before the uvular trill [R]. Since she felt that she is too used to Houtiniquadorpers' way of speaking (of which uvular-*r* is but one feature), thinking about how speakers from another area sound like made her aware that their /r/ is so different from hers that it cannot be the same as the Houtiniquadorp-*r*. Thus, she came to the conclusion that Houtiniquadorp-*r* is not a *bry*. Houtiniquadorp uvular-*r* is trilled, and Nicolene and others regard fricative uvular-*r* to be the stereotypical *bry*, which for them is extra-local (e.g. Oudtshoorn). Like Sam discussed above, even though she had near-categorical use of trilled uvular-*r* during the interview, she did not recognise it as a *bry*: she foregrounded the fricative *bry* as the extra-local variant.

Other participants, such as Sue-Ellen (aged 20), were also told by others that she used the *bry*. Sue-Ellen grew up with her aunt in Old Dorp and recently moved in with her mother in the Scheme. She attended high school in George (Afrikaans-medium and former Coloured school) and at the time of the interview studied for a Management Assistant diploma at a college in George. She said that people from Oudtshoorn burr, but *baie mense hier in Houtiniquadorp praat ook so* ('many people here in Houtiniquadorp also speak like that'). I asked her if the /r/ in Houtiniquadorp is the same as in Oudtshoorn:

17)

Yolandi:	<i>Is dit dieselfde of kan jy hoor daar's 'n verskil?</i>	Is it the same or can you hear there's a difference?
Sue-Ellen:	<i>Ek kan hoor, anderste.</i>	I can hear, different.
Yolandi:	<i>Dis soos 'n ander tipe bry?</i>	It's like a different type of burr?
Sue-Ellen:	<i>Is net anderste as, mens kan hoor partykeer wanneer iemand van Oudtshoorn af kom.</i>	Is just different than, one can hear sometimes when someone comes from Oudtshoorn
Yolandi:	<i>Bry jy, dink jy?</i>	Do you burr, do you think?
Sue-Ellen:	<i>Ja, so nou en dan.</i>	Yes, every now and then.
Yolandi:	<i>Is dit?</i>	Is it?
Sue-Ellen:	<i>Ja, my ma bry, so 'n bietjie, so ek kan [laughs]</i>	Yes, my mom burrs, a bit, so I can [laughs]

Sue-Ellen could perceive differences between local and extra-local uvular-*r*, but could not describe them. When asked if she herself spoke with a *bry*, she said yes, but not frequently; thus unlike Nicolene, the *bry* is not unnoticed in her speech. Like Nicolene, she used reported speech to illustrate how she disputed being told that she *bry*, even though she knew that she sometimes did:

18)

<i>Ek hoor myself</i>	I hear myself
<i>of iemand sal vir my sê</i>	or someone will tell me
<i>'jy bry'</i>	'you burr'
<i>of so,</i>	or like that,
<i>en dan sal ek sê</i>	and then I will say
<i>'nee dit is nie so nie'</i>	'no it is not like that'
<i>maar dan weet ek</i>	but then I know
<i>dit is so.</i>	it is like that.

Sue-Ellen had alveolar-*r* and uvular-*r* in her repertoire and used both. She described uvular-*r* as a result of her socialisation: she burrs because her mother burred. She did not see *bry* as indexing being from Houtiniquadorp or a feature that all Houtiniquadorpers can be recognised

by: *dit is maar net deel van, hoe jy is en hoe jy praat* ('it is just simply part of, how you are and how you speak'). Thus, using uvular-*r* is not necessarily showing *who* you are, it reflects *how* you are (i.e. a way of being oneself): *who you are* moves towards stylistic expressions of self-identity, whereas *how you are* indicates an internalised aspect of naturalised personal characteristics. The latter is confirmed in Sue-Ellen's response when I asked her if she would keep her *bry* if she moved to Cape Town: *ja definitief dit bly in jou* ('yes definitely it stays in you'). Sue-Ellen regards *bry* as an inherent and enduring aspect of herself, where losing her *bry* might mean losing an aspect of herself. However, her denial in certain contexts that she used the *bry* points to a similar ambivalence expressed by Nicolene. Having a *bry* is therefore treated as similar to a personal characteristic; something that you are not necessarily proud of but also cannot get rid of, being a socialised trait (see the discussion about uvular-*r* as speech defect in Chapter 4.4).

Never-mind attitude, locality and extreme locality

In Section 6.3, I discussed Lionel's comment that Oudtshoorn's *bry* is different from the one in Houtiniquadorp. An only child, Lionel lives with his parents in a modest house in the Scheme. At eighteen years of age, he did not complete high school after twice failing Grade 11, and at the time of the interview, he intended to focus on a career in soccer.

I initiated the discussion by asking Lionel whether he could hear if people from Cape Town sounded different from Houtiniquadorpers. Like Nicolene, Lionel felt that Capetonians had their own Afrikaans: a particular Capetonian *style* of speaking (*style* refers here to a cluster of phonological, syntactical and lexical choices that indexes Cape Afrikaans or *Kaaps*; i.e. 'a clustering of linguistic resources', Eckert and Rickford 2001:123). The difference in ways of speaking transcends beyond the phonetic level to the level of discourse. For instance:

19)

<i>Dis nie regtig</i>	It's not really
<i>soos hulle sê,</i>	like they say,
<i>maar die dinge wat hulle doen.</i>	but the things that they do.
<i>Hulle sê-goedjies is so anders,</i>	Their sayings are so different,
<i>anders as wat ons nou sê,</i>	different than what we now say,
<i>so anders, ja.</i>	thus different, yes.

Lionel's explanation shows how local ways of speaking are perceived as being part of social practice. Thus, it is not only about *sounding* Capetonian, but also about *acting* Capetonian. After talking about Capetonians' ways of speaking, I asked Lionel whether people from Oudtshoorn sounded different. As discussed in Section 6.3, he highlighted Oudtshoorn's /r/ in his response. When I asked him whether Houtiniquadorpers also had a different type of /r/ like in Oudtshoorn, he answered that some Houtiniquadorpers *bry*, and some do not (see Chapter 8.4). I wanted to know if there were specific people in Houtiniquadorp who *bry*, and in his explanation, he associated *bry* with people in his Scheme neighbourhood (the full excerpt of the interview transcript relevant for this section is in Appendix 6.1):

20)

- | | | |
|----------|--|---|
| Yolandi: | <i>Is daar spesifieke mense wat bry?</i> | Are there specific people who burr? |
| Lionel: | <i>Ja.</i> | Yes. |
| Yolandi: | <i>Soos wie?</i> | Like who? |
| Lionel: | <i>Soos in, mense wat hierso,
hier in die gedeelte,
hier bly,
van hulle bry.</i> | Like in, people who here,
here in this area,
stay here,
some of them burr. |
| Yolandi: | <i>Watter gedeelte?</i> | Which area? |
| Lionel: | <i>Die is Ocean Park,
ons sê sommer die Scheme.
Ja, so, mens sal maklik mense uitken,
soos ons wat nou hier bly,
sal maklik mense uitken mos
as hulle van die Scheme is.</i> | This is Ocean Park,
we just say the Scheme.
Yes, so, one will easily recognise people,
like we who live here now,
will indeed easily recognise people
if they are from the Scheme. |
| Yolandi: | <i>Hoekom?</i> | Why? |
| Lionel: | <i>Net die, die,
soos hulle dinge doen
en, /'t ek sien/
aantrek so,
soos hulle nou doen, ja.</i> | Just the, the,
like they do things
and, /let me see/
dress like that,
like they now do, yes. |
| Yolandi: | <i>Is dit?
Hoe trek hulle aan?</i> | Is it?
How do they dress? |
| Lionel: | <i>/t ek sien/, [dis] sommer net so?
Nog.
Hulle worry nie</i> | /Let me see/, [it's] just like that?
Still.
They don't worry |

wat ander mense dink nie, so.
Hulle's so never-mind,
[so] sal hulle aantrek, ja.

what other people think, like that.
They're so never-mind,
[like that] they will dress, yes.

Lionel stated that the specific people who *bry* were residents of the working-class neighbourhood where he lives, colloquially called the Scheme (see Chapter Three). Similar to his explanation that Capetonians' way of speaking is part of Capetonian style, *bry* as a way of speaking forms part of broader social practices of certain residents from the Scheme. Lionel associated *bry* with a *don't worry* or *never-mind* attitude of Scheme residents, who have a carefree approach to what others think about them. Thus, he suggested that people in the area did not care much about the way they dress. Tracksuits were a style of clothing that I saw frequently in the neighbourhood, especially among teens and young adults. The photograph in Figure 6.2 was taken at a church youth-group meeting in the Scheme, which shows this style.



Figure 6.2. Two young people from the Scheme (own photo, July 2011)

Lionel explained that one could easily recognise someone from Scheme through their behaviour and dress style, where the never-minded attitude is an example of social practice on

the stylistic level (similar to what has been described by Eckert, e.g. 2000). Lionel discursively constructed the indexical association between *bry* and a never-minded attitude or style. Therefore, *bry* can indirectly index working class by being associated with youth from the Scheme who, through the current situation of unemployment (see Chapter Three), walked the streets strutting in *never-mind* clothing styles and *bry*-ing.

While our discussion started with Lionel stating that *van ons bry* ('some of us burr'), he switched from using the pronoun *ons* ('us') to *hulle* ('they') when talking about the never-minded attitude. He did not include himself in the group with the never-minded style, but when I continued asking him about uvular-*r* use in the Scheme, he made an interactional move that put him back into the 'us' realm:

21)

- | | | |
|----------|---|---|
| Yolandi: | <i>En is dit hulle wat bry,
of julle wat bry?</i> | And is it they who burr,
or you-plural who burr? |
| Lionel: | <i>Sommer ja,
is soos, meeste van,
sommer dis mos oral,
ons Bruinmense wat bry, so.</i> | Just yes,
is like, most of,
just its everywhere rather,
us Brown people who burr, like that. |

Lionel moved from the local to the supra-regional when he included uvular-*r* as indexical for Coloured (or *Bruin*, 'Brown') people in general. This is in contrast to the Facebook group (Chapter Four), for whom *bry* is a stereotype of White wheat farmers from the Swartland region. Here uvular-*r* moves from indexing locality, towards indexing broader racial identity.

Furthermore, Lionel stated that not everyone from the Scheme used the *bry* – it was particularly younger speakers who *bry*:

22)

- | | | |
|----------|--|--|
| Yolandi: | <i>Maar die mense in die Scheme
bry nie eintlik nie?</i> | But the people in the Scheme
don't really burr? |
| Lionel: | <i>Nie rerig nie,
maar van hulle,
van die klein mannetjies.⁵⁷
Hulle word so groot gemaak.</i> | Not really,
but some of them,
some of the little guys.
They are brought up like that. |
| Yolandi: | <i>Okay, die oueres nie?</i> | Okay, not the older ones? |
| Lionel: | <i>Nee.</i> | No. |
| Yolandi: | <i>Is dit dan inkommer mense of?</i> | Is it then incomer people or? |
| Lionel: | <i>Nee hulle is maar van hierso.</i> | No they are simply from here. |

According to Lionel's experience of growing up in the Scheme, children were socialised into using uvular-*r*: his responses show that in the Scheme, younger speakers were using uvular-*r* while older residents did not. In Chapter Seven, I explore the correlations between age and (r) use in more detail. As discussed in Chapter Three, the Scheme neighbourhood has extensive low-cost housing areas, which Houtiniquadorpers associated with an influx of *inkommers* ('incomers'). In an attempt to see if Lionel associated the *bry* with new residents in the neighbourhood, I asked whether it was *inkommers* who *bry*. His response indicates that while he did not see *bry* as a specifically Houtiniquadorp or local feature, it also did not index outsiders or strangers.

Looking at the full interaction of approximately two minutes in duration, Lionel twice moved from the general to the specific. Where he first associated uvular-*r* with the Scheme, he then specified those with a never-minded style; i.e. he moved from locality to 'extreme locality' (Williams and Stroud 2010). Williams and Stroud (2010) employ the notion of 'extreme locality' to explain how multilingual Capetonian hip-hop artists draw on various local social meanings to amplify their authenticity in their performances. They define extreme locality as 'a space that binds participants together around a common understanding of the local bric and brac of events and reference points that they share, and the people they know' (Williams and Stroud 2010:40). Lionel described an *extremely* local version of the people he knew in the

⁵⁷ Using *mannetjies* or *manne* ('small men' or 'men') to refer to both male and female children seems to be a Houtiniquadorp expression. For example, Sam – my fieldwork assistant – refers to his son and daughter as *my manne* ('my men'), which initially made me think he had two sons.

Scheme and the styles he associated with them. These kinds of associations a speaker makes between linguistic forms and social styles allow for the development of second-order indexicalities: uvular-*r*, used by young people with a never-minded style, indexes specific types of local personae from the Scheme. Furthermore, Lionel also moved to the supra-regional (see Wolfram 2007), where according to him, Coloured speakers in general used the *bry*. However, a few turns later, he singled out youngsters in the Scheme as the ones socialised into using this variant. I show this schematically in Figure 6.3.

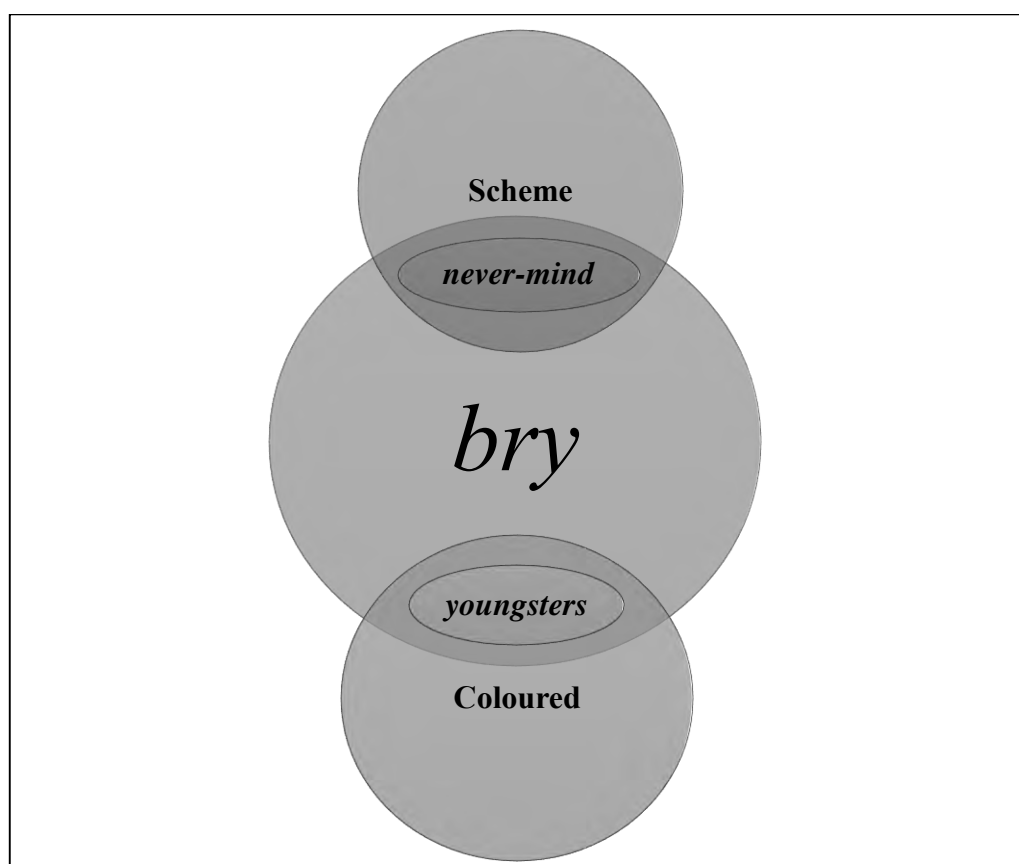


Figure 6.3. Lionel's discursive formulation of uvular-*r* indexicality

During our discussion about *bry*, Lionel made several moves in the 'indexical field' (Eckert 2008) of uvular-*r*, never quite settling on one definite meaning. During this interaction, he changed the meaning he associated with *bry* in response to the type of question I asked. He also made use of both alveolar-*r* and uvular-*r* during the interview, indicating that the different (r) variants can have different interactional meanings in the context of the interview. I explore this facet – how (r) variation plays itself out in interaction – in Chapter Eight.

Place attachment, belonging and *plaasmeisie* persona

Elsie (aged 40) grew up in the Old Dorp neighbourhood. She told me how, as a child, she and the neighbourhood children walked to school, and on cold winter mornings warmed their feet in fresh cow dung along the way. Stories such as this interspersed the interview, and the topic Elsie discussed most was her childhood memories of growing up in a rural Houtiniquadorp. She linked these to broader family traditions and *'n egte hegte band tussen mekaar* ('a real tight bond between each other'). In Chapter Three, I discussed how some *boorlinge* draw on the idea of Houtiniquadorp as one big family to signal their authenticity and legitimacy. According to Elsie, the Houtiniquadorp of old was like a family with *'n unieke waarde sisteem* ('a unique value system'), which shaped the person she was today.

After she attended the Houtiniquadorp high school, she studied at the Teachers' Training College in Oudtshoorn. Struggling to find employment in George, she went to work at an Italian ice-cream parlour, before working for two years at the department of Labour in George. She felt a strong desire to go back to teaching and was first employed at a farm school twenty-five kilometres outside George in 2002. Her next move was to Kimberley, until she received a post at one of Houtiniquadorp's primary schools sometime after. At the time of the interview, she was still teaching there. She lives with her husband in an informal structure in her parents' back yard, residing on the same property where she grew up. Elsie's attachment to Houtiniquadorp was salient from the inception of the interview: after stating her birth date, she identified herself as an unvarying Houtiniquadorper: *Ja, ek is, tot op hede is ek nogsteeds 'n Houtiniquadorper* ('Yes, I am, until now I am still a Houtiniquadorper'). She continued to emphasise her sense of belonging to Houtiniquadorp, which was a recurring theme throughout the interview.

Elsie initiated a metalinguistic discussion without being prompted (see full version in Appendix 6.2). The discussion started with her talking about changing values in modern South African society and about how Houtiniquadorpers were losing their moral roots. Elsie formulated her sense of self around a *placed* identity,⁵⁸ where being from Houtiniquadorp is not simply a coincidence of birth (place as location). Instead, she sees Houtiniquadorp as the

⁵⁸ I use the term 'placed' identity here instead of 'place' identity, in keep with the arguments and application of, for instance, 'gendered' and 'gender' identity.

embodiment of the moral substance of *boorling* Houtiniquadorpers (place as meaning; see Chapter Two). She stated that one could immediately recognise a ‘rooted’ Houtiniquadorper:

23)

<i>Dit is die anker in jou lewe,</i>	It is the anchor in your life,
<i>die roots van Houtiniquadorp.</i>	the roots of Houtiniquadorp
<i>Dit wat jy hier geleer het, ...</i>	That which you learned here, ...
<i>dat jy kan 'n Houtiniquadorper uitken.</i>	that you can recognise a Houtiniquadorper.

To support her claim, she related an incident where *'n Blanke vrou* (‘a White woman’) asked about her origins. The incident took place at a resort one hundred kilometres outside Cape Town. In this narrative, she initially tried to avoid the woman’s questions until another White woman joined in. The second woman stated that Elsie must be from George, because of her accent:

24)

Elsie:	<i>Sy kom toe</i>	She then comes
	<i>en sy sê</i>	and she says
	<i>‘uh, julle is van, George.’</i>	‘uh, you-plural are from, George.’
	<i>Toe sê ek</i>	Then I say
	<i>‘jinne maar hoe?!’</i>	‘gosh but how?!’
	<i>‘Wys my wangbene uit</i>	‘Does my cheekbones stand out
	<i>of iets aan my wat?’</i>	or something about me what?’
	<i>Toe sê sy</i>	Then she says
	<i>‘nee julle aksent.’</i>	‘no your-plural accent.’
	<i>Onse aksent.</i>	Our accent.
Yolandi:	<i>O, so mens kan hoor die verskil?</i>	Oh, so one can hear the difference?
Elsie:	<i>Ja nee nee nee jy kan,</i>	Yes no no no you can,
	<i>ons bry.</i>	we burr.

<i>Ek weet nie of ek,</i>	I don't know if I,
<i>nee maar ek bry verskriklik.</i>	no but I burr extremely.
<i>U sal nou hoor ek bry.</i>	You-formal will now hear I burr.
<i>En uh,</i>	And uh,
<i>maar dit het mens weer laat goed voel</i>	but it made one feel good again
<i>en dan laat dit jou voel,</i>	and then it made you feel,
<i>jinne ek behoort in 'n plek</i>	gosh I belong in a place
<i>waar ek geken word,</i>	where I am being recognised,
<i>al het mense my nog nooit van te vore gesien nie.</i>	even if people have never seen me before.
<i>Ek, iewers belong ek.</i>	I, somewhere I belong.

According to Elsie, the woman recognised Elsie's origin through her accent. It is not clear what feature of Elsie's accent the woman noticed, but Elsie thought that it must be the *bry* that was the most striking part of her local accent. For Elsie, *bry* as a second-order index of locality is also a third-order index of belonging. Unlike Nicolene and Sue-Ellen who downplayed their own use of uvular-*r*, Elsie emphasised that she *bry verskriklik* ('burrs extremely'). However, even though she regarded uvular-*r* as a salient resource to index her locality and belonging, she did not use it frequently during the interview. Similar to Victorine (discussed above), Elsie adapted her speech to a style she associated with an interview situation (see Chapter Five). She came across as nervous, even though we had a good rapport, and at a stage interrupted herself to ask if I have specific questions, because she felt she *babbel nou regtig* ('really blabbers now').⁵⁹ It was only after the interview that she relaxed, and her *bry* "returned" during the humorous story she told me while we were standing outside. In Chapter Seven, I investigate the use of (r) according to speech styles, especially for participants who use both (r) variants; however, cases like Elsie indicate that for some participants, metapragmatically the context of the interview remained largely formal.

Crucially, Elsie's awareness of *bry* as indexical of belonging to Houtiniquadorp came to the fore for her when she was *outside* of Houtiniquadorp:

⁵⁹ By 'rapport', I mean that we were laughing, joking, and telling personal stories.

25)

<i>Nee nee ek kan nou enige plek gaan,</i>	No no I can now go any place,
<i>vra/</i>	ask/
<i>daar was ek en meneer Taylor in die Kaap,</i>	there Mr. Taylor and I were in the Cape,
<i>toe 't daai mense somer geweet,</i>	then those people just knew,
<i>man ons bry.</i>	man we burr.
<i>Ons was weer by 'n kursus gewees,</i>	We were at a course again,
<i>ja ons bry bry.</i>	yes we burr burr.

When Elsie found herself interacting with people outside of Houtiniquadorp, she foregrounded *bry* as emblematic or a linguistic signpost. For her, *bry* indexed not only that you come from Houtiniquadorp, but also that you belonged to Houtiniquadorp, which fitted into the persona she assumed of a wholesome *plaasmeisie* ('farm girl'):

26)

<i>Ja ek was in Kimberley gewees so,</i>	Yes I was in Kimberley so,
<i>die tipe, leef, my roo/</i>	the type, life, my roo/
<i>nie my roots nie.</i>	not my roots.
<i>My my my, hoe sê mens,</i>	My my my, how does one say,
<i>my waardes en my normas</i>	my values and my norms
<i>en die beginsels,</i>	and the principles,
<i>wat ek as 'n plaasmeisie</i>	which I as a farm girl
<i>of 'n, plattelandse /gee/</i>	or a, rural /give/
<i>kon my daar laat survive het.</i>	could let me survive there.
<i>So dis waarom ek sê</i>	So that's why I say
<i>uit my persoonlikheid uit,</i>	from my personality,
<i>het 'n standvastigheid in my persoonlikheid gebring.</i>	brought a steadfastness in my personality.

Elsie referred to herself as a *plaasmeisie*, which she regarded as a positive attribute, a persona that symbolised her roots and moral principles. Thus uvular-*r* does not only index locality and belonging, but also authentic personhood. As discussed in Chapter Three, in-migration and social changes in Houtiniquadorp contributed to tensions between residents, which the discursive constructs of *boorling* and *inkommer* symbolise. Discourses about *inkommers* involve disorder, criminality and alienation. Uvular-*r* as a multiplex index of authenticity,

locality and belonging therefore takes on increased importance for *boorlinge* like Elsie, reinforced by ideologies of distinctiveness (Irvine and Gal 2000).

6.5. Conclusion

In this chapter, I discussed Houtiniquadorpers' metalinguistic comments about ways of speaking and uvular-*r*. I argued that Cape Town is a reference point for extra-local ways of speaking, and the participants foregrounded stereotypical aspects of *Kaapse* Afrikaans that are not part of the Afrikaans spoken in Houtiniquadorp. Speaking *Kaaps* also interacted with the social practices of being Capetonian, which participants felt were different from their local ways as residents of a small, semi-rural town. The comments also showed that there is a perceived phonetic difference between Houtiniquadorp-*bry* and Oudtshoorn-*bry*. The latter was described as *more of a burr* than the *bry* in Houtiniquadorp, and when some participants mimicked the sound, they used a uvular fricative. However, the distinction is rather between the broader South Cape region and Oudtshoorn, where the uvular trill used in Houtiniquadorp is also associated with the greater district. For some Houtiniquadorpers, the kind of uvular-*r* they associated with the word *bry* is a fricative [ʁ], which created conflicting views about whether the trilled uvular [ʀ] used in Houtiniquadorp is indeed a *bry-r*. Arguably, trilled alveolar-*r* and trilled uvular-*r* might be perceptually more similar for these speakers, where the fricative manner of articulation of /r/ is more strongly associated with a markedly different regional accent (also see Chapter Four).

Based on the metalinguistic comments in this chapter and Chapter Four, uvular-*r* is a socially salient sound: a linguistic form that has sociolinguistic prominence and involves ethno-pragmatics (e.g. sociolinguistic markers and stereotypes; see Hickey 2000; Silverstein 2003). As stated by Deumert (2003:592), 'under certain circumstances metalinguistic discourse explicitly comments on salience values'. Speakers can also treat socially salient features as 'typical' of the voices of stereotypic social personae (Agha 2005), and I looked at some cases where participants interacted with these salient forms 'in metalinguistic manipulations such as speech play or dialect imitations' (Deumert *ibid.*).

The sociolinguistic saliency of a linguistic form also leads to an awareness of difference: of different forms, speakers, and contexts. This awareness of difference plays a role in ideological associations and the indexicality of variants. By looking at four individuals in Section 6.4, I found that micro-level local attitudes, styles and personae enrich the social meanings of uvular-*r*. This showed that a linguistic form does not simply directly index macro-

social types such as working-class or Houtiniquadorper. Therefore, the social meanings of uvular-*r* as a linguistic form also involve reflexivity and socialisation (e.g. Nicolene and Sue- Ellen), experiences of ways of speaking and being local in one's own neighbourhood (e.g. Lionel), and personal senses of locality and belonging tied to authenticity (e.g. Elsie).

This chapter showed that *bry* or uvular-*r* does not have a fixed and stable meaning for the participants in Houtiniquadorp, which supports the notion of the emergent, multiple and indeterminate nature of the indexicality of linguistic forms (see Johnstone 2013). Thus, the indexical meanings of linguistic forms should be viewed as in flux in the social contexts of interactions, as one moves from extreme locality to locality, or between the extra-local and supra-regional. The findings made in this chapter will be relevant for the next two chapters, where I focus on all the participants' use of alveolar-*r* and uvular-*r* to investigate whether the production patterns are distributed not only according to macro-social categories, but also interact with these local social meanings. I thus continue building on the notion of multiple indexicalities for Afrikaans /r/, and uvular-*r* in specific.

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7.1. Introduction

Chapter Six explored the participants' metalinguistic comments about extra-local and local ways of speaking, and I focused on uvular-*r* as an index of locality and belonging. The production patterns of the (r) variable are investigated in this chapter. I do not treat variation only as reflecting macro-social categories (the classic Labovian approach), but I continue building on the work in the previous chapter by foregrounding the ways in which linguistic forms are involved in the construction of social meanings.

In Section 7.2, I describe the frequency of three forms of /r/ (alveolar-*r*, uvular-*r*, and zero-*r*) in the sample and consider the effects of Speech Style and Phonological Environment. While previous studies treated zero-*r* as a sociolinguistic variant of (r), I suggest that it is better understood as phonologically conditioned (see Chapter Five). The remainder of Section 7.2 focuses on alveolar-*r* and uvular-*r* as variants of the (r) variable, and I provide a breakdown of the statistical results from regression analyses in Rbrul and R.

The results for each independent variable are discussed in Section 7.3. I start with Neighbourhood (as proxy for socioeconomic status) and Residential Status Score (RSS; local residential status and mobility). I argue that these two variables intersect and reveal different kinds of local identities where (r) variation can be valued differently. Next, I show the results of (r) use according to Gender and Age. I consider a possible change-in-progress and show how (r) variation patterns differ according to gendered age groups.

I used cluster analyses to group the participants according to (r) use and discuss the results in Section 7.4. The sample group consists of participants who near-categorically used alveolar-*r*, participants who near-categorically used uvular-*r*, and a third group who used both (r) variants. Focusing on the latter group allows me to investigate intra-speaker variation according to Speech Style, as well as the social characteristics of participants falling into the group I call *mixers*. The other objective is to determine whether (r) use pattern significantly according to phonological environment for these *mixers*.

Finally, I draw on the findings made about the social meanings of (r) and propose an indexical field for Afrikaans /r/, and uvular-*r* specifically, to show how (r) variation functions as a resource for indexing multiple social meanings. The indexical field includes the macro-social production patterns and incorporates ideologies and locally meaningful styles and personae discussed in Chapters Four and Six.

7.2. Distribution of (r) in the sample group

Three variants of /r/

The quantitative linguistic data were extracted from semi-structured sociolinguistic interviews with 72 participants (see Chapter Five). I included zero-*r* as a token along with alveolar-*r* and uvular-*r* to account for all possible instances of /r/ (principle of accountability; see Tagliamonte 2006:12 ff. and 72 ff.).⁶⁰ The picture description task elicited a description style (4,178 tokens) and tokens extracted from conversations during the interview reflect a conversational style (5,943 tokens; 10,121 tokens in total). As discussed in Chapter Five, I treat zero-*r* as a phonologically conditioned allophonic variant of Afrikaans /r/, and a feature of informal, connected speech. This interpretation is confirmed by Figure 7.1, which shows the frequency of the three /r/ forms according to speech styles.

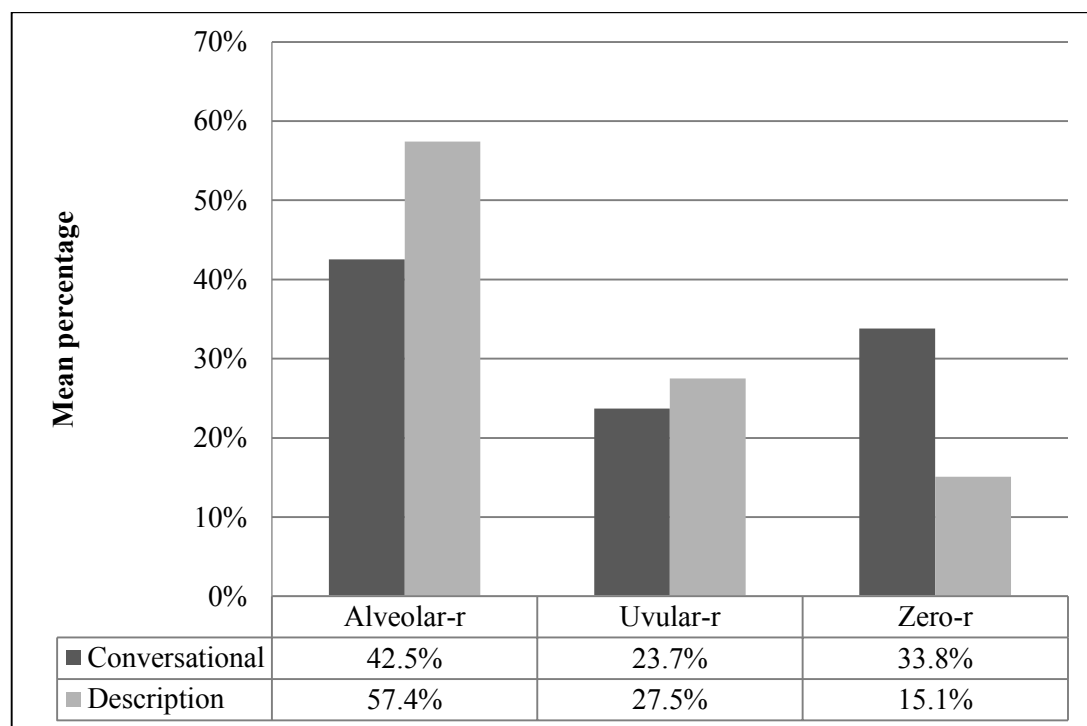


Figure 7.1. Mean percentage of /r/ forms in conversational (n=5,943) vs. description styles (n=4,178) $\chi^2 = 455.529$, df=2, $p < 0.0001$

⁶⁰ This principle requires that every token of the variable is included.

A chi-square test detects group differences using frequency data (i.e. raw counts) and ‘is used to test the null hypothesis that the frequency within cells is what would be expected, given these marginal Ns’ (Preacher 2001). I.e. the null hypothesis is that there is no relationship between Speech Style and type of /r/ form used. Yates’ chi-square test of independence (Preacher 2001) supports the descriptive statistics: the distribution of /r/ forms is statistically significant according to Speech Style. The p-value is used as an index to assess statistical significance (generally interpreted as $p \leq 0.05$), and can be informally defined as ‘the probability under a specified statistical model that a statistical summary of the data (for example, the sample mean difference between two compared groups) would be equal to or more extreme than its observed value’ (Wasserstein and Lazar 2016:8).⁶¹

To test whether zero-*r* versus produced-*r* (i.e. alveolar-*r* and uvular-*r*) correlates with social categories, I did a mixed effects regression in Rbrul, according to the independent social variables described in Chapter Five. Speech Style ($p=1.07e-97$) and Age ($p=0.00728$) have significant effects in the overall model (see Appendix 7.1 for Rbrul results). However, all four age cohorts in the Age factor group have factor weights that approach 0.5, i.e. no age group particularly favoured zero-*r* (the range is 9.1, which is a low magnitude of effect). Speech Style has the strongest effect on use of zero-*r* (the range is 25.6), and the factor weights are as follow: conversational style is 0.628 and description style is 0.372. Conversational style is thus the factor that conditions the use of zero-*r*.

Considering the use of /r/ forms according to phonological environments confirms zero-*r*’s status as a phonologically conditioned feature. The four phonological environments are initial (#rV), onset (#CrV), final (Vr#), and coda (VrC#) – see Chapter Five. Figures 7.2 and 7.3 illustrate the frequency of /r/ forms according to Speech Style and Phonological Environment.

⁶¹ However, note the debates amongst statisticians that ‘a p-value near 0.05 taken by itself offers only weak evidence against the null hypothesis’ (Wasserstein and Lazar 2016:4, citing Johnson 2013). Thus, I also refer to log-odds or estimated coefficients and factor weights in my discussion of the statistical results.

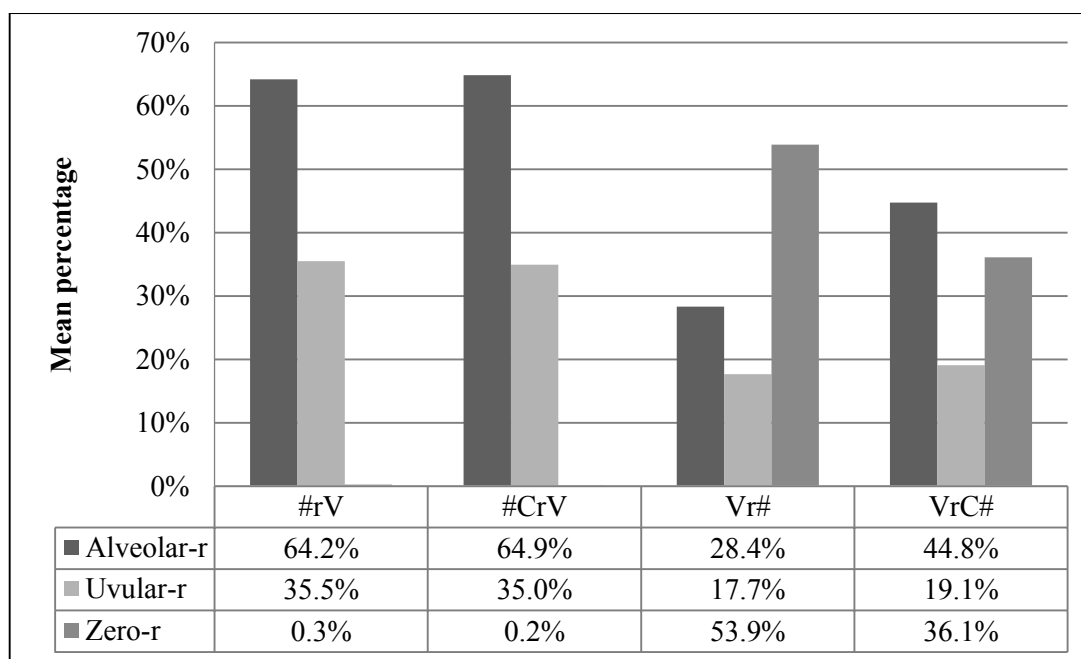


Figure 7.2. Mean percentage of /r/ forms in phonological environments and conversational style
($\chi^2=1569.904$, $df=6$, $p<0.00001$)

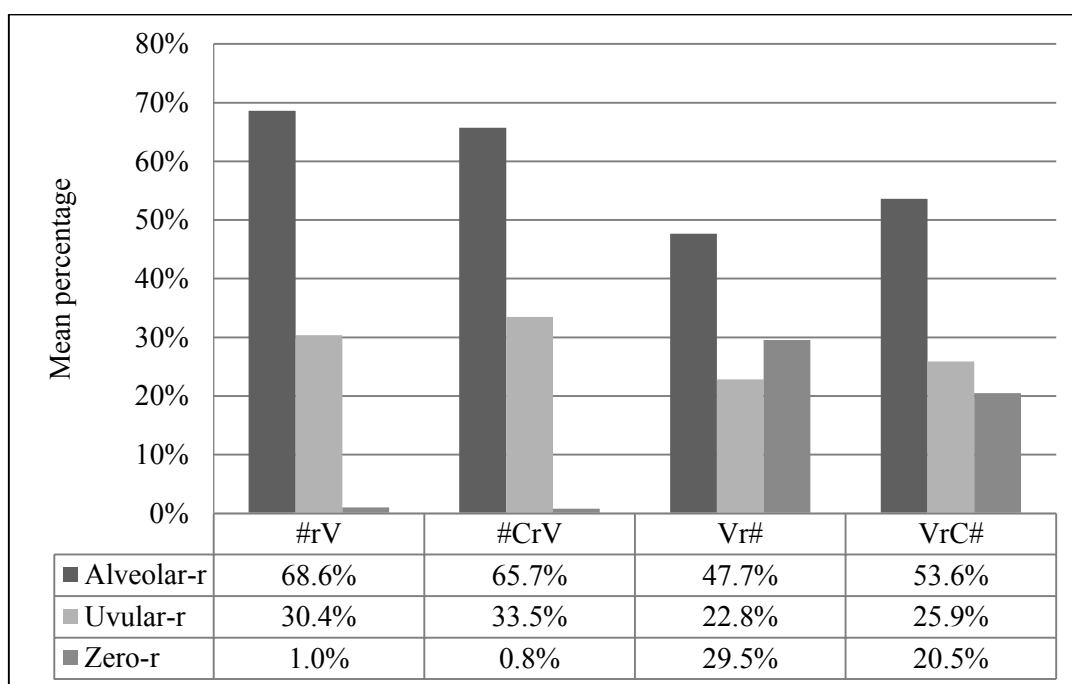


Figure 7.3. Mean percentage of /r/ forms in phonological environments and description style
($\chi^2=581.313$, $df=6$, $p<0.00001$)

The chi-square tests and p-values indicate that Phonological Environment is significant for the distribution of /r/ forms during both speech styles: zero-*r* occurs predominantly in codas, especially in final (Vr#), and the increase in zero-*r* leads to a reduction of alveolar-*r* and uvular-*r* in post-vocalic environments.⁶² When a consonant follows post-vocalic (r) (e.g. VrC#), zero-*r* is less frequent: phonological studies find that phonotactic mechanisms play a role in this environment (see Lawson, Stuart-Smith and Scobbie 2008). Occurrences of zero-*r* in initial (#rV) positions are exceptions and some participants used a zero-*r* with specific words (e.g. *enoster* instead of *renoster* ‘rhinoceros’, see Appendix 7.2). Zero-*r* is therefore largely restricted to post-vocalic codas. Since zero-*r* is phonologically conditioned, I exclude it from the variationist analysis; the results indicate that a higher frequency of zero-*r* during conversational style can index informality. In terms of the main research question, which asks what social meanings are indexed by rhotic variation in Houtiniquadorp, I focus on alveolar-*r* and uvular-*r* as variants of the (r) variable.

Alveolar-*r* and uvular-*r* as variants of (r)

Rhotics as a class of sounds and the Afrikaans rhotic variable were defined in Chapter Five. In this section, I discuss the variable use of alveolar-*r* and uvular-*r* in the overall sample group, before investigating the production patterns according to social categories in Section 7.3. Figure 7.4 shows the sample group’s use of alveolar-*r* and uvular-*r* according to Speech Style (description n=3,549; conversational n=3,866; tokens in total are 7,415).⁶³

⁶² The syllable stress of the segment containing a final (r) was not considered, but stress can constrain zero-*r* occurrences. The tokens included both function and content words; zero-*r* occurs more frequently with monosyllabic function words, e.g. the preposition [fə] *vir* ‘for’ or conjunction [ma:] *maar* ‘but’. In connected speech, linking effects do not generally occur, e.g. *maar ek* ‘but I’ [ma: ?ɛk] or [mar ɛk].

⁶³ Zero-*r* tokens are excluded.

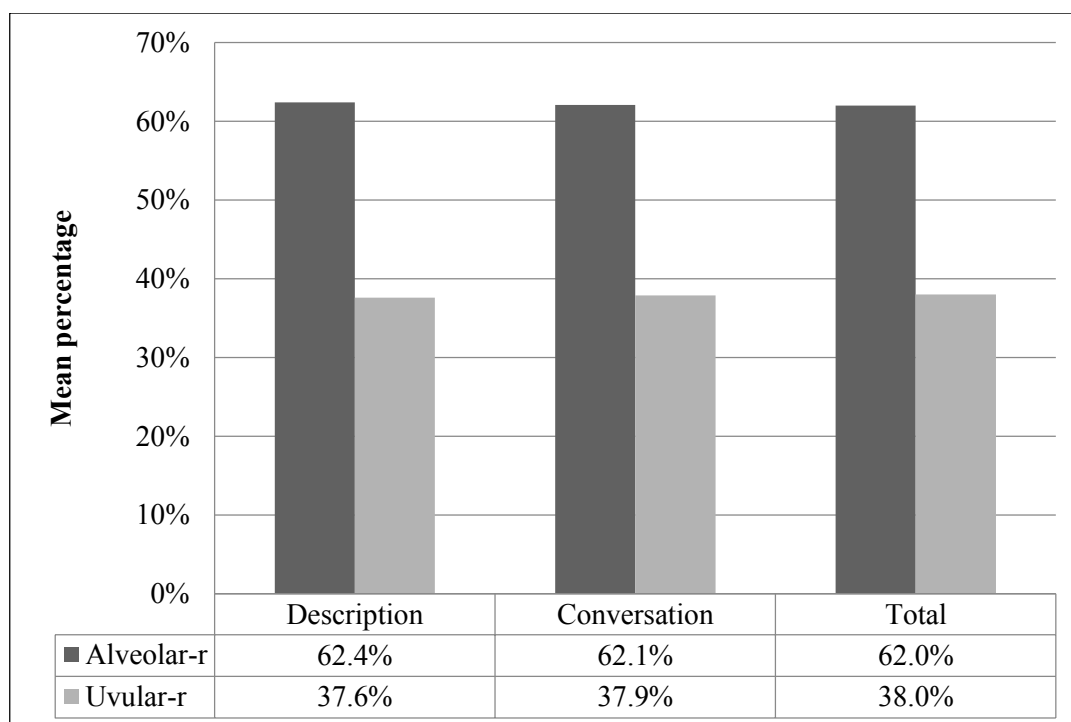


Figure 7.4. Mean percentage of (r) variants in description and conversational speech styles

Overall, alveolar-*r* is used more frequently than uvular-*r*. As explained in Chapter Five, to investigate the factors conditioning alveolar-*r* and uvular-*r* use, I used mixed effects models in Rbrul (Johnson 2009) and R (R Core Team 2014). The independent variables (factor groups or predictors) are Gender, Age, Neighbourhood, Residential Status Score (RSS), and Speech Style.

I first used Rbrul's step-up/step-down analysis for all the independent variables (i.e. fixed factor groups), with Speaker as random factor. The best result was computed for a model that includes RSS ($p=0.00174$), Age ($p=0.00594$), and Gender ($p=0.0257$): Neighbourhood and Speech Style were thus dropped from the model (see Appendix 7.3). To confirm whether the difference between the two models (one with all factor groups, and one without Neighbourhood and Speech Style) is significant, I used a chi-square test in Rbrul, which compared the deviance values of the two models. A model without Neighbourhood and Speech Style is not significantly different from a model with all the factor groups ($\chi^2=2.196$, $df=3$, $p=0.533$). I base my discussions below on the results of the full model shown in Table 7.1, as obtained from a one-level regression in Rbrul.

ONE-LEVEL ANALYSIS OF RESPONSE Alveolar_Uvular WITH PREDICTOR(S): Speaker [random, not tested] and RSS (0.00252) + Age (0.003377) + Gender (0.0123) + Neighbourhood (0.0643) + Style (0.134)⁶⁴

	Log Odds	Tokens (7,415)	Centred Factor Weight
AGE			
<25	4.425	1,852	0.988
26-45	-1.411	1,251	0.196
46-65	0.044	3,152	0.511
>66	-3.058	1,160	0.045
<i>Range = 94.3</i>			
RSS			
1	1.773	3,588	0.855
2-5	2.246	2,151	0.904
6-7	-4.019	1,676	0.018
<i>Range = 88.6</i>			
GENDER			
Male	1.654	3,579	0.839
Female	-1.654	3,836	0.161
<i>Range = 67.8</i>			
NEIGHBOURHOOD			
Old Dorp	1.986	3,003	0.879
Bergview	-0.613	1,906	0.351
Scheme	-1.373	2,506	0.202
<i>Range = 67.7</i>			
STYLE			
Description	0.072	3,549	0.518
Conversational	-0.072	3,866	0.482
<i>Range = 3.6</i>			

Table 7.1. Rbrul results for the factors conditioning (r) use (uvular-*r* as application value)

⁶⁴ The numbers in parentheses are the p-values associated with dropping each dependent variable from a full model with all of them (ordered from most to least significant).

The factor weights are measurements of the probability that each factor had an effect on the presence of uvular-*r* (as application value), where factor weights range from 0-1. A mid-line value of 0.5 indicates no effect, while factor weights closer to 0 or 1 indicate how strongly or weakly that factor favoured uvular-*r*. Rbrul also supplies log-odds, which are infinite positive or negative values anchored around zero. Log-odds (or estimated coefficients in R, see Table 7.2) show the degree of contrast among factors in a factor group and also provide a hierarchical organisation of their effect strength (see Tagliamonte 2012:141; discussed in Chapter 5.5). Most salient in these results is Speech Style, which shows no effect on the use of (r). Note that uvular-*r* is favoured slightly more in the description style. I discuss this further in Section 7.4, where I focus on intra-speaker variation. The factor weights also show that uvular-*r* is favoured by the <25 age cohort, participants with 1 and 2-5 RSS, men, and residents from Old Dorp.

The results from the generalized linear mixed-effects model (GLMM) performed in R supplement and complement the Rbrul results by indicating the significance of the effects of each factor in the factor group to the full model. The GLMM results are summarised in Table 7.2.

Coefficients of a GLMM with random intercepts for individuals (variance 20.57; standard deviation 4.535; number of observations 7,415)				
Fixed effects	Estimate	Std. Error ⁶⁵	z value	Pr(> z)
(Intercept) ⁶⁶	-3.71390	1.62749	-2.282	0.022491 *
GENDER				
Female				
Male	3.22013	1.25990	2.556	0.010592 *
AGE				
46-65				
>66	-3.12532	2.21310	-1.412	0.157894
26-45	-1.43449	1.71400	-0.837	0.402635
<25	4.22048	1.56403	2.698	0.006966 **
NEIGHBOURHOOD				
Bergview				
Old Dorp	2.37163	1.57794	1.503	0.132840
Scheme	-0.95786	1.66989	-0.574	0.566235
RSS				
1				
6-7	-5.76712	1.70206	-3.388	0.000703 ***
2-5	0.39837	1.42845	0.279	0.780337
STYLE				
Conversational				
Description	0.14322	0.09576	1.496	0.134746
Significant codes: 0 *** 0.001 ** 0.01 *				

Table 7.2. Generalized Linear Mixed-Effects Model for the factors conditioning (r) use (uvular-*r* as application value)

⁶⁵ ‘The standard error is a measure of the uncertainty about the [estimate coefficient]. The larger this uncertainty, the less confidence should be placed in the estimate’ (Tagliamonte and Baayen 2012:149).

⁶⁶ ‘The first row of this table lists the intercept, which represents the reference levels of all factorial predictors in the model simultaneously’ (Tagliamonte and Baayen *ibid.*). This value is negative, indicating that alveolar-*r* occurs more than uvular-*r*.

As discussed by Tagliamonte and Baayen (2012:148-150), the z-score is the division of the estimate by its standard error; following a normal distribution, it allows the calculation of the probability (listed in the fourth column). The GLMM also uses ‘treatment coding’, where one independent variable (or predictor) is the baseline (i.e. reference level; Tagliamonte and Baayen *ibid.*). In Table 7.2, the baseline factors are listed first in each factor group (in the first column; R lists these automatically, unless otherwise instructed). The GLMM estimates the difference between the baseline predictor and the other predictors in each factor group, expressed as estimate coefficients (EC) in the second column. The estimate coefficients take the value of zero as pivotal (see Chapter 5.5). Positive values show likelihood for uvular-*r* and negative values likelihood for alveolar-*r*. The table shows that RSS (6-7; EC -5.76712), Age (<25 cohort; EC 4.22048), and Gender (male; EC 3.22013) are the most significant predictors in the sample. According to the GLMM, Neighbourhood and Speech Style are not significant for (r) use, which confirm the p-values and log-odds in Rbrul. I focus now on the use of (r) variants according to social categories.

7.3. Social patterns of alveolar-*r* and uvular-*r* use

Neighbourhood and Residential Status Score

Neighbourhood

In Chapter Five, I explained that I use the three main neighbourhoods as proxies for socioeconomic status in Houtiniquadorp, where Bergview residents are socioeconomically more affluent than residents in the other two neighbourhoods, Old Dorp and Scheme. Results from Rbrul indicate that Old Dorp is the strongest conditioning factor for use of uvular-*r* (0.879 factor weight, see Table 7.1). The other two neighbourhoods disfavour uvular-*r* use (Bergview 0.351; Scheme 0.202). Figure 7.5 shows the frequency of (r) variants according to the three different neighbourhoods.

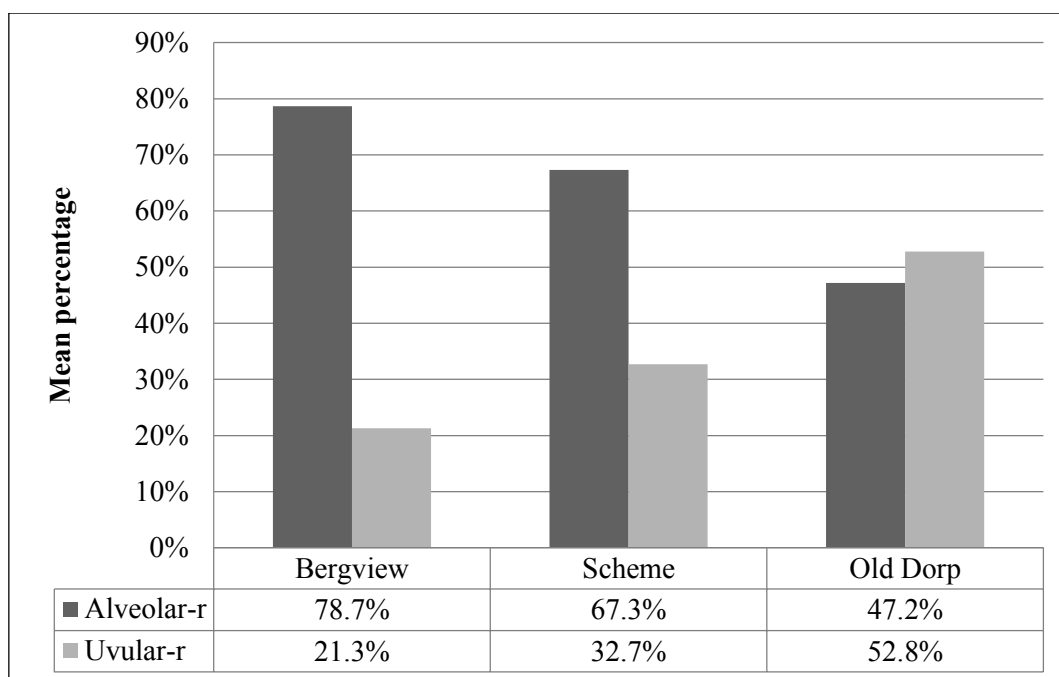


Figure 7.5. Mean percentage of (r) variants according to neighbourhoods ($\chi^2=416.422$, $df=2$, $p<0.0001$)

Bergview residents had the highest mean percentage use of alveolar-*r*, followed by the Scheme. The use of the two variants was almost equal for speakers who reside in Old Dorp. The GLMM results show that Neighbourhood did not have a statistically significant effect on uvular-*r* use. Nevertheless, participants from Old Dorp (EC 2.37163; Table 7.2) used uvular-*r* 31.5% more than participants from Bergview, and residents from the Scheme used uvular-*r* 20.1% less than Old Dorp residents.

The high alveolar-*r* use in Bergview suggests a potential indexical relation between this variant and higher socioeconomic status, where the supra-local variant is a prestige marker. However, more than two-thirds of the tokens used by Scheme residents were alveolar-*r*. Many residents in Old Dorp and Scheme face economic and social challenges due to unemployment and restricted incomes. A main difference between Old Dorp and Scheme is that Old Dorp, the historical centre, is associated with traditional *boorlinge* who live in *die beste deel van Houtiniquadorp ... lekker in die middel* ('the best part of Houtiniquadorp ... nicely in the middle'; see Ant Fiela in Chapter Three). Old Dorp consists of large plots that have belonged to the same families for generations, and as argued in Chapter 3.4, higher local social status is linked to access to ancestral family land. On the other hand, Scheme saw an influx of *inkommers*, who were allocated low-cost houses post-1994. Therefore, use of uvular-*r* does not

seem to be connected to socioeconomic status, but rather index a local status through residents' positions as *boorlinge*. Local status and access to land complicate income-based views of socioeconomic status in South Africa, because a focus on income alone ignores the relevance of land ownership and property (see Mabandla 2012; Chapter 3.4). Therefore, while alveolar-*r* might be an overt prestige form given its status as the standard supra-local form, uvular-*r* can index local prestige.

Residential Status Score

The emic social distinctions involving residential status were discussed in Chapter Three, where I explained how participants defined the terms *boorling* and *inkommer* as locally meaningful. In Chapter 5.2, I explained how I incorporated these two discursively created categories into a variable I call Residential Status Score (RSS). This variable captures the participants' degree of geographic mobility. Traditional *boorlinge* received a score of 1. Participants born in the town without a *boorling* family background and participants born in the South Cape region received scores ranging between 2 and 5. Participants with a RSS ranging between 1 and 5 are thus established locals. Finally, participants who received a score of 6 to 7 were born outside of the region and generally had a shorter length of residence in the town (i.e. *inkommers*).

Results from Rbrul indicate that RSS has a strong effect on use of uvular-*r* ($p=0.00252$; see Table 7.1). RSS 1 and 2-5 are the strongest conditioning factors for use of uvular-*r* (0.855 and 0.904 factor weights respectively). RSS 6-7 disfavoured uvular-*r* use (0.018 factor weight). Figure 7.6 illustrates the patterns of (r) according to RSS.

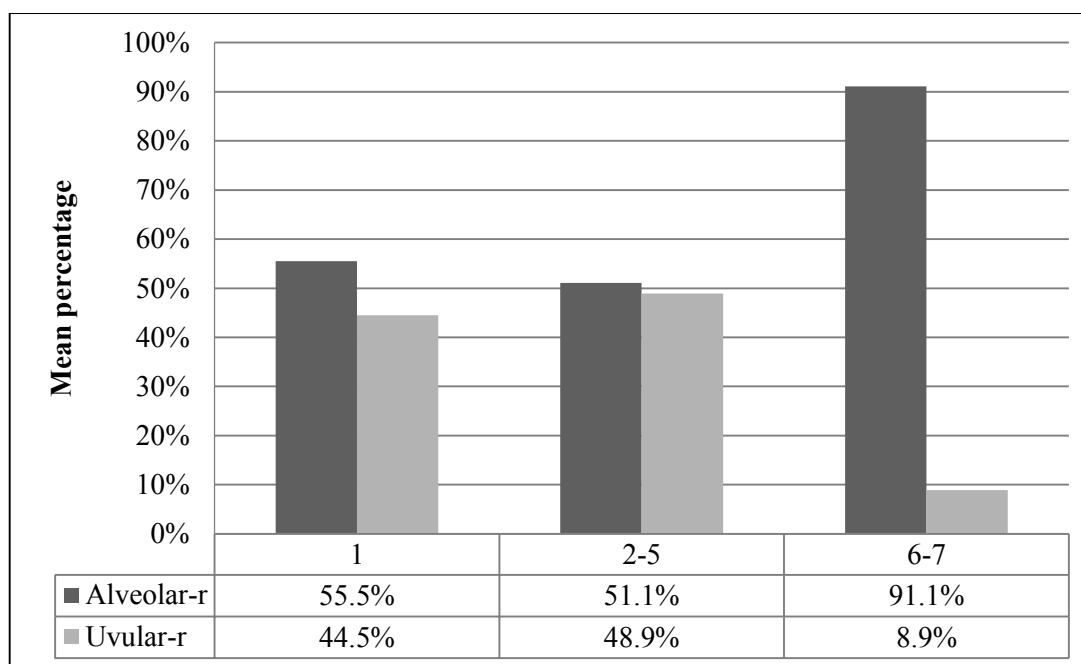


Figure 7.6. Mean percentage of (r) variants according to residential status scores ($\chi^2=667.38$, $df=2$, $p<0.0001$)

The RSS variable allows us to describe the (r) use for more established *boorlinge* and locals, who either have generational ties to the town, or who have lived in the area since birth, compared to more mobile *inkommers* who migrated to the town after childhood. Participants with scores of 1 and 2-5 made almost equal use of both (r) variants. The descriptive statistics suggest that uvular-*r* indexes a speaker's status as an established resident. Newcomers to the town (i.e. participants with a RSS of 6-7) had a statistically significant use of alveolar-*r* ($p=0.000703$, EC -5.76712; see Table 7.2). These results indicate that uvular-*r* is a regional accent feature, because of its high frequency use by participants who were born in the town or region (i.e. RSS 1 and 2-5). Furthermore, the results show that established locals have both variants in their repertoire, and they thus might have the ability to use either variant to index group identities or personae in interaction (see Section 7.4 and Chapter Eight).

The statistics in Tables 7.1 and 7.2 show that Age correlates with frequency use of uvular-*r*. The 2-5 RSS group contains many young participants whose parents moved to Houtiniquadorp before they were born, and older participants who were born in the region and moved to Houtiniquadorp when they were children or teenagers. What matters seems to be whether someone was born in the greater region, and this is not surprising in terms of dialect acquisition (see Chambers 1992). Thus, strictly in terms of the acquisition of dialect features,

uvular-*r* as an emplaced regional feature (and articulatory complex sound, see Chapter Five) might not be acquired by participants arriving in the town after childhood (see Tagliamonte and Molfenter 2007 for findings on variability in the age of second dialect acquisition). However, research has found that some adults can acquire some of the regional dialect features of the region to which they moved to (Nycz 2015:473). Chambers (1992:675) argues that when considering adults, one needs to view dialect acquisition as ‘long-term accommodation’ (citing Trudgill 1986). With dialect acquisition, local dialect features become part of a speaker’s repertoire (i.e. linguistic system). With long-term accommodation, a speaker new to a region interacts with locals, and frequent dialect contact may lead to more lasting changes to the newcomer’s linguistic system; i.e. newcomers can converge towards local patterns, which become part of their repertoire over time. Thus, participants with RSS 6-7 could have acquired uvular-*r* if they have a longer length of residence. Furthermore, the idea of accommodation involves notions of identity – i.e. convergence is not automatic, but a process that is linked to identifications (see Giles and Powesland [1975] 1997). Auer and Hinskens (2005) discuss ‘social psychological accommodation’, where speakers do not necessarily use linguistic features to converge to their interlocutor. Rather, speakers converge towards the *social meanings* that linguistic features index. Thus, if speakers are aware of uvular-*r* as an index of locality and belonging, then *inkommers*, who have developed a sense of place attachment, could adopt this feature. Finally, Nycz (2015:477) remarks that the fact that a mobile speaker does not use a regional variant is not an indication of lack of acquisition: ‘Identity and attitudinal factors may temper the use of [second dialect] features.’ Thus, the context of the interview needs consideration, because participants who have both variants in their repertoire might accommodate towards or diverge from me, a categorical user of alveolar-*r*.

Discussion of Neighbourhood and RSS

The interaction between neighbourhoods and residential status scores shows that uvular-*r* is related not only to lower geographic mobility, but also to lower social mobility. Table 7.3 shows descriptive statistics for Neighbourhood, RSS and (r) use.

	Bergview			Old Dorp			Scheme		
	1 (n=6)	2-5 (n=6)	6-7 (n=6)	1 (n=15)	2-5 (n=9)	6-7 (n=5)	1 (n=13)	2-5 (n=7)	6-7 (n=5)
Alveolar- <i>r</i>	84.9%	69.2%	81.9%	45.0%	24.9%	94.2%	54.1%	69.1%	99.0%
Uvular- <i>r</i>	15.1%	30.8%	18.1%	55.0%	75.1%	5.8%	45.9%	30.9%	1.0%

Table 7.3. Mean percentage use of (r) variants according to Neighbourhood and RSS ($\chi^2=1445.9$, $df=8$, $p<0.00001$)

The frequency of (r) use according to Neighbourhood and RSS shows that there is a difference between being a RSS 1 *boorling* living in Bergview, versus being a RSS 1 *boorling* living in Old Dorp or Scheme. Bergview *boorlinge* (i.e. RSS 1) are not only more affluent, they also set themselves apart linguistically by favouring supra-local alveolar-*r*. As explained in Chapter Three, many participants felt that Bergview residents distance themselves from Houtiniquadorp. Indeed, some participants considered Bergview to be outside of Houtiniquadorp and that the people living there are *skyn mense* ('fake people', i.e. not authentic). For traditional *boorlinge*, the notions of rootedness and family tradition have local value, but from my analysis of the interviews, participants also highly value upward social mobility. In Houtiniquadorp, the participants were aware of the concrete realities of different socioeconomic statuses. Residents from the different neighbourhoods have different forms of property ownership, and it makes a difference whether one lives in the up-market neighbourhood (e.g. Bergview) or in low-cost housing (e.g. in the Scheme). The difference relates not only to perceived socioeconomic status, but also involve the residents' perceptions of the norms and values of residents in each neighbourhood.

The lower levels of education and income of Old Dorp and Scheme *boorlinge* link them to a lower socioeconomic status, but this is not the reason for their higher use of uvular-*r*. Instead, uvular-*r* as a local variant indexes in-groupness. Thus, established locals in Old Dorp and Scheme use supra-local alveolar-*r* less and instead maintain a distinctively local way of

speaking. Furthermore, *inkommers* living in the Scheme show the lowest accommodation to local patterns, which might suggest that people who are socioeconomically marginalised are also kept on the linguistic periphery by being excluded from local social networks of the core local residents. For example, in Chapter 3.3 I discussed the example of the prisoner from the Scheme, who was denied calling himself a Houtiniquadorper by Gelica, a *boorling*.

In terms of contact and the indexicality of local forms, Johnstone (2010) argues that when speakers come into contact with speakers of other dialects, local linguistic forms can become recognised as indices of locality and belonging. Therefore, in the context of geographic mobility, speakers can redefine their attitudes and beliefs (i.e. ideologies) about what it means to be local and to belong. With the *boorling/inkommer* distinctions, indexing locality and belonging does not only involve the use of a linguistic form such as uvular-*r*; participants also draw strongly on circulating discourses that are underpinned by ideologies of locality and belonging. Many older participants have a stake in *boorling* discourses about heritage and authenticity, which serve to index their locality and belonging in opposition to *inkommers*. On the other hand, there are also *boorling* participants who draw on both. For instance, Elsie (Chapter 6.4), a *boorling* living in Old Dorp, made use of both discourses about authentic Houtiniquadorpers as members of a traditional farming community, as well as uvular-*r* as an index of locality and belonging. For her, uvular-*r* fits into her *plaasmeisie* persona.

Gender and Age

Gender

I now explore the effect of Gender on (r) use. Results from Rbrul indicate that the male factor conditions use of uvular-*r* (0.839 factor weight) and the female factor disfavours uvular-*r* use (0.161 factor weight). Figure 7.7 illustrates the patterns of (r) use according to genders.

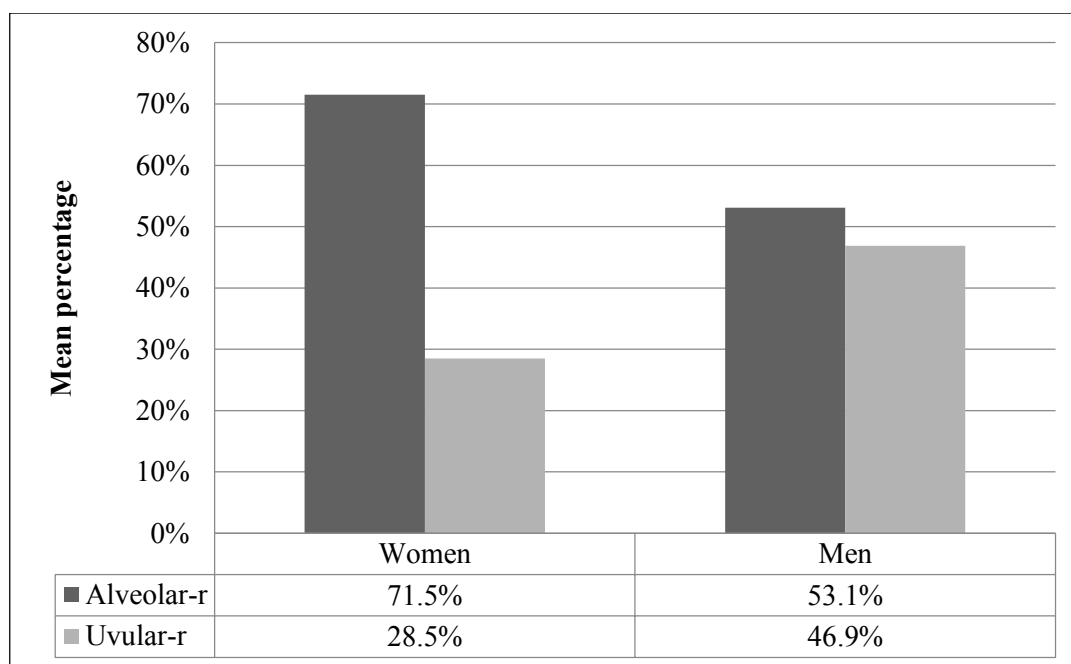


Figure 7.7. Mean percentage of (r) variants according to gender groups ($\chi^2=322.882$, $df=1$, $p<0.0001$)

The relation between Gender and (r) use is statistically significant. Men made an almost equal use of both variants and they used uvular-*r* 18.4% more than women did (EC 3.22013; see Table 7.2). The argument can be made that alveolar-*r* is associated with women, even though no participant made an explicit connection between type of (r) and gendered ways of speaking during their metalinguistic comments. This relates to Silverstein's (1981, 2001) argument about the 'limits of awareness', where speakers do not always make explicit indexical associations (i.e. Labov's [1972a] formulation of variables as indicators). The connection between gender and uvular-*r* is thus not as socially salient as the indexical relation between uvular-*r* and locality (see Chapter Six). Therefore, although uvular-*r* might index local status, women tend to favour supra-local alveolar-*r*. This is in line with Labov (1990) and others' (e.g. Fasold 1990) claims that men tend to use non-standard variants more frequently than women do, where non-standard variants are a symbolic resource to index masculinity and toughness. Women's use of linguistic variants indicate, in the standard variationist explanation, the dual tendencies of women to conform to standardness as well as adopt innovative prestige forms. These tendencies are summarised by Labov (2001:293) as the 'gender paradox': 'Women conform more closely than men to sociolinguistic norms that are overtly prescribed, but conform less than men when they are not.' As discussed in Chapter Four, alveolar-*r* is the variant overtly prescribed as the standard form, and Houtiniquadorp women followed this

supra-local norm more than men. However, one should also consider that gendered identities intersect with other social identity constructs, including place identities, as shown by Eckert (2000) with the Jocks and Burnouts adolescents in Detroit (see Chapter 2.3). In previous work, Eckert (1989a:250) also argued that ‘not prestige but power is the most appropriate underlying sociological concept for the analysis of gender-based linguistic variation.’ When I analysed the interviews for topics that involved gender and gendered roles, I noticed that participants older than thirty frequently spoke about traditional gendered practices during their youth. Boundaries between gendered roles were most salient and predominantly concerned divisions of labour and household chores. Benji (aged 49) and Jimmy (aged 46) were one of several *boorlinge* who spoke about strictly gendered activities at the time when they grew up. The men in their family worked on the land with crops. During harvesting time, the women and children were called upon to collect the vegetables dug up by the men. Gelica (aged 45) spoke about how they were socialised into traditional gendered roles in the household by being assigned specific chores: the boys fetched water or chopped wood, and the girls learned domestic skills (such as how to clean a fire pot or knead dough). Gendered traditions arguably contributed to older men and women’s divergent use of uvular-*r*, where definite separation of male and female spaces and occupations (outdoors for men and domestic for women) had a linguistic correlate. These traditional gendered patterns have faded over the years. Thus, looking at the distribution of (r) variants across gendered age groups, different patterns emerge. I discuss these patterns below, after showing (r) use according to Age.

Age

The delineation of the age cohorts was discussed in Chapter Five, where I provided background on the socio-political eras in South African education, which involved racial segregation and post-apartheid integration. I argued that this background serves to contextualise the age cohorts, where school is a significant life experience because of the types social contacts and the increased range of opportunities afforded by higher levels of education (i.e. in terms of social mobility). Factor weights from Rbrul indicate that the <25 age cohort is the strongest conditioning factor for use of uvular-*r* (0.988). The middle-aged category (46-65 years) had a mid-line value of 0.511, which indicates no effect. The other two cohorts disfavoured uvular-*r* use (26-45 years = 0.196; >66 years = 0.045). Furthermore, Age as a factor group has the highest range (94.3; see Table 7.1) compared to the other factor groups, which indicates that Age exerts the strongest effect on variable (r) use. Figure 7.8 illustrates the patterns of (r) use according to the age cohorts.

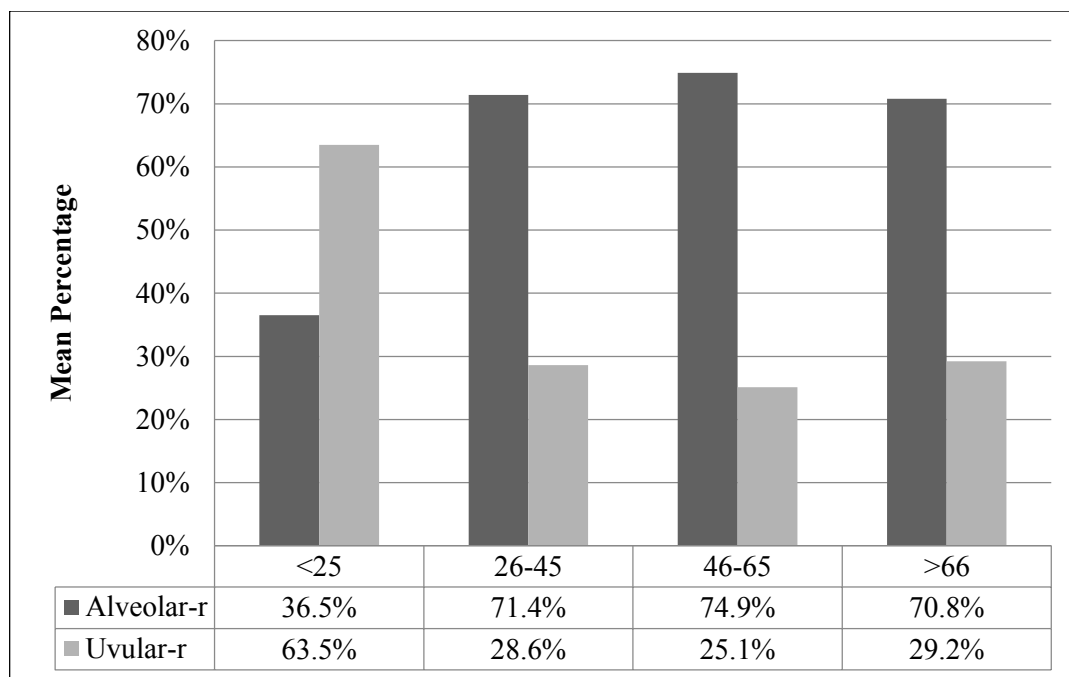


Figure 7.8. Mean percentage of (r) variants according to age cohorts ($\chi^2= 892.201$, $df=3$, $p<0.0001$)

The relation between the age cohorts and (r) use is statistically significant. The three oldest age groups have a high percentage use of alveolar-*r*. Use of uvular-*r* remains relatively stable from the >66 (older than sixty-six years) to the 26-45 age group, with a slight decrease for the middle-aged group (46-65). Therefore, the youngest cohort differs markedly from the other groups: almost a third of participants younger than twenty-five's tokens is uvular-*r*. The <25 age cohort used uvular-*r* 34.9% more than the 26-45 age cohort did, which is significant in the overall GLMM results ($p=0.006966$; see Table 7.2).

The patterns of variation according to age cohorts suggest the possibility that we are looking at language-change-in-progress. Labov's (1966) formulation of 'real time' and 'apparent time' holds that change in progress can either be studied at different time intervals with the same or different set of speakers (real time, i.e. panel or trend methods studying diachronic change; see Sankoff and Blondeau 2007), or by comparing the language use of different age cohorts (apparent time or synchronic change). Labov (1994:83) supplies four possible interpretations of how observable synchronic patterns can relate to age groups. Based on Sankoff and Blondeau (2007:561-562), I summarise these scenarios as follows:

Firstly, both individual speakers and the community are stable (no change);

Secondly, speakers steadily increase their use of one variant of the variable as they age (referred to as ‘age grading’);

Thirdly, a scenario of generational change, where each new generation of speakers increases their use of the variant, while older generations remain constant in their use of childhood patterns (the classic change-in-progress interpretation); and

Fourthly, a scenario of communal change, where both younger and older speakers are changing gradually in the same overall direction.

Considering the distribution patterns of (r) according to age cohorts in Figure 7.8, the minimal differences between the percentage (r) use of 26-45, 46-65 and >66 age groups indicate relative stability. Thus, there is no generational change, except with the youngest cohort. Labov (1994:73) argues that ‘adolescents and young adults use stigmatized variants more freely than middle-aged speakers.’ Thus, it is also possible that in Houtiniquadorp, if uvular-*r* is stigmatised, participants in the <25 cohort might increase their use of standard alveolar-*r* as they grow older. We thus might see a stable pattern of age grading and not necessarily a change in progress, unless the local prestige of uvular-*r* starts to outweigh the prestige of supra-local alveolar-*r* (see discussion below).

Discussion of Gender and Age

Combining Gender and Age, distribution patterns emerge that are potentially meaningful. Table 7.4 shows (r) use according to genders and age cohorts.

	<25		26-45		46-65		>66	
	<i>Men</i> (<i>n</i> =10)	<i>Women</i> (<i>n</i> =12)	<i>Men</i> (<i>n</i> =6)	<i>Women</i> (<i>n</i> =6)	<i>Men</i> (<i>n</i> =15)	<i>Women</i> (<i>n</i> =14)	<i>Men</i> (<i>n</i> =6)	<i>Women</i> (<i>n</i> =3)
Alveolar- <i>r</i>	28.1%	43.5%	51.7%	91.1%	69.0%	81.2%	56.3%	99.8%
Uvular- <i>r</i>	71.9%	56.5%	48.3%	8.9%	31.0%	18.8%	43.7%	0.2%

Table 7.4. Mean percentage use of (r) variants according to Gender and Age ($\chi^2=7.5898$, $p=0.0553$)

The distribution of (r) use in Table 7.4 allows one to compare smaller gender-age groups within the sample group and to identify patterns of similarities and differences. I am specifically focussing on the women, as indicated by the grey highlights in the table. Considering the finding that the youngest cohort had significantly higher use of uvular-*r*, the gender-age interaction indicates a sharp distinction between younger and older women. The young women have a 56.5% mean percentage for uvular-*r* use, compared to the other groups of women, who were near-categorically using alveolar-*r*. Men older than twenty-five used both (r) variants. The participants younger than twenty-five, from both genders, have high frequency use of uvular-*r*, which indicates that the variant has local prestige and supports the notion of a possible change-in-progress.

In Chapter Six, I argued that local attitudes, styles and personae enrich the complex social meanings of uvular-*r*. The metalinguistic comments suggest that (r) does not directly index macro-social types such as young, locally-born or male. The metalinguistic comments made by participants in the <25 group show that they were more aware of uvular-*r* as a resource to index multiple social meanings, ranging from local group identities to individual personae. For instance, Lionel (in Chapter 6.4) associated uvular-*r* with the ‘never-mind’ attitude of young Scheme residents, and he stated that younger Houtiniquadorpers are using uvular-*r* while older residents do not. Age is thus metapragmatically salient. Furthermore, the younger speakers were also more aware that uvular-*r* is used particularly in Houtiniquadorp. They recognised uvular-*r* as a feature of their own way of speaking, and they have had experiences where other people commented on their use of uvular-*r*, especially when they visited family or friends who live elsewhere. Thus, uvular-*r* became visible to them because of their mobility.

7.4. Clusters of variation: *bryers*, *rollers* and *mixers*

I explained the cluster analysis methods in Chapter Five. I first used a hierarchical cluster analysis, which grouped the 72 participants into three clusters according to their (r) use (see Chapter 5.5). To determine the mean percentage (r) use and cluster membership for each cluster, I used a k-means cluster analysis, dividing the sample group into three clusters. Using the results from the cluster analyses, I re-inspected the total data set (i.e. each participant’s use of (r) during the conversational and description styles) for participants with variable (r) use. The k-means analysis and visual inspection identified outliers (individuals who are further from the cluster centres than others; see Chapter 5.5), and I divided the sample group into three groups: near-categorical users of either alveolar-*r* or uvular-*r*, and a group with variable use. Figure 7.9 shows the mean percentage (r) use of the participants in each cluster.

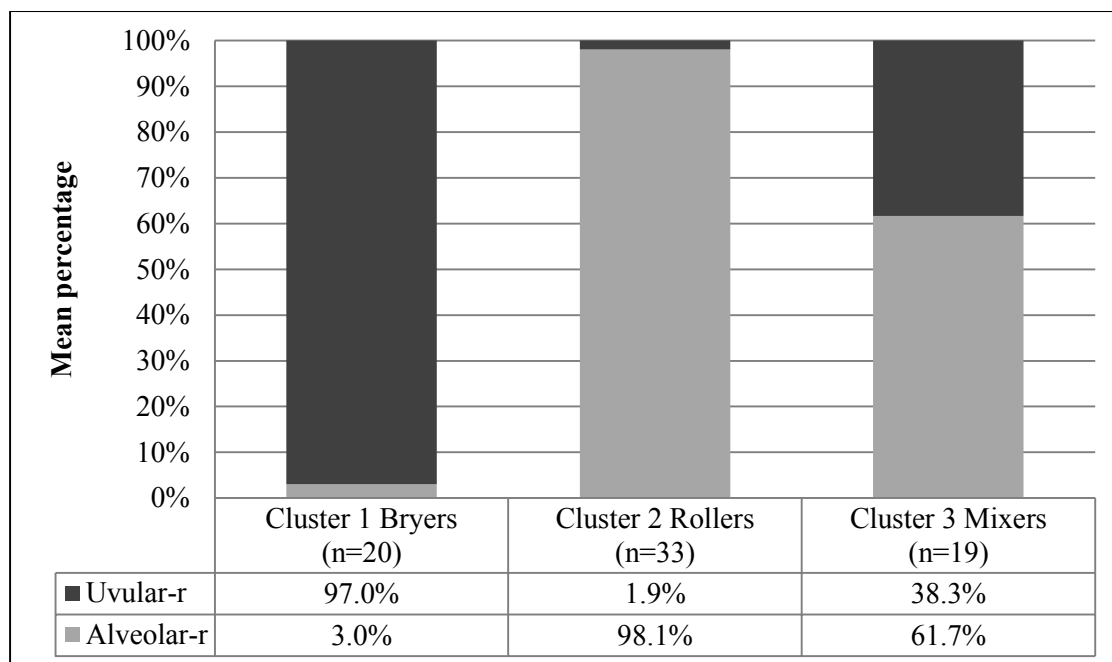


Figure 7.9. Mean percentage use of (r) for three clusters (group size in brackets)

Cluster 1 contains what I refer to as *bryers* (near-categorical users of uvular-*r*), Cluster 2 contains near-categorical users of alveolar-*r* (*rollers*), and Cluster 3 contains *mixers* with variable (r) use. The dominance of alveolar-*r* confirmed in Sections 7.2 and 7.3 is also reflected in the cluster results; there are more participants in the *rollers* group (n=33). Figure 7.9 shows the mean percentage (r) use for each group of speakers, and internal variation is therefore possible, ranging from higher to lower type of (r) use for each participant in each respective cluster. The cluster results show that the participants had variable (r) use that is not reflected by the statistical averages discussed in Section 7.3. Clearly there were participants who used one variant exclusively. Mixed use of both variants applies only to a certain group of participants. Looking at how participants were grouped into each cluster, patterns emerge that not only reflect the social dimensions discussed above, but also add insight into the individual participant's language behaviour. I proceed by exploring the percentage of *bryers*, *rollers*, and *mixers* according to each social variable, before I discuss the social composition of Cluster 3.

Figure 7.10 shows the percentage of *bryers*, *rollers*, and *mixers* in each neighbourhood.

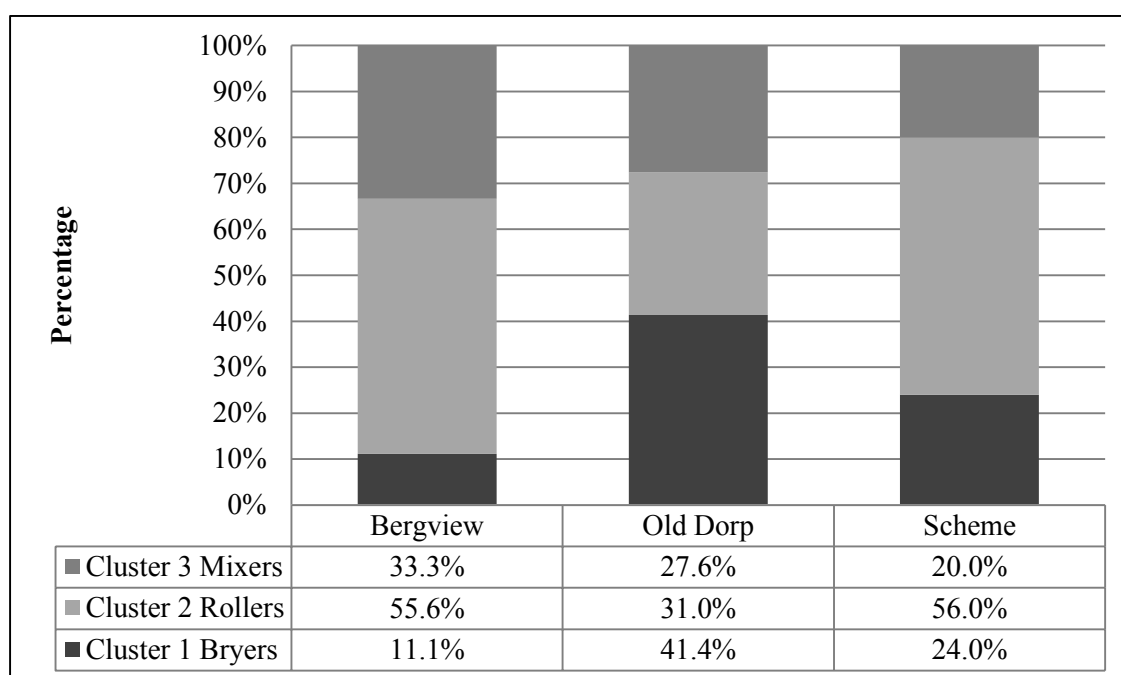


Figure 7.10. Neighbourhoods and cluster membership ($\chi^2=6.912$, $df=4$, $p=0.321$)

The Old Dorp neighbourhood has the highest percentage of *bryers* (Old Dorp factor weight for uvular-*r* is 0.879, see Table 7.1). Figure 7.10 indicates that participants from Old Dorp predominantly *bry* or have mixed use. Conversely, just under ninety percent of the Bergview participants near-categorically used alveolar-*r* or had mixed use. While the percentage of Scheme participants who near-categorically used alveolar-*r* is similar to Bergview residents, there were more participants who near-categorically used uvular-*r* in the Scheme. The Scheme also had the lowest number of participants who were *mixers*. The cluster analysis thus confirms the dominance of alveolar-*r* in Bergview and Scheme. However, these participants not only used alveolar-*r* more frequently than uvular-*r*; more than half of them *only* used alveolar-*r*.

Figure 7.11 shows cluster membership and RSS.

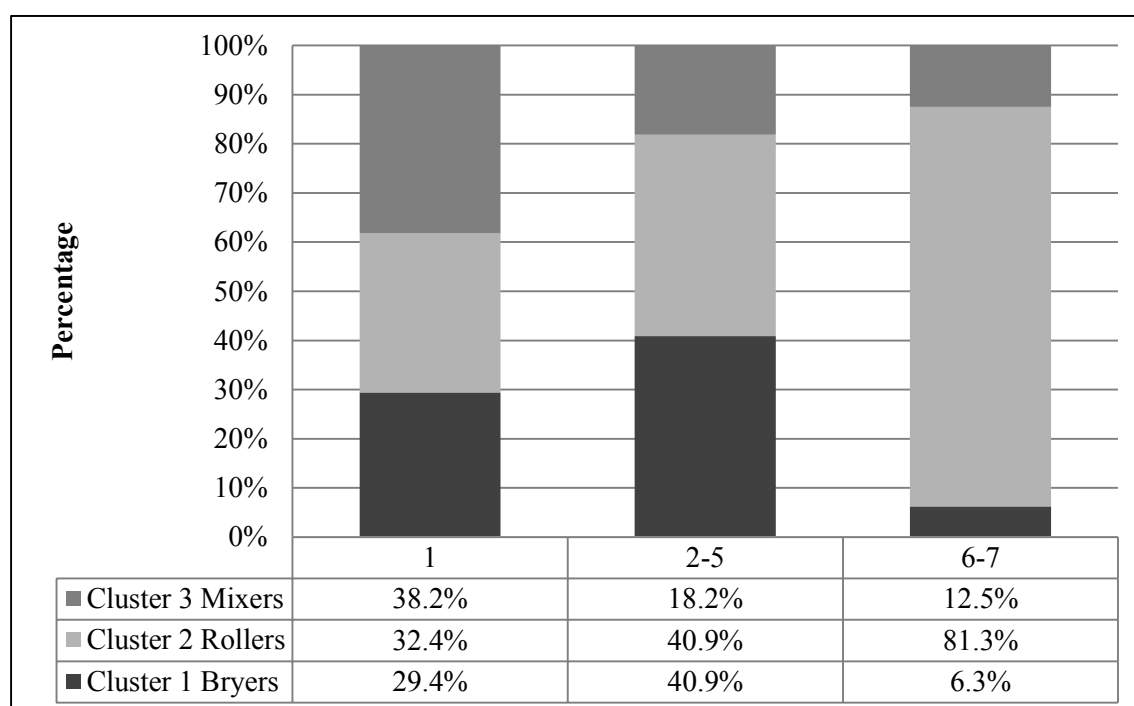


Figure 7.11. Residential status scores and cluster membership ($\chi^2=13.45$, $df=4$, $p=0.0402$)

The chi-square test gave a significant p-value for types of (r) users according to RSS.⁶⁷ The results from mixed effects models also found that RSS has a strong effect on use of uvular-*r* (see Tables 7.1 and 7.2). Participants who received an index score of 1 for RSS were predominantly from traditional *boorling* families (see Section 7.3). Most of these participants made variable use of both (r) variants. Thus, the ability to use both variants distinguishes *boorlinge*, more so than a near-categorical use of the local feature. Also of interest are the participants who received a RSS between 2 and 5. The majority of these participants either near-categorically used alveolar-*r* or uvular-*r*. As discussed, this group of participants were more geographically mobile. Use of uvular-*r* is therefore not only related to ancestral ties to the town, which is more important for older residents. A new, younger cohort of Houtiniquadorpers comprises participants who do not have the local social status of being a *boorling*. Thus, they can draw on uvular-*r* to index their status as established locals, as opposed to *inkommers*. Finally, the mixed use by participants with a 6-7 RSS supports the discussion in

⁶⁷ Note that for 6-7 RSS, there were only two participants in Cluster 3.

Section 7.3: *inkommers* who start to identify with being a Houtiniquadorper can adopt the local feature. Figure 7.12 shows how the age cohorts are divided according to the three clusters.

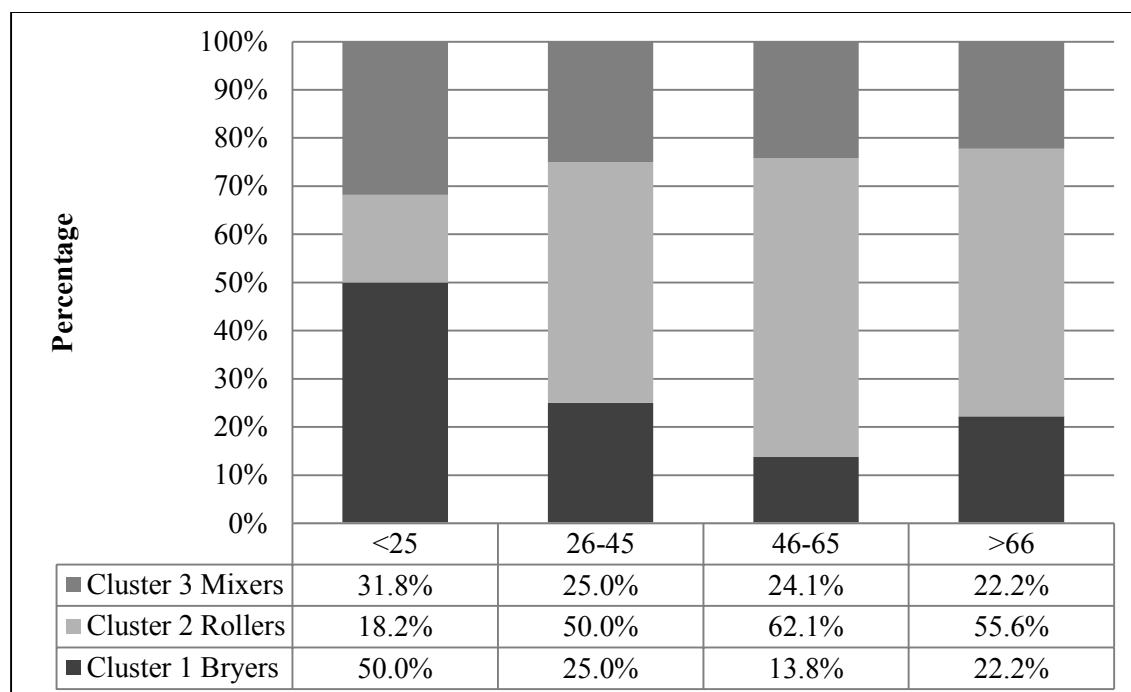


Figure 7.12. Age cohorts and cluster membership ($\chi^2=12.025$, $df=6$, $p=0.15657$)⁶⁸

Half of the participants younger than twenty-five near-categorically used uvular-*r*. This age cohort also had the highest number of *mixers*. With my discussion of (r) use according to age cohorts (Section 7.3), I considered Sankoff and Blondeau’s (2007:576) argument that a language-change-in-progress is indicated when especially younger speakers start to form part of ‘the pool of majority-users or categorical users of [R].’ Figure 7.12 shows that the number of *bryers* doubles from the 26-45 cohort to the <25 cohort. The <25 cohort’s parents will fall in the 46-65 cohort, which has the highest number of near-categorical alveolar-*r* users. Thus, it is not only the case that younger participants used uvular-*r* *more frequently* than their parents’ generation: the older generations are predominantly *rollers* and the younger generation has more *bryers*.

⁶⁸ Note that for the >66 cohort, there were only two participants in Cluster 3.

The clustering of (r) variation also shows gendered patterns, as seen in Figure 7.13. More men than women were *bryers*, and more than half of the women participants near-categorically used alveolar-*r*.

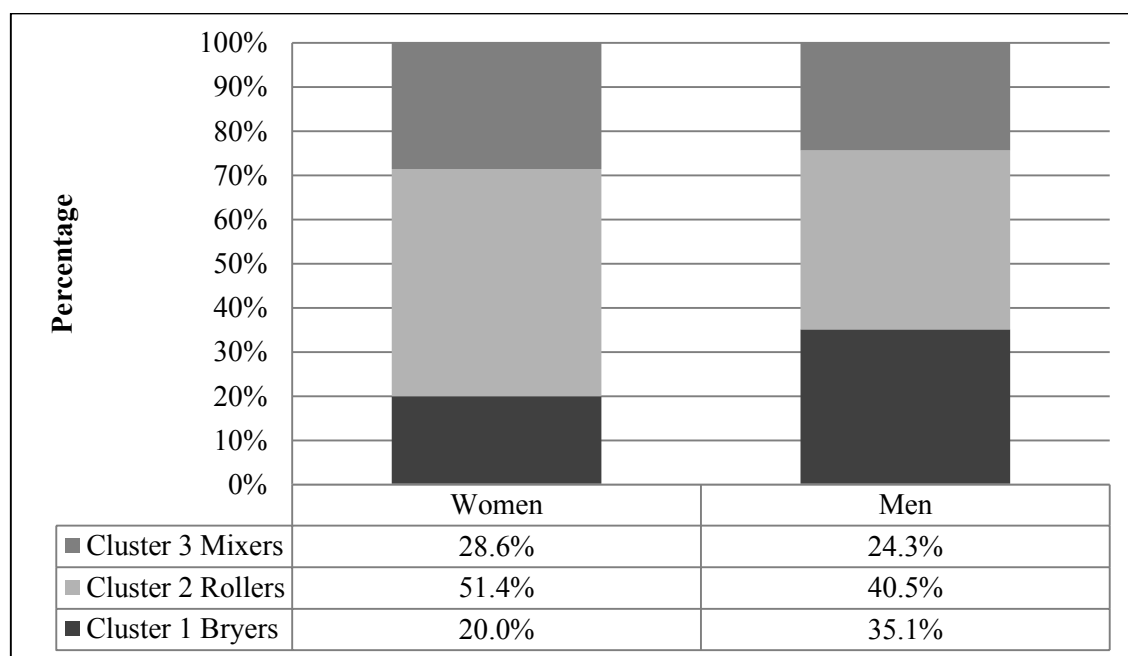


Figure 7.13. Genders and cluster membership ($\chi^2=2.071$, $df=2$, $p=0.532$)

Looking at the results discussed thus far, the following social groups have more *mixers*: Bergview residents; participants with a 1 RSS; participants in the <25 cohort; and women. Thus, it is not only a speaker's near-categorical use of a linguistic feature that can index social meaning: the ability to use both variants, and the practice of mixing, suggest that *mixers* can strategically draw on (r) variants in interaction to express social styles, stances and personae. I explore this further in Chapter Eight. The rest of this section focuses on the Cluster 3 *mixers*, because the near-categorical users of either (r) variant did not show intra-speaker variation during the interviews.

Cluster 3: *mixers* and intra-speaker variation

Although the results discussed in Section 7.2 show that speech styles do not have a statistically significant effect on (r) use, style shifting might be obscured by the large number of participants who near-categorically used either variant. Near-categorical speakers used one variant in both speech styles. Proponents of accommodation theory have argued for 'the socially constructive

potential of style-shifting’ (Coupland 2007:31). The main tenet of accommodation theory is that speakers can use different variants in different speech styles, because they ‘design’ their speech according to their perceived audiences (Bell 1984, 2001; Coupland 2007:54). In Chapter Five, I have argued that the interview should not only be viewed as a particular speech situation, but that the speech styles also involve a contextual focusing of speech behaviour where speakers have agency. Therefore, the specific speech events (conversing versus describing) are important, and due consideration should also be given to the relationship between the interviewer and participant. I argued that for some participants (e.g. Victorine and Elsie discussed in Chapter Six), the interview situation remains metapragmatically mainly formal, which presupposes the use of the standard variant, i.e. alveolar-*r*. Furthermore, because I categorically use alveolar-*r*, participants with both variants in their repertoire can accommodate to (i.e. use alveolar-*r*) or diverge from (i.e. use uvular-*r*) my speech through use of either variant.

The social characteristics of Cluster 3 (*mixers*) are summarised in Table 7.5.

<i>RSS</i>	
1 (n=13)	68.4%
2-5 (n=4)	21.1%
6-7 (n=2)	10.5%
<i>GENDER</i>	
Women (n=10)	52.6%
Men (n=9)	47.4%
<i>AGE</i>	
<25 (n=7)	36.8%
26-45 (n=3)	15.8%
46-65 (n=7)	36.8%
>66 (n=2)	10.5%
<i>NEIGHBOURHOOD</i>	
Bergview (n=6)	31.6%
Old Dorp (n=8)	42.1%
Scheme (n=5)	26.3%

Table 7.5. Distribution of the social variables in Cluster 3 *Mixers*

As with the total sample group, I used mixed effects regression models to explore whether social variables have a significant effect on uvular-*r* use for the 19 *mixers* (1,957 tokens; see Tables 7.6 and 7.7 below). Since there were not enough participants representing all the age cohorts and RSS groups (see Table 7.5), these two variables were excluded from the model. Focusing on *mixers* allows me to include Phonological Environment as an independent variable along with Gender, Neighbourhood, and Speech Style. Participants who near-categorically use either variant mask the effect of phonological environments, and I therefore did not include this variable for the analyses discussed in Section 7.2.

I first used Rbrul's step-up/step-down analysis for all the independent variables (i.e. fixed factor groups), with Speaker as random factor. The best result was computed for a model that includes Phonological Environment ($p=4.25e-06$) and Gender ($p=0.020826$). Similar to the results for the total sample group, Neighbourhood and Style were dropped from the model (see Appendix 7.4). To confirm whether the difference between the two models (one with all factor groups, and one without Neighbourhood and Style) is significant, I used a chi-square test in Rbrul, which compared the deviance values of the two models. A model without Neighbourhood and Style is not significantly different from a model with all the factor groups ($\chi^2=0.613$, $df=3$, $p=0.893$). I base my discussions below on the results of the full model shown in Table 7.6, as obtained from a one-level regression in Rbrul. Table 7.7 shows the GLMM results.

ONE-LEVEL ANALYSIS OF RESPONSE Alveolar-Uvular WITH PREDICTOR(S): Speaker [random, not tested] and PhonEnvironment (6.68e-06) + Gender (0.00522) + Style (0.356) + Neighbourhood (0.365) ⁶⁹			
	Log Odds	Tokens (1,957)	Centred Factor Weight
GENDER			
Male	0.646	952	0.656
Female	-0.646	1,005	0.344
<i>Range = 31.2</i>			
NEIGHBOURHOOD			
Dorp	0.261	798	0.565
Scheme	0.164	525	0.541
Bergview	-0.425	634	0.395
<i>Range = 17</i>			
STYLE			
Description	-0.051	883	0.487
Conversational	0.051	1,074	0.513
<i>Range = 2.6</i>			
PHONETIC ENVIRONMENT			
Final	0.402	652	0.599
Coda	0.040	273	0.51
Onset	-0.176	615	0.456
Initial	-0.266	417	0.434
<i>Range = 16.5</i>			
Table 7.6. <i>Mixers</i> (n=19) Rbrul results for the factors conditioning (r) use (uvular-<i>r</i> as application value)			

⁶⁹ The numbers in parentheses are the p-values associated with dropping each dependent variable from a full model with all of them (ordered from most to least significant).

Coefficients of a GLMM with random intercepts for individuals (variance 0.7611; standard deviation 0.8724; number of observations 1,957)				
Fixed effects	Estimate	Std. Error	z value	Pr(> z)
(Intercept)	-1.6613	0.4516	-3.679	0.000234 ***
GENDER				
Female				
Male	1.2918	0.4177	3.092	0.001986 **
NEIGHBOURHOOD				
Bergview				
Old Dorp	0.6863	0.4898	1.401	0.161159
Scheme	0.5889	0.5491	1.072	0.283535
STYLE				
Conversational				
Description	-0.1010	0.1092	-0.925	0.355098
PHONETIC ENVIRONMENT				
Coda				
Final	0.3626	0.1715	2.114	0.034513 *
Initial	-0.3053	0.1874	-1.629	0.103233
Onset	-0.2160	0.1752	-1.233	0.217634
Significant codes: 0 *** 0.001 ** 0.01 *				

Table 7.7. *Mixers* GLMM results for the factors conditioning (r) use (uvular-*r* as application value)

The Rbrul results show that Phonological Environment (final, 0.599; and coda, 0.51) and Gender (men, 0.656) have a significant effect on uvular-*r* use for *mixers*. As stated, with GLMM the odds are taken for the use of uvular-*r* (as application value), therefore, a positive estimated coefficient shows the likelihood for use of uvular-*r* and a negative value shows the likelihood for use of alveolar-*r*. Thus, the GLMM supports the Rbrul results: while there were more *mixer* women, *mixer* men were more likely than *mixer* women to use uvular-*r* (p=0.001986). Uvular-*r* was also used significantly more in final syllable positions (p=0.034513).

The *mixers* used alveolar-*r* more frequently in syllable initial and onset positions. Sankoff and Blondeau (2007) and Wiese (2011) argue that cross-linguistically, the predominant trajectory of change is from alveolar-*r* to uvular-*r*. These changes often follow

phonotactic patterns, where uvular-*r* starts to replace alveolar-*r* in syllable codas, before affecting syllable onset positions. Therefore, the change proceeds as follows: alveolar-*r* in all environments > uvular-*r* replaces alveolar-*r* in codas > uvular-*r* replaces alveolar-*r* in onsets and codas.

Wiese (2011) proposes that the variable use of (r) according to different phonological environments can be correlated to changes in the type of /r/ used by one generation of speakers to the next. For example, generation X uses alveolar-*r* in all environments, but a younger generation Y uses alveolar-*r* in onsets and uvular-*r* in codas, etc. Wiese (2011) investigates variation and change in German (r), where uvular-*r* is the standard, and finds that in a situation of change-in-progress from alveolar-*r* to uvular-*r*, the change starts in post-vocalic coda environments. In these positions, uvular-*r* replaced alveolar-*r* in two-thirds of the tokens, while the rate of change is one-third for onset and initial environments (Wiese 2011:719). He concludes that post-vocalic rhotics in the coda position ‘seem to be subject to more variation than rhotics in onset positions’ (ibid.) Therefore, a change in the type of (r) used by speakers is likely to start in final and coda positions, before spreading to the other environments.

With Afrikaans, De Villiers and Ponelis (1987:116) remark that because of uvular-*r*’s stigmatised status, *bry* speakers exhibit a pattern of change from uvular-*r* to alveolar-*r* that starts with alveolar-*r* replacing uvular-*r* in word- or syllable-onsets (*‘anlaut’*), while retaining uvular-*r* in word- or syllable-codas (*‘auslaut’*; see Chapter Four). Given the lower use of uvular-*r* by the older speakers in Houtiniquadorp, the trajectory of a possible change in progress is from alveolar-*r* to uvular-*r*. Thus, the *mixers*’ results indicate that if change is underway, alveolar-*r* is retained in onset and initial environments and is gradually replaced in codas (i.e. similar to the German case). However, in their study of (r) variation in change in Montreal French, Sankoff and Blondeau (2008) find that the phonological environment did not condition the use of either variant for their variable speakers (i.e. *mixers*). Similarly, the Rbrul results show that the factor weights for the phonological environments are close to the mid-line value of 0.5, which indicates that the conditioning effect is not strong.

Finally, Speech Style was not statistically significant for the *mixers*’ use of (r), because almost half of the *mixers* used uvular-*r* more frequently during the description style, and the others used uvular-*r* more frequently during conversational style, which balances each other out. I.e. during the careful speech elicited with the picture descriptions, ten of the *mixers* increased their use of alveolar-*r*, which supports arguments for avoidance of a stigmatised

variant. However, nine *mixers* increased their use of uvular-*r* during the descriptions. This behaviour perhaps reflects the ambivalence towards uvular-*r* as a non-standard variant extra-locally, but with local prestige (see Chapters Four and Six). Furthermore, if one adopts the view that during this speech activity participants were ‘paying more attention’ to their speech behaviour – a position which I took, see Chapter Five – then this finding should raise questions. I propose that during conversational speech, participants’ use of (r) is influenced by both the interview-as-speech-situation, as well as other contextual factors. Mainly, during the description style, the participants were not directly interacting with me in conversation, but focused on the task at hand. If they were minimising their use of uvular-*r* during conversation to accommodate their speech to me, one can argue that their uvular-*r* “returned” when they were not directly engaging me, but instead focused on the task. In Chapter Six, I already discussed a participant who is an example of this behaviour, namely Elsie (aged 40). Although she discussed uvular-*r* as a local sounding feature that indexes belonging and especially recognised uvular-*r* as a feature of her own speech, her use of the variant was 8% during the conversational speech style. However, during the picture description task, her use of uvular-*r* increased to 16%. A counter-example is a participant called Andrew (aged 24), who referred to uvular-*r* as a slang feature – he used uvular-*r* 79% during conversational style, but 37% with the picture descriptions. This indicates that the notion of speech styles are complicated by interactional, situational factors such as topic, interlocutors and audience and supports the notion of an indexical field of Afrikaans (r) shaped by ideologies and interactional personae. In Chapter Eight, I focus on individuals as *bryers*, *rollers* and *mixers* and consider how (r) variation plays out in identity construction and interaction.

7.5. The indexical fields of Afrikaans /r/ and uvular-*r*

I make use of Eckert’s (2008) notion of the indexical field to discuss the multiple indexicalities of (r). Eckert (2008:454) argues that variation should be viewed as an ‘indexical system’, which ‘embeds ideology in language and that is in turn part and parcel of the construction of ideology.’ Viewing variation as an indexical system means that social meanings are not fixed: there are multiple, but related, meanings that change and shift as speakers make ideological moves in the indexical field. The indexical field can thus be described as a heuristic device for exploring the ‘constellation of ideologically related meanings’ of a linguistic form (Eckert *ibid.*; see Chapter 2.4). Figure 7.14 illustrates the indexical field of Afrikaans /r/, where the grey boxes show the meanings of uvular-*r*, and the white wedges in the centre capture the

meanings of alveolar-*r*. I base this indexical field on the data I discussed in Chapter Four (Facebook comments) and Chapter Six (Houtiniquadorpers' metalinguistic comments).

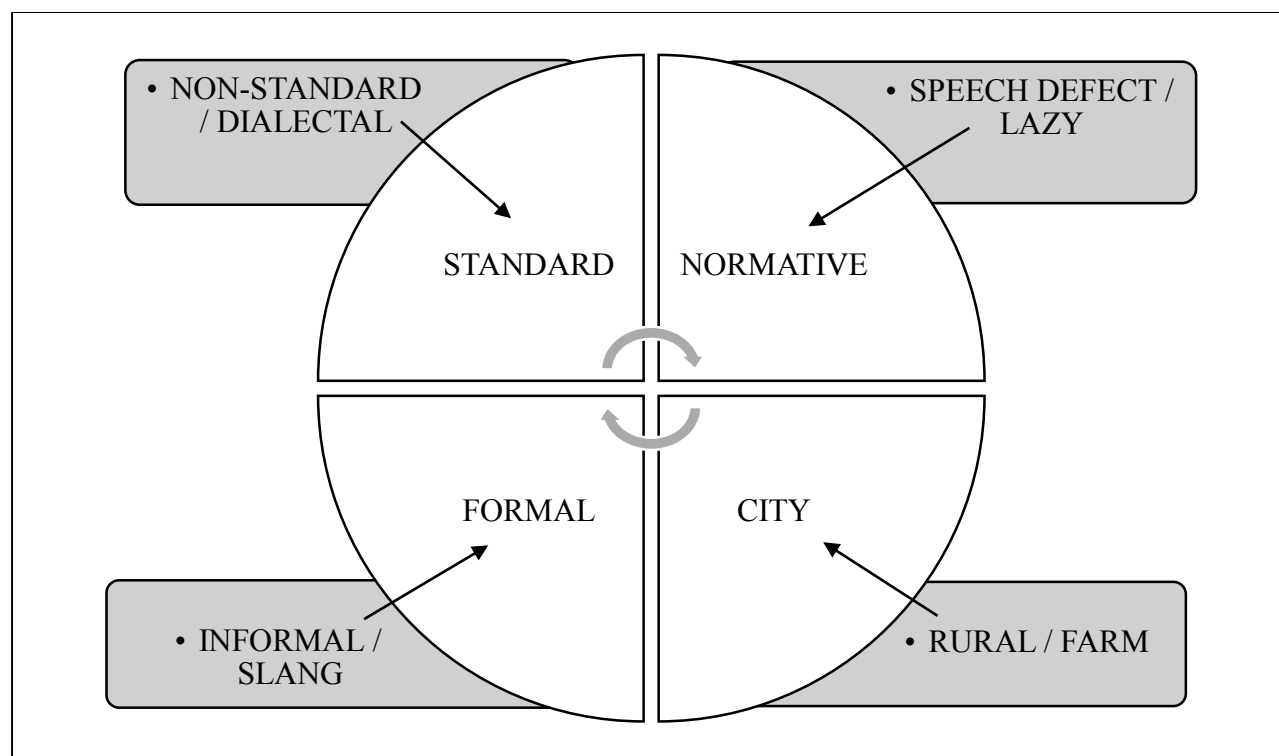


Figure 7.14. A general indexical field of Afrikaans /r/ with alveolar-*r* in white wedges and uvular-*r* in grey boxes

These pairs do not work in lockstep and are abstractions of the multiple social meanings contained in what it means, for example, to be ‘from the city’ or speaking ‘formal’. As I argued in Chapter Four, while speakers articulate negative associations between uvular-*r*, laziness and/or a speech defect, there are also positive evaluations about the sound being rural and therefore local and authentic. Speakers’ evaluations can be influenced, for example, by the content and context of specific utterances, and the existing ideologies about types of speakers (Campbell-Kibler 2007b). Therefore, uvular-*r* in the context of a discussion about the Swartland region is evaluated as positive, but uvular-*r* can emerge as negative in the context of schools or cities.

Based on the patterns of (r) use according to the macro-social categories discussed in this chapter, the occurrence of uvular-*r* is correlated to the following social types: YOUNG,

MEN, OLD DORP, and ESTABLISHED LOCALS (RSS 1 and 2-5). I use a Venn diagram in Figure 7.15 to illustrate this pattern.

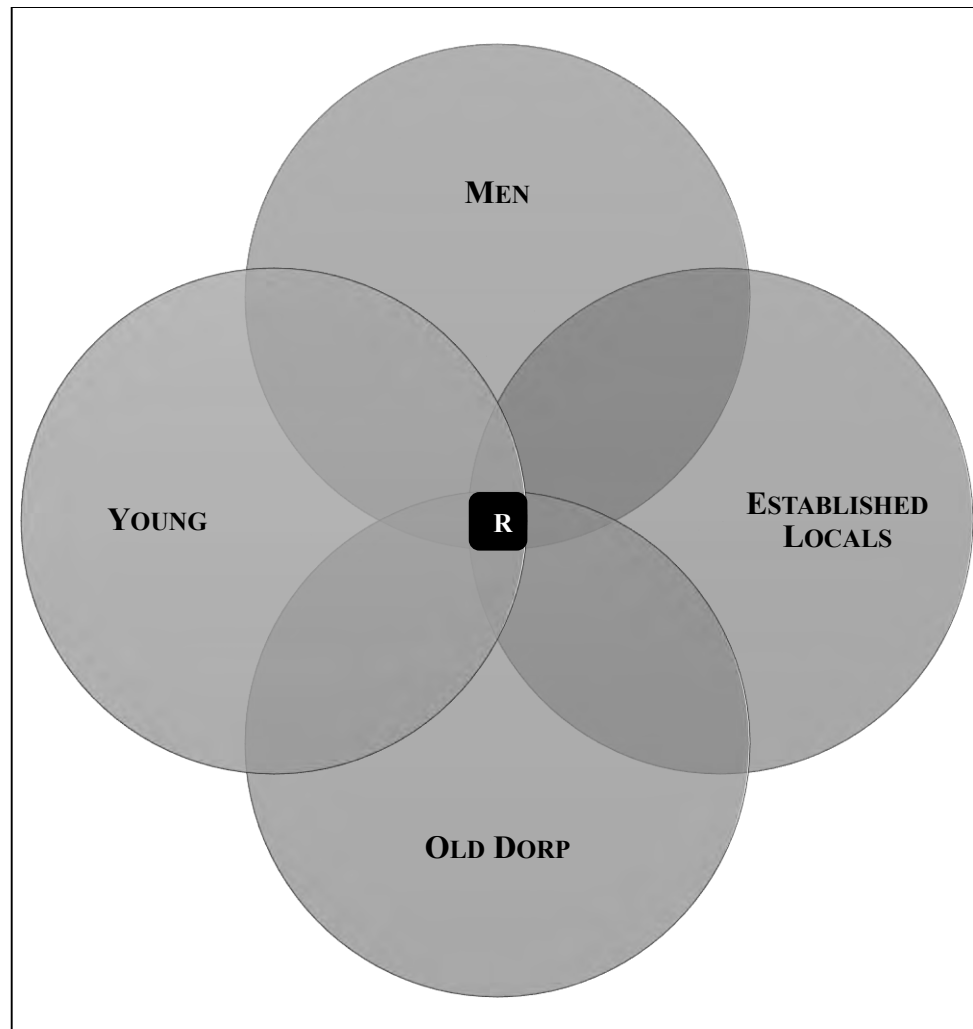


Figure 7.15. Venn diagram illustrating the focal point of uvular-*r*

Using circles to represent each social category, this diagram shows how they overlap in terms of use of uvular-*r*. Figure 7.15 *does not explain* the social meanings of uvular-*r*, but indicates what kind of social types it can potentially index through contextual associations. Thus, the indexical field I construe of uvular-*r* in Houtiniquadorp (see Figure 7.16) focuses on the social meanings that were observed in the metalinguistic comments (qualitative data), as well as in the correlations of the variant according to social categories (quantitative data). The indexical field points to the multiple and intersecting axes of social differentiation.

The research question I posed at the outset of this study can now be re-considered: what are the possible social meanings of (r) – and specifically, uvular-*r* – in Houtiniquadorp? Figure 7.16 illustrates an indexical field containing the potential social meanings of uvular-*r* in Houtiniquadorp, as extrapolated from the data discussed thus far.

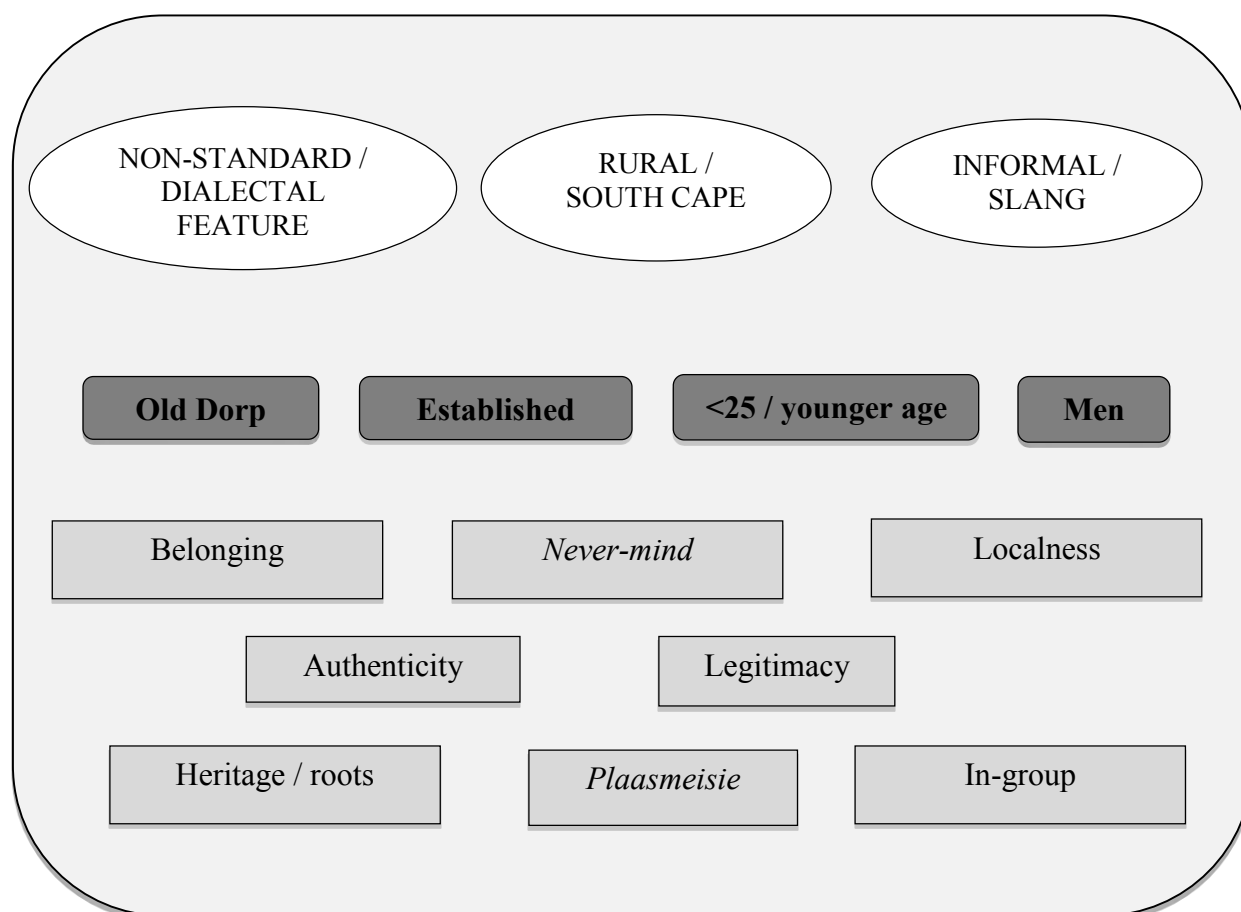


Figure 7.16. The indexical field of uvular-*r* in Houtiniquadorp

The indexical field encompasses three facets, visualised in different shades of white and grey. Firstly, the white oval shapes capture the general ideologies speakers have about uvular-*r* (taken from Figure 7.14). These do not directly interact with the second facet, the macro-social categories in the dark grey boxes, which represent the four main correlations that were found to exist between uvular-*r* and the social variables (i.e. the social types; see Figure 7.15). These dark grey boxes, representing the quantitative patterns, indicate statistical probabilities of use: a Houtiniquadorper who is young, male, born in the region, and from Old Dorp will use uvular-*r* more frequently than a speaker in any other category. The third facet,

often overlooked in variationist research, is the local styles and personae linked to ideologies of locality and belonging (shown in the light-grey boxes). I have discussed some of these, such as *plaasmeisie*, *never-mind*, and ‘heritage / roots’, in Chapter Six. The other meanings I observed in my analyses of the participants’ opinions, beliefs and attitudes about what it means to be from the Old Dorp, or a traditional *boorling*, or a man, or young. The micro-contextual social meanings of uvular-*r* actually reside in the local styles and personae, which speakers can draw on to situate themselves and project (or perform) identities in interaction.

7.6. Conclusion

This chapter presented a traditional variationist analysis and explored the patterns of production of (r) variants according to macro-social categories. The findings indicate the indexical potential of the (r) variable related to age cohorts, gender, residential statuses (as established locals, *boorlinge* or *inkommers*, and mobility), and neighbourhoods (as proxies for socioeconomic status). My emphasis on ‘potentiality’ is driven by the fact that even though correlation patterns entail a hypothesis of likelihood,⁷⁰ taken in the broader social context of Houtiniquadorp, the *potential* for social meaning related to, for instance, age or gender, is present, without all Houtiniquadorpers necessarily making that link (i.e. first-order indexicals or indicators; see Chapter Two). As the previous chapter shows, (r) in Houtiniquadorp indexes multiple social meanings. The correlations discussed in this chapter do not tell us why uvular-*r* is socially meaningful in the first place, or why certain groups of speakers use it more than others do (see Coupland 2007, Eckert 2008, and Johnstone 2013).

The frequency patterns and statistics show that uvular-*r* is connected to the Old Dorp neighbourhood. I argue that (r) use does not directly index socioeconomic status on a macro-level, but rather constructs the persona of being a traditional *boorling*. This is supported by the intersection between Old Dorp and RSS 1 (see Section 7.3). I investigated the RSS as a variable of local social status and mobility, and the results indicate that uvular-*r* is a regional feature used by *boorlinge* (RSS 1) and established locals (RSS 2-5). However, I also argued that the results for neighbourhoods as proxies for socioeconomic status show that RSS 1 *boorlinge* who live in Bergview use alveolar-*r* more frequently, creating a distinction between localness and upward social mobility. Therefore, indexing locality and belonging does not only involve the use of a linguistic form such as uvular-*r*; participants drew more strongly on circulating

⁷⁰ E.g. if it is statistically significant that a variant’s use correlates with a specific macro-social group, it is likely that more members of the predefined group would use said variant.

discourses that are underpinned by ideologies. As discussed in Chapter Three, *boorling* and *inkommer* are not bounded, fixed entities. Rather, the various ways of being a *boorling* or *inkommer* interact with ideologies about being an authentic and legitimate Houtiniquadorper. Therefore, individuals' lived experiences in relation to locality and belonging are not only *reflected* in their use of (r); they can potentially draw on the variable to position themselves as endocentric (i.e. orientated to the local) or exocentric (orientated to the supra-local; see Schilling-Estes 2002:79, Schilling-Estes and Wolfram 1999:510).

When I discussed the effect of gender on (r) use, I argued that while men used uvular-*r* more frequently than women did, the linguistic form does not necessarily index masculinity. This became apparent when I considered smaller groups of gender according to age, where women under twenty-five were found using a linguistic form that their mothers and grandmothers avoided almost categorically. Social and geographic mobility contribute to increased awareness of the association between different social groups and different ways of speaking (see Britain 2011 who argues that mobilities are socially differentiated). In Houtiniquadorp, some young people have started to associate uvular-*r* with a *Houtiniquadorp way of speaking*. As proposed by Johnstone, Andrus and Danielson (2006:82-83), relationships between linguistic forms and social categories are often not noticed by 'socially non-mobile speakers in dense, multiplex social networks'. The results indicate that social mobility should be considered alongside geographic mobility.

In Section 7.4, I divided the sample group according to clusters of (r) use: *bryers* (near-categorical use of uvular-*r*), *rollers* (near-categorical use of alveolar-*r*), and *mixers* (use of both variants). Investigating the sample group according to near-categorical and mixed use offered additional interpretations of variation in (r), indicating the benefit of focusing on individuals together with statistical averages. The cluster analyses especially showed that the ability to use *both* variants might be just as meaningful as the categorical use of either (r) variant. I specifically focused on the *mixers* to investigate intra-speaker variation. While speech styles were not significant for the variant use of (r) by the *mixers*, I raise the following question: do *mixers* use uvular-*r* randomly, or do they employ context-dependent sociolinguistic strategies to make meaningful interactional moves within each speech style? To explore this question, I focus more on individuals in interaction in Chapter Eight.

Finally, I drew together the qualitative and quantitative findings and proposed an indexical field of uvular-*r* in Houtiniquadorp. I argued that this indexical field encompasses

three facets: firstly, the general ideologies that Afrikaans-speakers have about uvular-*r*; secondly, correlations between uvular-*r* and social variables, which represent different social types; and thirdly, the social meanings of uvular-*r* as local styles and personae linked to discursively articulated ideologies of locality and belonging in Houtiniquadorp. The notion of the indexical field captures these ideologically constructed levels, where different levels of social meaning are indexically related to linguistic forms.

Chapter 8 Variation, indexicality and individuals: from patterns of frequency towards moments of meaning

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8.1. Introduction

In Chapter Seven, I described the distribution patterns of the (r) variable according to macro-social categories. I showed that frequent use of uvular-*r* is associated with younger participants, men, Old Dorp residents, and established locals. Furthermore, the cluster analyses showed that mixed use of *both* variants might be just as meaningful as the categorical use of either (r) variant. In this chapter, I continue the argument that (r) variation does not index macro-social categories only. Variation is ‘a key resource whereby individuals shape and reshape personal identities, interpersonal interactions, group memberships, social orders, and ways of thinking (i.e. attitudes, ideologies)’ (Schilling 2013:327). This perspective is associated with the agentive turn in sociolinguistics (see Coupland 2007; Eckert 2012). To investigate an individual’s use of variation in interaction one needs to consider intra-speaker variation, where ‘variants are used in a non-aggregate sense, in unfolding discourse’, which is where speakers portray ‘individual styles, situational styles (e.g. registers), and group styles (e.g. dialects)’ (Schilling *ibid.*; also see Johnstone 1996).

Following Sapir’s argument for the recognition of the individual in language and culture, Johnstone (1996:16) argues that focusing on individuals can benefit studies of linguistic variation: although people’s language use shows patterns according to macro-social categories, linguistic variation forms part of the strategies and resources they draw on to portray their particular, individual self (Johnstone 1996:4). Johnstone (1996:ix, 14-15) states that ‘individual variation thus has psychological roots,’ and she refers to Labov (1979), who proposed that individual psychological differences can result in speakers deviating from the aggregate patterns of variation in two ways. Firstly, some speakers may have a higher frequency use of a variant than the statistical mean, and some may have a lower frequency of use. In both cases, such speakers are referred to as outliers. In this chapter, I will look at such individuals’ ways of speaking during the interviews, following Johnstone’s (1996:58) argument that people use linguistic variation differently during interactions and narratives, ‘because they are creating different selves in discourse’ (also see Schilling 2013:327).

Focusing on individuals and intra-speaker variation, I discuss members of *boorling* families in this chapter. In Section 8.2, I describe a *boorling* family called the Allermans. I show how members of this family fall into the three clusters of (r) use established in Chapter Seven, which sets the scene for the investigation of individual patterns of variation in the remainder of the chapter. The linguistic behaviour of three members of the Allerman family

forms the focus of Sections 8.3 and 8.4. The information about the local status of *boorling* families is also applicable to another participant I discuss in Section 8.4.

In Section 8.3, I discuss two Allerman brothers: one who categorically use alveolar-*r*, and the other uvular-*r*, and explore how their ways of speaking relate to their notions of locality and belonging in the context of ambitious individuality (i.e. exocentric, socially mobile orientation towards the supra-local) compared to traditional kinship (i.e. endocentric, *boorling* orientation towards the local).

To explore how variation in (r) plays out in interaction, Section 8.4 focuses on two participants who were *mixers*. I firstly look at Lionel, an Allerman family member, and consider his mixed use of (r) variants in the context of an interaction during the interview. Secondly, I focus on Hope, who is also from a traditional *boorling* family. In my analysis of her interview, I look at the (r) variable's role in indexing emotional significance or affect during different topics.

8.2. 'What is a (sur)name?' *Bryers, rollers and mixers in a boorling family*

Hazen (2002) discusses several studies that focus on the effect of the family on linguistic variation. These studies focus on language transmission and second dialect acquisition among children and adolescents who are members of geographically mobile families. For the purposes here, I follow Hazen's (2002:503) claim that language transmission in the family *does not only* involve child language acquisition. Other forms of social relations associated with families can be considered if we wish to understand linguistic variation within a family as a social unit. For instance, 'accommodation between parents; accommodation between extended family; different cultural constructions of family; influences, both accommodating and distancing, between siblings' (Hazen 2002:503). The local beliefs and individual experiences of being part of a locally recognised *boorling* family are important for my analysis of individuals.

As discussed in Chapter Three, *boorlinge* from prominent families have higher local social status. During the interviews, participants frequently mentioned *boorling* family surnames when discussing "authentic" Houtiniquadorpers. For example, when talking about how Houtiniquadorp's population has grown, Fred (aged 51) lists ten surnames of families that formed the core of Houtiniquadorp in the past:

1)

*Houtiniquadorp het nie die klomp inwoners gehad nie,
ek kan vir jou gaan pin point,
watter families in Houtiniquadorp gebly het.*

*Die mees, bekenste families
is die Allermanse,
uh, die Allermanse*

*die Fortuins
die Novembers*

die, Meyers

die Mullers,

die Rhodes,

die Klaasens,

die Stoffels ja,

Arriese het ons,

Abrahamse.

...

Jy kon duidelik,

ek wil amper,

as ek die woord mag gebruik,

jy kon einlik ruik en sien,

wie is hier /geboor/, /geboë/,⁷¹

gebore en getoë Houtiniquadorpers.

Houtiniquadorp didn't have this many residents,

I can go pin point for you,

which families stayed in Houtiniquadorp.

The most, most well-known families
are the Allermans,

uh, the Allermans

the Fortuins

the Novembers

the, Meyers

the Mullers,

the Rhodes,

the Klaasens,

the Stoffels yes,

Arries we have,

Abrahams.

...

You could clearly,

I almost want to,

if I may use the word,

you could actually smell and see,

who is /born/, /born/ here,

born and bred Houtiniquadorpers.

Fred is a member of two of the families he listed here (both on his grandmother and grandfather's side), and his father-in-law was an Allerman. Other *boorlinge* also referred to the Allerman family as one of the core traditional *boorling* families *wat die karakter in Houtiniquadorp gegee het* ('who gave the character to Houtiniquadorp'; Dan, aged 52). Benji (aged 49) talked about his Allerman family, and in Excerpt 2, he expressed his family pride:

⁷¹ Fred's slip of the tongue, *geboë*, is a blend of *gebore* ('born') and *getoë* ('bred').

2)

Benji:	<i>Hulle was einlik Houtiniquadorp, die Allermanse was gewees ...</i>	They were actually Houtiniquadorp, the Allermans have been ...
Yolandi:	<i>... Is dit die boorlinge?</i>	... Is it the <i>boorlinge</i> ?
Benji:	<i>Dis boorlinge van Houtiniquadorp. ... Hulle het basies Houtiniquadorp gestig, al die mense het opgekyk na hulle. Dit was die ouens wat die landerye gehad het, dit was die ouens wat die vervoermaatskappy gehad het, dit was die ouens wat alles gedoen het in Houtiniquadorp.</i>	It's <i>boorlinge</i> of Houtiniquadorp. ... They have basically established Houtiniquadorp, all the people looked up to them. It was the guys who had fields, it was the guys that had the transport company, those were the guys who did everything in Houtiniquadorp.

For Benji, the Allermans are a metonym for Houtiniquadorp; i.e. the Allermans *are* Houtiniquadorp. Furthermore, he made exclusive reference to masculine practices (farm ownership, transportation ownership) and his male relatives on his mother's side, calling them *die ouens* ('the guys'), which indexes camaraderie. The local social status of *boorling*-ness voiced by Benji here thus has a strongly masculine profile, where men are portrayed as the foundational members of Houtiniquadorp: *die ouens wat alles gedoen het* ('the guys who did everything'). The Allermans depicted their male family members consistently as having played a major role in the development of Houtiniquadorp, especially on the moral, developmental and political leadership fronts. Apart from being land tenants and commercial farmers, they served in the Congregational Church (the former mission church) as deacons and elders. The prominence of the Allermans is not only due to their farming background: they were also actively involved in the Village Management Board (HVMB; see Chapter 3.3), which ran the town's affairs before it was amalgamated into the George municipality. Their access to farming land and the family's farming activities ceased when Benji's grandfather and uncles lost their commonage rights; the apartheid authorities appropriated the land for low-cost housing (circa nineteen-seventies). Furthermore, as shown in Chapter Seven, there were correlations between male *boorlinge* and uvular-*r*, and female *boorlinge* and alveolar-*r*, which indicate that the distinct gender roles were also indexed linguistically.

Based on the participants' descriptions, I constructed a truncated family tree of the Allermans, that is, it shows only the members I have interviewed. In Figure 8.1, I include each family member's mean percentage use of uvular-*r* (their ages are in brackets).

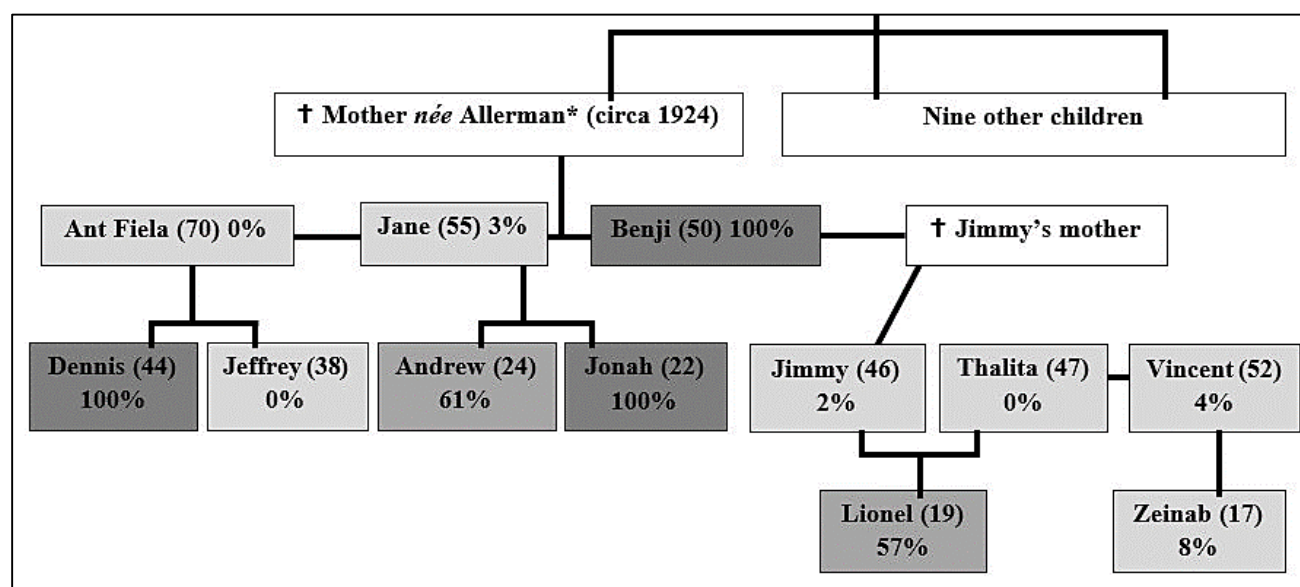


Figure 8.1. Family tree of the interviewed Allermans (shades of grey indicate rate of uvular-*r*)

None of these participants have the Allerman surname, because their mother (or grand/great-grandmother, marked with an asterisk in Figure 8.1) took her husband's surname, Fredericks. He came from Willowmore, and was thus an *inkommer*.⁷² However, since *boorling* surnames have symbolic status in Houtiniquadorp, all of them continue to refer to themselves as Allermans. Foregrounding the Allerman surname is a form of semiotic erasure, whereby the Allermans attend 'to one dimension of distinctiveness' by ignoring another (Irvine 2001:33-34). They use the surname to index their belonging to Houtiniquadorp.

I asked Benji's sister, Jane (aged 55), about her grandfather's surname when we spoke about her uncle and grandfather (who were Houtiniquadorp farmers):

⁷² Willowmore is 148 kilometres north-east of Houtiniquadorp.

3)

Yolandi:	<i>Wat was sy van?</i>	What was his surname?
Jane:	<i>Hy was 'n Allerman.</i>	He was an Allerman.
Yolandi:	<i>Was hy 'n Allerman, ek het al baie gehoor van die Allermans?</i>	Was he an Allerman, I have already heard a lot about the Allermans?
Jane:	<i>Ek is 'n Allerman, my ma was 'n Allerman. Dis my ma die</i>	I am an Allerman, my mother was an Allerman. This is my mother this

[Jane shows me a photograph of a large family gathering and points out her mother⁷³]
... My ma is 'n Houtiniquadorper, gebore, getoë, hier. ... My mother is a Houtiniquadorper,
 born, bred, here.

When talking about her mother, Jane uses the idiom *gebore en getoë* ('born and bred', also see Fred above). *Gebore en getoë* is an expression of a place identity, a social construct that involves not only nativity, but also social practices, stratification systems (i.e. insider-outsider power relations), and interactional relations (similarity/difference, genuineness/artifice and authority/delegitimacy; see Bucholtz and Hall 2005). Being known or identifiable as an authentic Houtiniquadorper is important to many of the older *boorlinge*. As argued in Chapter Three, developments and changes in the town, such as the increase of *inkommers* and the town's amalgamation with George, contributed to changes in local social dynamics and power relations, which reinforced traditional *boorlinge*'s recruitment of family surnames as epithets of authenticity and belonging.

The Allerman family members interact regularly and are actively involved in each other's lives. Ant Fiela, Jane and Benji are siblings, and although Benji is Jimmy's uncle in terms of kinship, the age gap between the two men is small, and they grew up as close friends. During their childhood, their families lived next door to each other. The Allerman family shown in Figure 8.1 also includes three members who are related to the family through marriage. They are Jimmy's wife Thalita, her brother Vincent, and Vincent's daughter Zeinab. In terms of kinship, Jane is Jimmy's aunt. On another level, they are also in-laws: before her divorce, Jane was married to Thalita and Vincent's brother. These double-relations also affect

⁷³ This photograph was also shown to me by Jane's sister, Ant Fiela, and one of Jane's aunts.

Jane's sons, Andrew and Jono: they are cousins of Jimmy on the Allerman side (via their mother), but on their father's side, Jimmy is their uncle and Lionel is their cousin. Andrew explained his family structure, situating his father and mother's families genetically (via surnames) and geographically (via places): the Bassons, his father's family, are originally from Worcester, and the Fredericks are from Willowmore (where his grandfather is from).⁷⁴ However, like his mother Jane, he foregrounds his *boorling* heritage by linking his mother's maiden name, Fredericks, to the Allermans: *en die Frederickse is die Allermans* ('and the Fredericks are the Allermans').

Use of (r) by individuals in the family

In Chapter Seven, I argued that the participants can be divided into three clusters: *bryers*, *rollers*, and *mixers*. The family members' (r) use also puts them into these clusters. Figure 8.2 shows the family members' use of uvular-*r* according to speech styles.

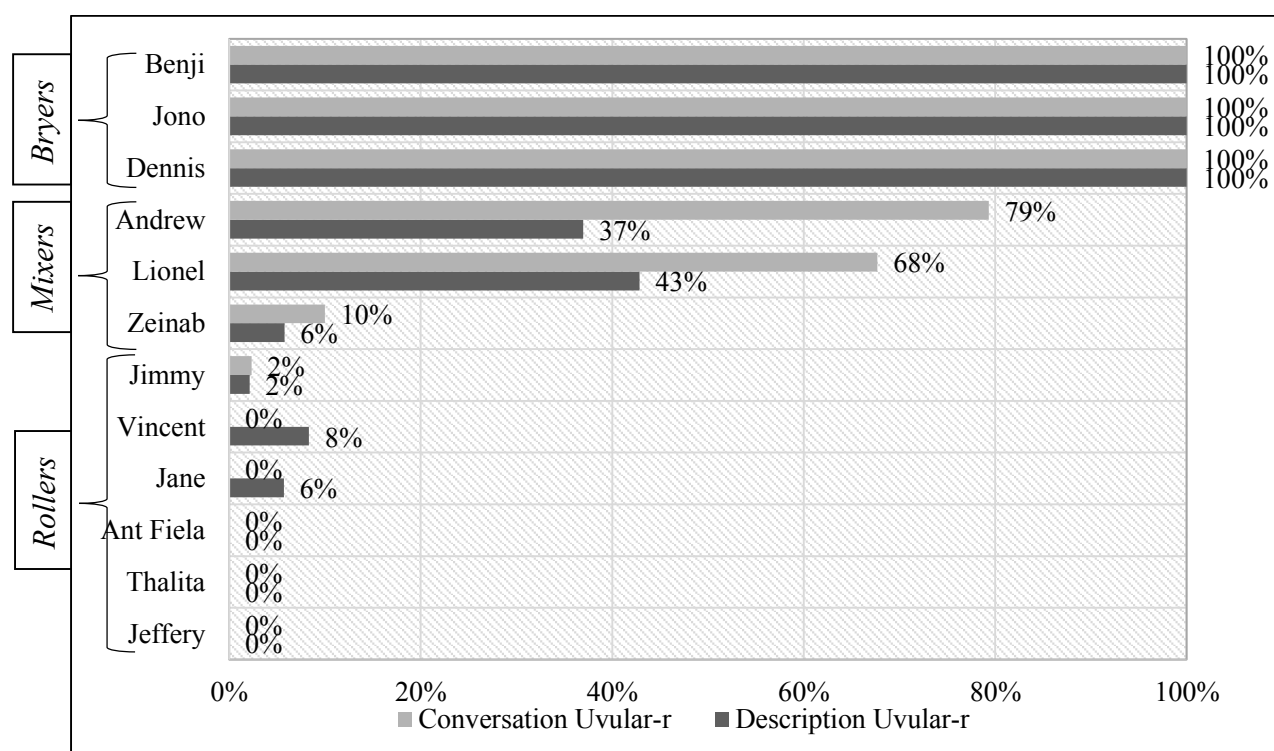


Figure 8.2. The Allerman family's mean percentage use of uvular-*r* for conversational and description speech styles

⁷⁴ Worcester is 120 kilometres north-west of Cape Town. Like Allerman, 'Basson' and 'Frederick' are pseudonyms.

Three male Allermans used uvular-*r* categorically (Jono, Dennis and Benji; *bryers*). Seven of the family members are *rollers*; this includes all the women. Vincent's low use of uvular-*r* can perhaps be explained with his childhood background and outsider status: he did not grow up in Houtiniquadorp and according to him he has very few local friends. Furthermore, his devotion to Islam in a predominantly Christian town contributes to his sense of disassociation – he converted to Islam when he married Zeinab's mother. On the other hand, Jimmy and Jeffery are outliers; their (r) use differs from the other *boorling* men, even though both are born and bred Houtiniquadorpers.

As discussed in Chapter Seven, uvular-*r* tends to be associated with traditional *boorlinge* (RSS 1), especially the men. The discussion thus far has depicted some members of the Allerman family as strongly orientated to a traditional *boorling* persona. However, I have also argued that the social meaning of uvular-*r* does not derive from direct indexical relations between social categories. Instead, meanings are mediated and constituted through ideologies and during interactions. For example, Benji and Jimmy's childhood memories of Houtiniquadorp were intertwined, and they were congruent in the stances they took when it comes to their valorisation of their forefathers and the ideologies they expressed about the perceived moral degradation of the town. Their use of (r), however, sets them apart; Benji is a *bryer* and Jimmy is a *roller*. To explore this notion further, I look at two brothers, Dennis (a *bryer*) and Jeffery (a *roller*), in Section 8.3.

8.3. Antipodal brothers: Jeffery the *roller* and Dennis the *bryer*

Jeffery and Dennis are Ant Fiela's youngest sons.⁷⁵ Jeffery is thirty-eight years old and spent all of his life in Houtiniquadorp. However, he frequently travels locally and internationally due to his career as a gospel singer, radio presenter and aspiring actor. He is a local celebrity and his mother is especially proud of him. Because of his busy schedule, I struggled to make an appointment with Jeffery for the interview. We finally met late one afternoon in his mother's house in Old Dorp, where he also lives. He was the only participant who spoke lengthy stretches in English, employing both insertion and alternation-type code-switching (Muysken 2000:3). The radio station he works for is Afrikaans-English bilingual, and when I listened to his programme, he made use of both languages.

⁷⁵ Examples of their speech can be listened to online: for Jeffery the *roller*, see <https://db.tt/pYKLKAsB>; and for Dennis the *bryer*, see <https://db.tt/3GbIDXQ9>. Both excerpts are taken from their picture descriptions.

Jeffery's speech contains several features that are characteristic of his individual way of speaking. For example, his zero-*r* frequency – a linguistic marker of informality (see Chapter 7.2) – was 17% during the description style (participants' mean zero-*r* was 15%), and 18% during conversational style (participants' mean zero-*r* was 33.5%). His low use of zero-*r* during the conversational interaction is an example of his carefully enunciated speech. Thus, even though we were casually conversing, he treated the interview as a formal event. For Jeffery, the interview was an opportunity to talk about himself and to present himself in a specific way: his interview was unlike any of the others, because of his particular stylised performance.

At times during the interview, his style of speaking can be described as evangelistic, mimicking the rhetorical style of American gospel preachers, both in prosody and in the use of Biblical metaphors and stories (i.e. a 'preacher style', see Alim and Smitherman 2012:14-15). The following excerpt – where he was telling me about the children attending his soup kitchen – is an example.

4)

- | | |
|---|--------------------------------------|
| 1. <i>So ek wil nie net kos [gee] nie,</i> | So I don't only want [to give] food, |
| 2. <i>hulle moet [nie] kom bakhand staan vir sop nie,</i> | they must not come and beg for soup, |
| 3. <i>maar ek wil hulle ook empower,</i> | but I also want to empower them, |
| 4. <i>sodat hulle daai,</i> | so that they can break that, |
| <i>daai cirlce van poverty kan breek,</i> | that circle of poverty, |
| 5. <i>so if I can make it this far,</i> | |
| 6. <i>kan hulle dit ook maak,</i> | they can also make it, |
| 7. <i>'n persoon van Houtiniquadorp.</i> | a person from Houtiniquadorp. |

In lines 3-4, Jeffery switched to a preacher style when he emphasised the English words 'empower', 'circle' and 'poverty'. His use of pitch in line 4 is clearly seen in Figure 8.3.

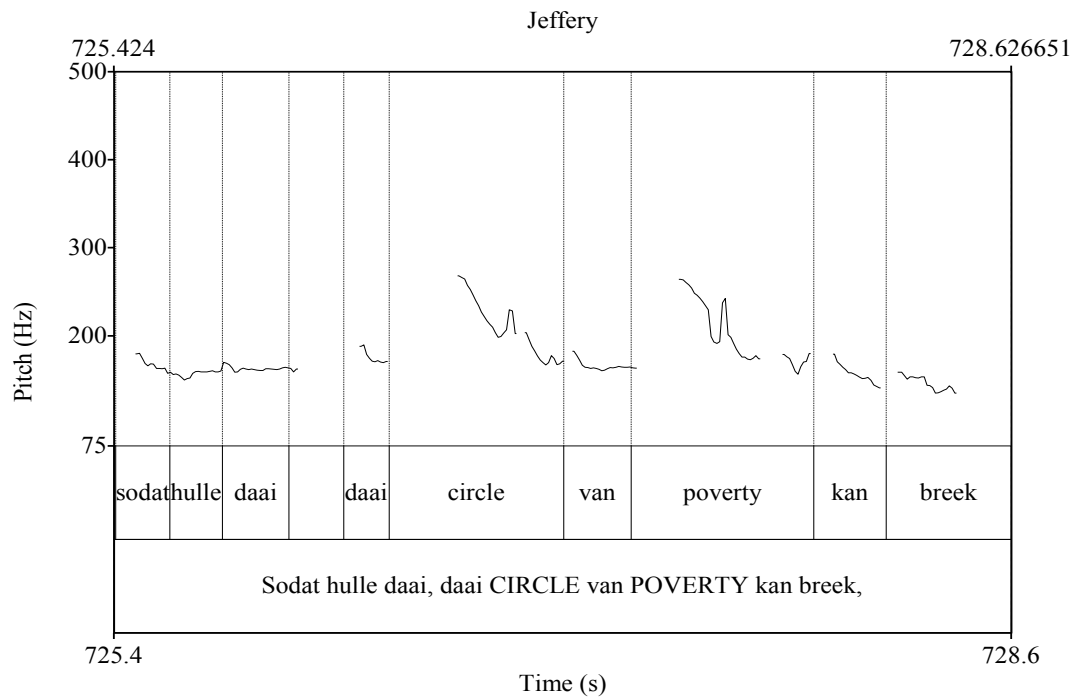


Figure 8.3. Jeffery's use of pitch

Jeffery did not only change rhythm and intonation, using the 'slow and pointed cadence' and 'sophisticated code-switching and rhythmic patterns' of preacher style (see Alim and Smitherman 2012:15, in reference to Barack Obama's use of preacher style): in this excerpt, he also used an American accent with [pʌvəti] instead of [pɒvəti] 'poverty'. The American accent helps him to perform his persona as gospel singer. He visited the United States in 2007, and this visit made a big impression on him. He called it 'a dream come true'. During the interview, he frequently referred to 'dreams': having a dream, following your dream, dreams coming true, and people who are dream catchers or stealers (see full version in Appendix 8.1).

5)

*En ek was deeply **moved**,
toe ek daar sing,
en toe remind ek,
aan die woorde
wat Martin Luther King gesê het
I have a dream.
En dis oral my, my/*

*And I was deeply moved,
when I sang there,
and then I am reminded,
of the words
that Martin Luther King said
And it is everywhere my, my/*

*My saying, oral waar ek heen gaan,
en my ultimate saying is
never give up on your dream,*

...

*So uhm, work hard, believe in yourself,
dreams can come true.*

And then uhm, look up you/

Jou hulp kom van bo,

en uhm,

my dreams has come true

I'm not dreaming anymore

I am living my dream.

*My saying, everywhere I go,
And my ultimate saying is*

Your help comes from above,

and uhm,

According to Alim and Smitherman (2012:79), Martin Luther King's oft-quoted speech, 'I have a dream', is a quintessential Black jeremiad in the United States. A jeremiad refers to a speech that expresses lamentation or prophecy of doom (an eponym for Jeremiah, the author of the Bible chapter entitled 'The Lamentations'). Alim and Smitherman (2012:78) state that in the United States, the Black jeremiad originated during the Antislavery Movement, when 'Black leaders adapted the White jeremiad for the purpose of protest against enslavement and later discrimination and racism.' Whereas King used the jeremiad script to invoke a prophetic vision of a non-racial America, Jeffery uses it to express a prophetic vision of himself and his ambitions, being aspirational in a worldly, rather than in the purely religious or political sense.

Another dream come true for Jeffery was going to places like Los Angeles.

6)

*Ek het nog altyd gedroom van Los Angeles
en dis 'n amazing stad,
dit remind my bietjie van George,
want dis in die weste kant
en dis by die see.*

*I have always dreamed about Los Angeles
and it's an amazing city,
it reminds me a bit of George,
because it's at the west side
and it's at the sea.*

Given Jeffery's occupation and career aspirations, his orientation towards the 'city of dreams' – where Hollywood is located – is understandable. Jeffery's orientation to Houtiniquadorp, on the other hand, does not show a deep sense of attachment, and in Excerpt 7, his description of

the place is mainly as the site where he grew up. However, due to social challenges like poverty and limited employment opportunities, it is not a place where he can make his personal dreams come true.

7)

So Houtiniquadorp is 'n wonderlike plek.

Ek het hier groot geword.

En kyk hierdie mooi omgewing.

En/

but unfortunately, poverty is also with us,
you know.

...

En, in my bedryf veral,

ek moet nou alweer gaan na 'n ander plek toe,

want ek het nou my, my hoogtes hier bereik.

Want ek wil graag nog in TV ook werk,

want ek het bietjie TV aanbieding gedoen

op One Gospel nou onlangs,

en dan het ek verskeie TV produksies al in opgetree

soos Morning Live,

Gospel Gold,

Hosanna SABC2.

[smacks lips]

So baie shows al

en dan uh,

[smacks lips]

my ander passie

wat ek ook nou wil follow,

en ongelukkig moet ek dan uit George uit gaan,

want die television studios is in die Kaap

of in Johannesburg,

dis my acting, uhm,

[smacks lips]

my acting,

wat ek ook wil ingaan.

So Houtiniquadorp is a wonderful place.

I grew up here.

And look at this pretty setting.

And/

...

And, in my industry especially,

I must now go to another place again,

because I have now reached my, my heights here.

Because I also quite want to work in TV,

because I have done a bit of TV presenting

on One Gospel recently now,

and then I performed in several TV productions

such as Morning Live,

Gospel Gold,

Hosanna SABC2.

[smacks lips]

Thus already many shows

and then uh,

[smacks lips]

my other passion

that I also now want to follow,

and unfortunately I must then leave George,

because the television studios are in the Cape

or in Johannesburg,

it's my acting, uhm,

[smacks lips]

that I also want to go into.

When Jeffery spoke about his acting aspirations, he started to smack his lips. Looking at my transcriptions, I noted that this paralinguistic feature was only used by five of the young women I interviewed (i.e. younger than twenty-five). Jeffery's lip-smacking only occurred when he spoke about acting and can thus be indicative of the dramatic persona of Jeffery-the-actor. Therefore, it is not only Jeffery's categorical use of alveolar-*r* that set him apart from other *boorling* men in his age cohort, such as his brother Dennis (see below): during the interview, he used alveolar-*r* together with code-switching, a preacher style, and lip-smacking to perform different aspects of his ambitious, individualistic and dramatic persona. Thus, where Jeffery showed no intra-speaker variation (i.e. Labovian style-shifting) of (r), he used 'a clustering or linguistic resources' (Eckert and Rickford 2001:123) to index different aspects of his personal identity. This clustering includes sociophonetic, prosodic, and discourse-marking features.

Dennis' (aged 43) life is a quiet antipode to the focused busyness of Jeffery. He was married for seventeen years and has been living with his wife and children in a large house in the Scheme. Like Jeffery, he attributed his success in life to his parents, who brought them up with discipline and Christian values. Family life and being a father is important to Dennis, and his recollection of his childhood reflects traditional gendered roles for the father and the mother: the father must go out and work hard to provide for his family, while the mother runs the house and makes sure that everyone is fed. While Jeffery is actively involved with his mother in providing for poor children (through their own soup kitchens), Dennis expressed his dislike for soup kitchens, feeling that it created more problems than solutions. Furthermore, it was Dennis' wife who performed the role of community charity worker, which fitted Dennis' belief in men as providers, and women as nurturers.

Like Jeffery, Dennis does not have tertiary education. He entered the police force after school in 1987, before realising that as a police officer, he had to enforce apartheid rule. He transferred to the traffic police department in George and worked himself up through the ranks. However, he stated that the work pressure became too much, and he resigned from his high ranking position in 2007. He then opened a butchery in Houtiniquadorp for seven months. It was during this time that he became seriously ill with tick bite fever. During the interview, he spent a substantial length of time on telling me about his ordeal, and about how he nearly died in a coma in hospital. Dennis' illness also put pressure on his role as provider and father, because it physically weakened him and he was unable to find employment since then.

At the start of the interview, Dennis foregrounded his local status as a proud, born and bred Houtiniquadorper:

8)

<i>En ja dit is</i>	And yes it is
<i>dit is ek,</i>	it is me,
<i>ek is</i>	I am
<i>ek is baie opgewonde.</i>	I am very excited.
<i>Ek is 'n trotse Houtiniquadorper.</i>	I am a proud Houtiniquadorper.
<i>Ek is gebore en getoë hierso,</i>	I am born and bred here,
<i>in in in Houtiniquadorp</i>	in in in Houtiniquadorp
<i>en regtig waar ...</i>	and truthfully ...
<i>ek kan net sê dankie,</i>	I can just say thank you,
<i>... vir die wonderlike jare,</i>	... for the wonderful years,
<i>ja, wat die Here</i>	yes, that the Lord
<i>my ook uitgespaar het,</i>	has also saved me,
<i>en vir die persoon</i>	and for the person
<i>wat ek vandag is</i>	who I am today
<i>en ook deur my ouers.</i>	and also through my parents.

Excerpt 8 can be seen as a testimonial that Dennis provided for himself. Thus, like Jeffery, Dennis used the interview to present a specific individual self; however, Dennis' individual self is intertwined with a larger Houtiniquadorp place identity. Dennis described himself as *'n boorling van Houtiniquadorp* ('a boorling of Houtiniquadorp'). He continued to explain that he *raak opgewonde* ('gets excited') at the opportunity to associate himself with a place like Houtiniquadorp, and that he enjoyed sharing his nostalgia for Houtiniquadorp with strangers (see full version in Appendix 8.2). He contrasted his pride for Houtiniquadorp with others who seem ashamed to say that they are from Houtiniquadorp. According to Dennis, these people instead say that they are from George.

Dennis was aware of the need for geographic mobility to attain upward social mobility, especially because work opportunities were scarce in Houtiniquadorp. However, while Jeffery felt that he had to leave Houtiniquadorp to follow his personal dreams, Dennis stated that *vir 'n tydperk moet [ek dalk myself] los maak van Houtiniquadorp ... ter wille van my gesin* ('for a while [I maybe] must unloosen [myself] from Houtiniquadorp ... for the sake of my family');

see full version in Appendix 8.3). One can observe here the sense of attachment Dennis feels towards Houtiniquadorp as a place, where moving away evokes a sense of detachment (i.e. *los maak*, lit. ‘make loose’).

Dennis told several anecdotes about his childhood in Houtiniquadorp. For example, he reminisced about typical Saturday afternoons, when they all went to the local bioscope to watch karate or Tarzan films and then afterwards staged mock fights with each other, showcasing the moves they have seen during the movie. Like Benji discussed above, Dennis focused on masculine practices, and his frame of reference is closely tied to Houtiniquadorp’s social networks in terms of friends and family ties. Dennis’ overall masculine orientations allow us to understand his use of (r): his categorical use of uvular-*r* is a marker of local *boorling* masculinity.

As stated by Bakhtin ([1934/1935] 1981), speakers’ use of language is replete with diverse social voices, and Jeffery and Dennis use linguistic forms that index specific social positionings and individual personae. The brothers have different life experiences and different senses of self. Jeffery’s categorical use of alveolar-*r* and Dennis’ categorical use of uvular-*r* fit the types of personae they portrayed during the interview. Therefore, the way they projected themselves to me through the types of topics and stories they told, inherently showed me some aspects of their personality and of what kind of person they think they are. They were modelling themselves towards the kind of person they would want me to see, thus ‘creating different selves in discourse’ (Johnstone 1996:58) by foregrounding some aspects of their lives, whilst minimising or omitting others. The type of (r) they used is one facet of their individual way of speaking and their performance-of-self in the interview context.

8.4. *Mixers*’ meaningful moments in interaction

Continuing with my focus on individuals in this chapter, I now draw on Mendoza-Denton (2007), who stressed that language use is situated within social contexts (e.g. specific speakers, times, places, and purposes). Mendoza-Denton (2007) draws on exemplar theory, which emphasises functional and interactional constraints on variation. Exemplar theory is a theory of speech perception and production. It assumes that speakers’ experiences of utterances are ‘stored in the mind as separate exemplars’ (Hay and Drager 2007:97). According to Thomas (2013:110), exemplar theory ‘fits well with sociolinguistic theory in that it holds that language users retain much latent knowledge of where and from whom they heard linguistic variants.’ The variable is thus not simply an abstract sound segment, but is tagged with memorised social

information (Thomas 2013:121-122). Furthermore, where traditional variationist studies prioritise patterns of frequency, Mendoza-Denton (2007) proposes that while the frequency of variants underscores a variant's correlation to social categories, frequency is just one dimension of the social meaning of linguistic forms. The other dimensions are:

A variant's recency (whether it clusters in particular types of discourse and how often it does so), its salience (what it is ideologically associated with), and the agency of the speakers involved (how actively speakers are designing their talk). (Moore and Podesva 2009:479)

As stated by Thomas (2013:121-122), exemplar theory 'converges with sociolinguistic findings that linguistic variants show rich social indexicality and that people use those forms to project their identities.' For instance, indexicality relates to the importance of the frequency with which a linguistic form is used in specific contexts (both physical contexts and in discourse), and by particular types of speakers, which contribute to the indexical associations speakers make between the linguistic form and social meaning. Furthermore, these associations involve ideologies about types of speakers and context, where a variant's recency refers to contextual priming, i.e. previous discursive contexts. As discussed in Chapter 2.4, Eckert's (2008) indexical fields show that speaker agency is involved when speakers make interactional moves in the indexical field of a variant's multiple and shifting social meanings. The rest of the section explores how these notions can be applied to two individuals who had mixed use of the (r) variants.

Lionel and Houtiniquadorp's Jocks and Burnouts

Lionel was already introduced in Chapter Six, where I considered his metalinguistic comments and argued that he made several moves in the 'indexical field' (Eckert 2008) of uvular-*r*, never quite settling on one definite meaning. He also made use of both alveolar-*r* and uvular-*r* during the interview, and his production data suggest that the different (r) variants can have different interactional meanings in the context of the interview. Lionel's father, Jimmy, is Jeffery and Dennis's cousin (see Figure 8.1). As stated in Chapter 6.4, Lionel was eighteen years old (at the time of the interview). He spent his days playing video games and soccer with friends, watching movies and helping out with his father's local rugby team. He was unsure about his future, because he did not complete high school.

As discussed in Chapter 7.5, the participants can be clustered in terms of near-categorical use of either (r) variant and mixed use of both variants. In the <25 age cohort, eleven participants near-categorically used uvular-*r* (50%), and four near-categorically used alveolar-

r (18.2%; see Figure 7.12). Lionel formed part of the group of seven *mixers* in his age cohort. His (r) use during the two speech styles is shown in Table 8.1.

	Alveolar- <i>r</i>	Uvular- <i>r</i>	Zero- <i>r</i>
<i>Conversational style</i>	32.3%	67.7%	35.6%
<i>Description style</i>	57.1%	42.9%	9.3%

Table 8.1. Lionel's (r) use during conversational and description styles

Lionel's zero-*r* percentages of the total (r) tokens are shown in the shaded right-hand column – the zero-*r* percentages serve to confirm the form's frequent use during conversation, indicating that he treated the conversational part of the interview as stylistically different from the picture descriptions. Correlation between speech style and (r) use is not significant for total sample group; however, Lionel decreased uvular-*r* during description style by almost 25 percentage points. (The <25 group's mean percentage uvular-*r* is 63% during description style, and 64% during conversational style.) Thus, stylistically, he is an example of a *mixer* who decreased his use of the local variant in the careful speech elicited through descriptions (see discussion in Chapter 7.5).

As I have argued in Chapter Six, the social salience of a linguistic form leads to an awareness of difference – an awareness of different forms, speakers, and contexts – which points to ideological associations and the indexicality of variants. Lionel showed awareness of *bry* as a feature of Houtiniquadorpers' speech:

9) *Ja, van ons [brəi], van ons [bRəi] nie, so ons is mos nou so gemeng*

'Yes some of us burr, some of us don't burr, so we are rather now mixed like that'

In this utterance, he used both (r) variants: he used alveolar-*r* in the clause stating 'some of us burr' (affirming uvular-*r* use), and uvular-*r* in the clause 'some of us don't burr' (affirming alveolar-*r* use). From an iconic perspective, one would expect that the variants would be swapped around to fit with the respective clause that affirms the use of either variant. This utterance exemplifies how *mixers* like Lionel can "mix-up" the two forms. I will now look at an interaction during the interview to explore Lionel's mixed use.

During the interview, I spoke to Lionel about different cliques or groups at his high school and whether female and male students did things differently. He replied that the females especially form *hulle groepies*: *hulle's altyd saam pouses en tussen klasse ruil* ('their groups: they're always together during breaks and between changing classes'). According to him, some of them distinguished themselves by wearing the same blue headbands. In this context, he also spoke about his own male group of friends. They distinguished themselves from others by wearing Grasshopper shoes and playing soccer. Shoes and sport seemed important to him and his peers, and he described those who were not part of his group as wearers of other types of shoes, such as Toughies or Bronx. Grasshoppers and Toughies are generic, prescribed South African school shoes. Bronx, a more expensive brand, are formal dress shoes and frequently prohibited by school regulations.

When I asked him whether there was ever any conflict between his group and others, Lionel singled out the male students who played rugby. In Appendix 8.4, the full transcript is given, and in Excerpt 10, I shaded the relevant sections in grey (uvular-*r* sections are in dark-grey and alveolar-*r* in light-grey; zero-*r* is indicated with ', e.g. *maa*').

10)

Lionel:	<i>Ja, soos ons die seuns,</i> <i>onse <u>groupie</u>,</i> <i>[ˈxruˌpi:]</i> <i>ons het net <u>Grasshoppers</u> gedra,</i> <i>[ˈɡras,ɔpərs] [xəˈdra]</i> <i>die <u>Grassy's</u>.</i> <i>[ˈɡraˌsi:s]</i>	Yes, like we the boys, our group, we wore only Grasshoppers, the Grassy's.
Yolandi:	<i>Yes?</i>	Yes?
Lionel:	<i>Ons almal het dit gedra.</i>	All of us wore it.
Yolandi:	<i>Okay?</i>	Okay?
Lionel:	<i>Ja [laughs]</i>	Yes [laughs]
Yolandi:	<i>En die/</i> <i>wat het die ander aangehad?</i>	And the/ what did the others wear?
Lionel:	<i>Van 'ie,</i> <i>wie nou?</i>	Of the, who now?
Yolandi:	<i>Wat nie Grasshoppers aangehad het nie.</i>	Who didn't wear Grasshoppers.
Lionel:	<i>Nee hulle't ma' die, die, Toughies,</i>	No they've just had the, the, Toughies,

	<i>en daai gehad.</i>	and those.
Yolandi:	<i>Okay?</i>	Okay?
Lionel:	<i>En <u>Bronx</u></i> [brɔŋks] <i>en al daai</i> [unclear / snaps fingers]	and Bronx and all those [unclear / snaps fingers]

Lionel:	<i>Ons het altyd/ Ons het altyd <u>sokker</u> gespeel,</i> [ˈsɔ,kəR] <i>pouses, <u>sokker</u> gespeel.</i> [ˈsɔ,kəR]	We have always/ We have always played soccer, break-time, played soccer.

Yolandi:	<i>En het julle ooit, uhm soos, fights of konflik gehad met, met ander, ander groepe?</i>	And have you ever, uhm like, had fights or conflict with, with other, other groups?
Lionel:	<i>Met ande' groep, ja, ons het altyd.</i>	With other group, yes, we have always.
Yolandi:	<i>Ja?</i>	Yes?
Lionel:	<i>Want daa' is mos, daa' is mense wat aanme'kings maak, somme'[claps hands]</i>	Because there is just, there are people who make remarks, just [claps hands]
Yolandi:	<i>Het hulle 'n naam [coughs] ok 'n naam gehad?</i>	Do they have a name [coughs] also had a name?
Lionel:	<i>Uh-uh nee hulle's nie, nie <u>rerig</u> 'n <u>groep</u></i> [ˈRɛ,RƏX] [ˈXRup] <i>maa' hulle is 'n <u>groep</u>,</i> [ˈXRup] <i>maa' hulle't nie 'n naam gehad,</i> <i>hulle's die,</i> <i>ampe' soos die, <u>rugby</u>,</i> [ˈrʌg.bi]	Uh-uh no they're not, not really a group but they are a group, but they didn't have a name, they're the, almost like the, rugby,

	<i>hulle's die <u>rugbymanne</u>, so.</i> [ˈrʌg.bi'mɑ.nə]	they're the rugby men, like that
Yolandi:	<i>Uhhh</i>	Uhhh
Lionel:	<i>Altyd konflik [laughs]</i>	Always conflict [laughs]

In this short interaction of just over two minutes, Lionel used thirty-nine (r) tokens (including eighteen zero-*r*); twelve were uvular-*r* (57.1%), and nine were alveolar-*r* (42.9%). His percentage of uvular-*r* tokens in this excerpt is in line with his conversational style more generally.

The grey-shaded sections in Excerpt 10 show how Lionel moved from talking about his own peer group, to talking about other groups of male students with whom his group experienced conflict. Lionel used uvular-*r* when discussing the shoes worn by his group, i.e. Grasshoppers, and used alveolar-*r* when talking about the other group's shoes. By using uvular-*r* again in reference to his own group, who are soccer players, he created a semiotic contrast between them and the rugby/Bronx group. He stated that his group was known as *die Spa'kies* ('the Sparkies'); the other group of students did not have a group name. Instead, they were ones who play rugby, *die rugbymanne* ('the rugby men'). One could argue that Lionel uses uvular-*r* to index his in-group membership of the *Spa'kies*, whereas alveolar-*r* indexes 'those from whom he wishes to be distinguished' (Le Page and Tabouret-Keller 1985:181).

The production patterns discussed in Chapter Seven showed a broad correlation between male speakers and uvular-*r*. In South Africa, rugby is a stereotypically hyper-masculine sport, often in contrast to soccer (see Anderson, et al. 2004:53). By using alveolar-*r* when speaking about his group's adversaries, Lionel linguistically diminishes the toughness of the 'rugby men'. At the same time he expresses contrast and indexes belonging by preserving uvular-*r* for his group of friends. Eckert (2000) shows how the linguistic variation of students in a Detroit high school stylistically corresponds to emic social groups – Jocks and Burnouts – that involved the students' orientation towards the school, suburb, and city, as well as the different clothes and make-up they wear. Similarly, Lionel shows how a combination of uvular-*r*, Grasshoppers, and soccer can create a particularly local style of Houtiniquadorp's *Spa'kies*.

Finally, Lionel varies his (r) use within the same topic, which indicates that speakers do not only vary their speech according to broader topics; speakers also vary their speech *within* one topic. This corresponds to the finding made by the California Style Collective (1993) that

the intra-speaker variation of a Californian teenager, nicknamed Trendy, does not only occurred with specific topics (e.g. school), but also with subtopics (e.g. descriptions of individual groups within the social milieu of her school). There are what I call key ‘moments of meaning’ (shaded in grey) evident in Lionel’s interaction, which correspond to his use of either (r) variant. The phrase ‘moments of meaning’ refers to the ways in which the social meanings of linguistic forms are contextually situated, multiple and emerging in the process of interaction. The concept relates to the indexical field, but also foregrounds the fleeting and dynamic aspects of linguistic variation. Rickford and McNair-Knox (1994) and Schilling-Estes (2004) argue that the *meaning* of intra-speaker variation (i.e. stylistic performances) is related to the *interactional moves* that speakers make. Looking at ‘moments of meaning’ during interactions allows one to recognise the micro-interactional moves speakers make. Li (2011:1224) uses *Moment Analysis* to investigate ‘spontaneous, impromptu, and momentary actions and performances of the individual.’ The focus can be on the variant use of linguistic forms (such as phonetic, morpho-syntactic or lexical variables), or the switching between languages. For example, Reynolds (2013) shows how ‘moments of teaching’ and ‘moments of maintenance’ exemplify meaningful moments in the Afrikaans-English bilingual interactions of two Capetonian families. ‘Moments of teaching’ illustrate how bilingualism is facilitated, where the use of English or Afrikaans plays varied roles ‘in different domains and between particular interlocutors’ (Reynolds 2013:83). ‘Moments of maintenance’ describe fleeting, temporal situations where opportunities for speaking and hearing Afrikaans occur (Reynolds 2013:90). They provide restricted, but important, opportunities for English-dominant children from bilingual families to be exposed to Afrikaans. Focusing on linguistic variants, speakers can use variants strategically according to topics, etc., which means that variants are not uniformly spread in interactions, but instead correspond to meaningful moments (also see Podesva 2007). Blommaert (2014:11-12, 13-14) refers to such moments in interaction as ‘a synchronic act of communication’ that is ‘couched in layers upon layers of relevant contexts.’ These ‘layers’ of contexts are shaped by previous interactions (i.e. recency) and have the potential to shape future interactions. Lionel’s interaction shows that the manner of a feature’s occurrence (its recency) may be just as important as its relative frequency.

Hope: (r) variation and emotional expression

I now move to Hope, who is a member of another *boorling* family included in the list of surnames Fred supplied (see Section 8.2). During our interview, Fred spoke about the farming

practices of the *boorling* families, and similarly, Hope (aged 59) imagines *boorlinge* as one big family with ties to landownership and farming:

11)

<i>Ons was nou nogals 'n/</i>	We now were rather a/
<i>dis 'n groot familie.</i>	it's a big family.
<i>En uhm, dit is nou almal die mense</i>	And uhm, this is now all the people
<i>wat nou die gronde gehad het,</i>	who had the lands now,
<i>die Arriese het geboer,</i>	the Arriese have farmed,
<i>die Karelse het geboer,</i>	the Karelse have farmed,
<i>die Allermans het geboer.</i>	the Allermans have farmed.

Being a married woman, Hope does not use her *boorling* maiden name anymore, yet she foregrounded her *boorling* maiden name during the interview. She and other *boorlinge* draw on these family surnames as markers of their authenticity and legitimacy (as discussed with the Allermans in Section 8.2). Hope's memories of growing up in Houtiniquadorp are similar to the other participants her age, and she also told me stories that are similar to those of other traditional *boorlinge*, such as going to the old post office and local swimming spots as a child, and the importance of family, land and farming. Hope lives in the Scheme, but grew up in Old Dorp where she went to school in the old mission school building. Her mother still owns a residential property in Old Dorp. After leaving school at age sixteen, she first worked in a clothes factory, and then in a shoe factory (both factories were in George). The factories closed down, and she then worked in a school kitchen before finding her current occupation in the mailroom of a college in George. There she is responsible for all paper-related matters and assists the lecturers with their photocopying needs. Her position is therefore elevated from the other general staff, such as the cleaners, and she has her own office.

In terms of her use of (r), Hope is one of the five women in the 46-65 age cohort who used both variants (i.e. a *mixer*; there were one *bryer* and eight *rollers* in her gendered age cohort; n=14). Hope's use of uvular-*r* was 46.2% (quantitative data of both speech styles), unlike most other *boorling* women in her age cohort who near-categorically used alveolar-*r*. Hope's (r) use was as follows: during the conversational style, she used 51% uvular-*r*, and 40% uvular-*r* during the description style (see Table 8.2).

	Alveolar- <i>r</i>	Uvular- <i>r</i>	Zero- <i>r</i>
<i>Conversational style</i>	49.2%	50.8%	42.7%
<i>Description style</i>	59.6%	40.4%	16.9%

Table 8.2. Hope's (r) use during conversational and description styles

As with Lionel, I would argue that Hope's use of zero-*r* during the speech styles is a marker of informality (in the conversational style) and formality (in the description style). The interview with Hope lasted one hour and twenty minutes, and I interviewed her in her office at the college in George. The students were writing exams, so she did not have much work to do and we could sit and chat, while she occasionally got up to answer the telephone. Hope was one of the participants who I had known and interacted with before the interview, because I met her when I visited two of my family members, who also worked at the college.

In Chapter Two, I discussed Tuan's concept of *topophilia* ([1974] 1990; lit. 'love of/for place'), where he argued that *topophilia* shows how people create meaningful places through emotional expressions in language. In this section, I focus on Hope's use of uvular-*r* as a form of emotional expression during the interview. I will argue that her use of uvular-*r* can sometimes be connected with her expression of attachment to Houtiniquadorp as a place, and that it can also be used by her during moments of more general emotional expression or affect. Hope's interview was analysed according to topics of conversation, and in the remainder of this section I discuss three different topics: the first topic concerned her workplace, and was more formal; the second topic was of a highly personal nature; and the third topic was a narrative about changes in Houtiniquadorp (the topics follow chronologically in the interview). I selected these three topics, because during these conversations Hope positioned herself in different roles: as a worker with different responsibilities, as a cancer survivor, and as a concerned community member. My focus remains on the (r) variants' recency, i.e. how they cluster within discourses, and not only their frequency.

The first interaction I look at occurred at the start of the interview, after Hope explained her work history to me, leading up to her current position at the college. She was employed at the college after recovering from cancer approximately eleven years ago (also see below), and whereas her previous employment required more physical labour in factories, the work at the college was *rustig* ('peaceful'). The topic was initiated by me when I stated that she looked

happy at her workplace (uvular-*r* sections are in dark-grey; zero-*r* is indicated with ' , e.g. *maa'*), and I focus on an excerpt of the conversation (see full version in Appendix 8.5).

12) Roles at work

- | | | |
|----------|--|--|
| Hope: | 1. <i>So, dit is,</i> | So, it is, |
| | 2. <i>vi' my,</i> | for me, |
| | 3. <i>regtig ek leer baie meer</i> | really I learn a lot more, |
| | [le:R] [me:R], | |
| | 4. <i>ek leer al hoe meer.</i> | I learn even more. |
| Yolandi: | 5. <i>En ontmoet ander, seker ande' mense?</i> | And meet other, probably other people? |
| Hope: | 6. <i>Oh yes.</i> | Oh yes. |
| Yolandi: | 7. <i>En hie's jong mense,</i> | And here are young people, |
| | 8. <i>hou mens jonk/</i> | keep one young/ |
| Hope: | 9. <i>Oh yes,</i> | Oh yes, |
| | 10. <i>ja ja, nee</i> | yes yes, no |
| | 11. <i>dis 'n plesier om hier te werk,</i> | it's a pleasure to work here, |
| | [vɛrk] | |
| | 12. <i>ve'al om die kinders</i> | especially for the children |
| | 13. <i>ve'al as hie' moeilikheid kom</i> | especially if here's trouble |
| | 14. <i>of so aan.</i> | or so. |
| Yolandi: | 15. <i>Is dit?</i> | Is it? |
| | 16. <i>Kom die kinders en gesels</i> | Do the children come and talk |
| | 17. <i>of hoe bedoel u nou?</i> | or how do you-formal mean now? |
| Hope: | 18. <i>Hulle kom bietjie gesels,</i> | They come talk a bit, |
| | 19. <i>ons gesels,</i> | we talk, |
| | 20. <i>en ve'al as ek noodhulp doen,</i> | and especially when I do first aid, |
| | ... | ... |
| | 21. <i>Altyd as daar een is</i> | Always when there is one |
| | 22. <i>dan roep hulle altyd aan ons,</i> | then they always call on us, |
| | [rup] | |
| | 23. <i>of hulle roep aan my</i> | or they call on me |
| | [rup] | |
| | 24. <i>of so aan.</i> | or so. |
| | ... | ... |
| | 25. <i>Is iets goed,</i> | Is something good, |
| | 26. <i>so bly as 'n mens iemand kan help</i> | so happy if one can help someone |

27. <i>of miskien hulle probleem het</i>	or maybe they have a problem
28. <i>dan kan jy met hulle gesels.</i>	then you can talk to them.
...	...
29. <i>Bedags waa' die kinders,</i>	Today where the children,
[kəndərs]	
30. <i>gaan deur 'n baie, 'n moeilike tyd,</i>	go through a very, a tough time,
31. <i>en ons sal nooit dink,</i>	and we won't ever think,
32. <i>ons dink miskien</i>	we maybe think
33. <i>die kinde's leef net</i>	the children just live
34. <i>en dit gaan goed</i>	and it goes well
35. <i>en so</i>	and so
36. <i>maa' as jy,</i>	but if you,
37. <i>as jy, as jy</i>	if you, if you
38. <i>as die een nou kom</i>	if the one comes now
39. <i>en jy vra nou uit</i>	and you ask after
[fɾɑ]	
40. <i>en, jy gesels</i>	and, you chat
41. <i>en dan sal jy ve'basend wees</i>	and then you will be astonished
42. <i>wat, uit watte' agtergrond uit</i>	what, from what background
43. <i>daai ene kom,</i>	that one comes,
44. <i>sien jy?</i>	you see?

Hope predominantly used alveolar-*r* when talking about her work at the college. When speaking about her job satisfaction, she used uvular-*r* in line 3 and then repeated the sentence in line 4, using alveolar-*r*. She is particularly proud of being part of the first aid team, as well as being a confidant of young college students. Through the college, she attained level two in first aid training, and her use of uvular-*r* in lines 22-23 occurs when she described being called upon to fulfil this role. She especially has compassion for the students who share their problems with her. Elsewhere in the interview, she told me how difficult circumstances were when she grew up, and her activities in her church's charity projects are specifically geared towards helping young people. Hope also used uvular-*r* in lines 11, 29, and 39, and considering all the instances where she used uvular-*r* in this topic of conversation, one could argue that her use of uvular-*r* does not index macro-social meanings. However, her interchanging use of (r) variants is not random, and in this conversation she uses (r) variation to add emphasis or express affect. In Chapter Seven I argued that the use of *both* (r) variants during interactions might be just as

meaningful as the categorical use of either (r) variant. Therefore, uvular-*r* can sometimes index social meaning, but it is also an individual's use of *variation per se* that is meaningful. Furthermore, Hope's use of uvular-*r* in this extract might index that part of her persona that is orientated to community, compassion and care, which she expresses in an otherwise more formal office environment.

Hope's sense for compassion was strengthened by the challenges she faced when she was treated for breast cancer. In the next excerpt, she first explained how she used her survival story to encourage other cancer patients (see full version in Appendix 8.6). In Excerpt 12 above, she used uvular-*r* in the "speaking" verbs *roep* ('call') and *vra* ('ask'). In Excerpt 13, she also used uvular-*r* frequently with the verb *praat* ('speak' or 'talk'), while using alveolar-*r* in the same utterance.⁷⁶

13) Surviving cancer

Hope:	1. <i>En ek dink</i>	And I think
	2. <i>weet jy,</i>	you know,
	3. <i>jy <u>praat nou so</u>,</i>	you talk now like this,
	[prat]	
	4. <i>jy kan/</i>	you can/
	5. <i><u>ek kan nie genoeg praat</u></i>	I cannot talk enough
	[prat]	
	6. <i>van, van my siekte</i>	about, about my illness
	7. <i>wat ek deurgemaak het nie,</i>	and what I went through,

	8. <i><u>dan gaan praat ek baie</u></i>	then I often go and talk
	[prat]	
	9. <i>met sulke pasiente</i>	with such patients
	10. <i><u>praat baie met sulke mense,</u></i>	talk a lot with such people,
	[prat]	

	11. <i>Weet jy die dag</i>	You know the day

⁷⁶ I observed this in other instances during the interview, where she used uvular-*r* frequently with the words *praat* ('speak') and *vra* ('ask'). Her use of uvular-*r* with these verbs might indicate that there is a lexical interaction with the type of (r) variant used. For Hope, frequently used words like *praat* or *vra* might be primed for uvular-*r*. Further analysis is needed to confirm this hypothesis.

- | | |
|--|---|
| 12. <i>toe, toe, hulle vi' my sê,</i> | when, when they told me, |
| 13. <i>ek het/</i> | I have/ |
| 14. <i>ek was,</i> | I was, |
| 15. <i>ek was baie hartseer,</i> | I was very sad, |
| 16. <i>want ek het net gesê,</i> | because I just said, |
| 17. <i>dood.</i> | death. |
| 18. <i>Dis nou dood,</i> | Now it's death, |
| 19. <i>is, dis my laaste,</i> | is, it's my last, |
| ... | ... |
| 20. <i>Late' het hulle my gepraat,</i> | Later they spoke to me, |
| 21. <i>vra nou,</i> | ask now, |
| [fɾa] | |
| 22. <i>sê hulle vi' my nou,</i> | they now say to me, |
| 23. <i>waa's die probleem gekom het</i> | where the problem came |
| ... | ... |
| 24. <i>Hulle sê toe</i> | They then say |
| 25. <i>wat die opsies is</i> | what the options are |
| 26. <i>en toe sê ek vi' hulle</i> | and then I say to them |
| 27. <i>nee man neem die bors weg,</i> | no man take the breast away, |
| 28. <i>en uh,</i> | and uh, |
| 29. <i>hulle het dit so gedoen,</i> | they did it like that, |
| 30. <i>operasie het seke' vier en 'n half uur,</i> | operation have probably four and a half hour, |
| [fɪr] [iɹ] | ... |
| ... | |
| 31. <i>Hy was/</i> | It was/ |
| 32. <i>want hy was aan my borskas,</i> | because it was on my chest, |
| 33. <i>aan my borskas,</i> | on my chest, |
| [bɔɾskas] | |
| ... | ... |
| 34. <i>Ek het dit so gou aanvaar,</i> | I have accepted it so quickly, |
| [anfaɾ] | |
| <i>[lifting up her shirt to show me her operated breast]</i> | |
| Yolandi: 35. <i>Haai.</i> | Gosh. |
| Hope: 36. <i>Sien jy,</i> | You see, |
| 37. <i>dis die bors</i> | this is the breast |

	[bɔ̃RS]	that I wear now,
	38. <i>wat ek nou dra,</i>	...
	...	
Yolandi:	39. <i>Spiere hoe is die spiere/</i>	Muscles how are the muscles/
Hope:	40. <i>Die spiere is nou</i>	The muscles are now
	[spɪrə]	
	41. <i>in die winter baie seer,</i>	in the winter very sore,
	[vəntər] [seər]	
	42. <i>want die koue,</i>	because the cold,
	43. <i>hulle wil nie dit hê nie.</i>	they don't want that.
Yolandi:	44. <i>Ja.</i>	Yes.
Hope:	45. <i>Sien jy, baie seer</i>	You see, very sore
	[seər:]	
	46. <i>en dis baie pynlik.</i>	and it's very painful.
Yolandi:	47. <i>Joh.</i>	Gosh.
Hope:	48. <i>En een wat nou hie' omgaan</i>	And the one that now goes around here
	49. <i>die spier hie' agte'</i>	the muscles here [at the] back
	[spɪr]	
	50. <i>hy bly seer.</i>	it stays sore.
	[seər:]	

During this conversation, Hope explained the procedures she went through and the decision she made to have her breast removed. Although she was emotional during the interaction (her voice was breaking and breathy, and she became teary-eyed), she predominantly used alveolar-*r* to talk about the past. Hope's story of being diagnosed with cancer is similar to the Labovian 'danger of death' narrative (Labov 2001:88), where Hope could feel the closeness of death: *Dis nou dood, is, dis my laaste* ('Now it's death, is, it's my last'; lines 18-19). As stated by Labov (1972a: 209), a 'danger of death' narrative can be highly emotive. The emotional expression of vulnerability can evoke a sense of intimacy between narrator and listener. An increase in the level of intimacy can be seen through Hope's actions, where she lifted her clothes to show me the site of her operation. This signalled a change in the dynamics of the interaction, and when she then talked about the surgery and her current experiences of the after-effects of the surgery,

she used uvular-*r*. Between lines 40-50, she used *only* uvular-*r* to describe the pain in her muscles. Again, Hope's use of (r) is not necessarily related to indexing a social identity such as 'cancer survivor', because she used both variants in this topic. Rather, Hope's use of uvular-*r* can be analysed as a form of emotional expression or affect, and as the narrative progresses and the levels of intimacy and emotion increase, her use of uvular-*r* increases too.

Shaw and Crocker (2015) investigate the stylistic use of creaky voice by the actress Scarlett Johansson. They argue that Johansson's use of creaky voice *does not only index* her membership of the social group 'contemporary young American female' (Shaw and Crocker 2015:27); their qualitative findings suggest that Johansson uses creak to index seductiveness and intimacy with the interlocutor during specific moments in films where she portrayed roles associated with seduction and persuasion. This interpretation moves one towards a consideration that the interactional meanings of linguistic forms do not always directly relate to the kind of *identity work* that a speaker might be doing. For example, Levon (2016) investigates the stylistic and interactional use of creaky voice by an individual called Igal. Igal lived in Israel, and was Jewish man who had same-sex romantic relationships. Levon focuses on the different topics Igal discussed, and aimed to see whether Igal's use of creak varied when he spoke about sexuality and religion. Levon (2016:233) argues that the results show that Igal's use of creak is not related to an expression of social identity, but rather to topic. Igal specifically used creak when he discussed topics where religion and sexuality intersected. This intersection shows how Igal uses creak to express his sense of a 'conflicted self', drawing on the indexical meaning of creak as 'suppressed or contained affect' to negotiate the 'subjective conflict' he experiences when discussing Orthodox Judaism and same-sex desire (Levon 2016:235). Similarly, Hope's use of uvular-*r* in her cancer narrative is best understood as an interactive resource, which expresses Hope's present emotional state and sense of intimacy.

I now discuss the third topic. Another aspect that Hope cared about deeply was her ancestral connection to Houtiniquadorp. Before the excerpt provided below, she was telling me about other *boorlinge*'s land claims, which she found exasperating because of in-fighting about *aardse goed* ('material goods'). The land claims are concerned with reclaiming land lost during colonialism and apartheid, and are linked to redressing past injustices. Although her mother's sister was actively involved with a group of land claims *boorlinge*, who frequently visited the courts in Cape Town and Johannesburg to present their case, she distanced herself from them. *Current* social changes and developments affecting the area mattered more to her. In Excerpt

14, she spoke about the consequences of a new highway that will run through the undeveloped natural area between her house and the ocean (see full version in Appendix 8.7).

14) Land and new developments

- | | | |
|----------|---|---|
| Hope: | 1. <i>Nou, hulle plaas.. mense,</i> | Now, their farm.. people, |
| | 2. <i>hou baie vergaderings daa' met, Blankes</i> | hold many meetings there with, Whites |
| | 3. <i><u>daa' agter</u>,</i> | there [at the] back, |
| | [ɑxtəR] | |
| | 4. <i>sien jy,</i> | you see, |
| | 5. <i>hulle't baie in 'n meeting,</i> | they have [many meetings], |
| | 6. <i>toe sê sy nou, uhm,</i> | then she says now, uhm, |
| | 7. <i>'ons sit so</i> | 'we sit like this |
| | 8. <i>hie' kom nog 'n <u>grote ding</u> aan.'</i> | a big thing is still coming.' |
| | [XROətə] | |
| Yolandi: | 9. <i>Ja?</i> | Yes? |
| Hope: | 10. <i>Ek sê</i> | I say |
| | 11. <i>'wat man?'</i> | 'what man?' |
| | 12. <i>Ek sê</i> | I say |
| | 13. <i>'Nig los af die goed!'</i> | '[female cousin] let these things go!' |
| | 14. <i>Nou sê ek</i> | Now I say |
| | 15. <i>'wat is dit nou'</i> | 'what is it now' |
| | 16. <i>sê hulle</i> | they say |
| | 17. <i>'nee, daa' waa'',</i> | 'now, there where', |
| | ... | ... |
| | 18. <i>hulle wil daa' vandaant af,</i> | they want to from that side, |
| | 19. <i><u>reg deur</u> 'n pad laat kom.</i> | let a road come straight through. |
| | [REX deəR] | |
| Yolandi: | 20. <i>Wat?</i> | What? |
| Hope: | 21. <i>Mosselbaai toe.</i> | To Mossel Bay. |
| Yolandi: | 22. <i>Teen die see af,</i> | Down long the sea, |
| | 23. <i>ja ek het ook so iets gehoor.</i> | yes I also heard something like that. |
| Hope: | 24. <i>Ja hie' <u>oor</u> laat kom,</i> | Yes let [it] come over here, |
| | [OəR] | |
| | 25. <i>maa' nou vat hulle mos baie</i> | but now they rather take a lot |
| | 26. <i>van die gronde weg,</i> | of the land away, |
| | 27. <i>'n pad gaan mos baie van die gronde vat,</i> | a road will rather take a lot of the land away, |

- | | |
|---|---|
| 28. <i>en dan dan is daa' brue</i> | and then then there are bridges |
| 29. <i>en goed</i> | and stuff |
| 30. <i>nog gebou wo'd,</i> | that still need to be built, |
| 31. <i>so sien,</i> | so see, |
| 32. <i>dis wat wat hulle wee' baklei oor.</i> | that's what what they fight over again. |

[OƏR]

Hope's use of uvular-*r* in this extract expresses a different kind of emotional involvement than her cancer narrative. The topic specifically concerns changes to Houtiniquadorp as a place, and a highway running [Rex deər] *reg deur* ('straight through'; see line 19) the town will remove the last bit of rurality she remembers about the Houtiniquadorp of her childhood. She started the conversation by stating that her cousin warned her about imminent problems, which she first thought was in connection with their land claims case. Hence, she told her cousin to *los die goed af* ('let these things go'). When she realised that her cousin was talking about the highway, this greater threat to Houtiniquadorp elicited an emotional response from her, as can be observed in her use of uvular-*r* in the spatial references. In Chapter 2.3, I discussed Becker (2009), who argues that some New Yorkers increased their use of non-rhoticity when they discussed topics concerning their neighbourhood. She concludes that non-rhoticity is imbued with local social meaning, and therefore indexes place identity for some New Yorkers. Excerpt 14 shows that Hope's use of uvular-*r* does not simply index her place identity when she is talking about Houtiniquadorp as a place; uvular-*r* again serves as a carrier of her emotional expression, this time in connection to Houtiniquadorp.

Language is not only indexical (or symbolic or iconic, etc.), but as pointed out by Ochs (2012), language is also performative and phenomenological. Indexicality brings 'into consciousness a realm of contextually relevant meanings, including the situated self' (Ochs 2012:142). This awareness of the 'situated self' links indexicality to phenomenology, where speakers' 'ordinary enactments of language, i.e. utterances, are themselves modes of experiencing the world' (Ochs *ibid.*). Hope's discussion suggests that if one were to take a phenomenological approach seriously, then linguistic variation is a means through which speakers (as individuals) not only express their experiences: *speaking* itself is *expressive experience*. Hope has both (r) variants in her repertoire, which allows her to vary her use of the variants within the topics. My analysis of Hope therefore raises questions about the intersection

of linguistic variation, expressiveness/voice, emotion, lexical conditioning, and the importance of the ability to use two variants strategically within one topic of conversation.

8.5. Conclusion

In this chapter I investigated the use of (r) by members of *boorling* families to explore the idea that uvular-*r* carries multiple indexicalities. Johnstone (1996:8) argues that the social meanings of ‘variation in language use [are] ultimately explicable only at the level of the individual speaker.’ Her position is supported by Ochs (2005:85), who states that

correlational studies of language and social identity rely on average frequencies or probabilities of usage often cannot account for why some of those recorded use a linguistic structure *often*, yet others of supposedly the same social identity hardly use the same structures *at all*, and why others of supposedly a *different* social identity may also use those structures.

Johnstone (2000) makes the case for supplementing linguistic studies focused on social systems (languages, dialects, varieties, as well as social categories) with a consideration of individual speakers: ‘thinking about variation from the individual outward’ allows one to explore ‘how individuals create unique voices by selecting and combining the linguistic resources available to them’ (2000:417; also see Gumperz 1972’s pioneering work on interactional sociolinguistics). Therefore, linguistic variation is seen as a resource that speakers can draw on in interactions to project social voices that have contextually situated meanings. The Allerman family has shown that being from a traditional *boorling* family, or being young or a man, does not necessarily entail that the speaker uses uvular-*r*.

I looked at individuals in the Allerman family, who have different patterns of (r) use. Jeffery and Dennis’ use of (r) brings in the notion of speakers as social agents, who perform their individual senses of self in discourse. Furthermore, (r) variants are but one feature in a cluster of linguistic resources that Jeffery and Dennis drew on during the interview. With Jeffery, I showed that other aspects, such as code-switching, prosody and discourse markers are also important.

Lionel’s strategic use of the two (r) variants during a short stretch of interaction brings us closer to concrete moments of meaning. He used (r) to create two opposing groups of male students at his school: his own soccer-playing *Spa’kies* is indexed with uvular-*r*, and he uses alveolar-*r* to index their rugby-playing adversaries. I described Lionel’s interactional use of (r) as constituting *moments of meaning*, thereby showing the dynamic and fleeting nature of

contextually situated social meanings of linguistic forms. Thus, Lionel's use of uvular-*r* does not only index in-group membership, but he also uses it to create semiotic differentiation between his group of friends and the other group of male students.

I continued the focus on interactional use of (r) with Hope. With Hope, I argued that the social meanings of uvular-*r* in interaction move beyond indexing social categories, taking one towards considering the variant's use in expressions of emotion, intimacy, and concern. Hope's use of (r) allows one to consider the following question: Is uvular-*r* simply a feature of Hope's conversational speech, or does the variant contribute to expressiveness, where it is not only a product of informal, casual speech, but in fact also *creates* aspects of affect and emotion that is contextually situated? I argued that uvular-*r* allows Hope to adopt an intimate voice. She also uses uvular-*r* when discussing Houtiniquadorp matters, because her place attachment means that Houtiniquadorp is also something she greatly cares about. The interactional patterns of Hope's use of uvular-*r* is different than Lionel's, but the way she uses uvular-*r* in interaction is similar to Lionel's creation of moments of meaning within topics of conversation. Therefore, a detailed analysis of individuals who use both variants requires one to consider that the social meanings might be created in the practice of variation per se.

In sum, this chapter is a call to pay attention to individuals' use of linguistic variation in interaction. Bakhtin's ([1934/1935] 1981) conceptualisation of multiple social voices in language resonates with the arguments I am making here. Bakhtin argues that varied social forces are involved in 'the work of stratification' and linguistic variation – presenting as patterns of frequency according to macro-social categories that are saturated with socially meaningful, 'specific (and consequently limiting) intentions and accents' ([1934/1935] 1981:293). Therefore, the work done by the stratifying forces allow us 'to speak of particular social dialects', but 'for any individual consciousness living in it, language is not an abstract system of normative forms but rather a concrete heteroglot conception of the world' (ibid.). Afrikaans /r/ 'tastes of the context and contexts in which it has lived its socially charged life' (ibid.), and represents a collection of the moments of meaning it has on the tongue of a *plaasmeisie*, a traditional *boorling*, a dreamer, or simply a soccer-playing Houtiniquadorper.

Chapter 9 General conclusions and future directions

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9.1. Overview

This dissertation investigated the social meanings of Afrikaans rhotic variation in a town in the South Cape region of the Western Cape Province. I argued that uvular-*r* (or *bry-r*) is an emplaced sound, i.e. a marker or stereotype of localised varieties of Afrikaans. In this study, I showed that apart from indexing locality, the sound has various other non-place meanings that index multiple and contextually situated social styles and personae. Thus, speakers can use the variant to create meaning in interaction. Uvular-*r* forms part of many Houtiniquadorpers' repertoires, and they show varying degrees of awareness of the sound as locally, and socially, meaningful. In this chapter, I summarise the main findings and arguments made in this dissertation, and their implications for the study of linguistic variation and social meaning. In Section 9.1, I start by discussing the arguments made in Part I of the dissertation. The remainder of the chapter (Sections 9.3 to 9.5) is a discussion of the research questions laid out in Chapter One, which I addressed in Part II. I conclude with Section 9.6, where I consider shortcomings in the research and directions for future research.

9.2. Theoretical and conceptual arguments

In this dissertation, I foregrounded three issues that are relevant to the study of linguistic variation and social meaning. These issues came to the fore in the trajectory I took to answer the main research question:

How do people in Houtiniquadorp use the Afrikaans (r) to index locality, belonging, and other forms of social meanings, particularly in the context of social and geographic mobility?

The first issue is the role of place as a meaningful location, where locality and belonging form part of how speakers construct social identities. In Chapter Two, I made the case that *place identity* is not only a social identity construct on par with other macro-social categories – such as socioeconomic status, gender, or age – and I approached place identity as intersecting with these constructs (see Twigger-Ross, et al. 2003). Thus, the notions of socioeconomic status, gender, and age are formulated *in* and *around* places in the social landscape, and place therefore intersects with these social constructs, adding to the emic formulations of different place identities. Since place is subjectively experienced, I also argued for the *jointly formulated* nature of emic social constructs, particularly where these involve discourses of place that are created through ideologies of locality, belonging, and authenticity (see Modan 2007). Thus, objectively, places can seem to be mere geographical spaces (e.g. suburbs or towns), but

through experiences and interactions with and within a place, people subjectively construct a place as a location distinct from others. Furthermore, in the contexts of social and geographic mobility, speakers' experiences of places can change as other people move into the area, or as social mobility leads to the social stratification of neighbourhoods within a place. People's experiences of places thus becomes part of theoretical and methodological concerns, because it interacts either directly or indirectly with emic social categorisation. The distinctions between *boorling/inkommer* are an example of how emic social categories can be challenging to work with as fixed independent social variables for statistical analyses. I therefore made an etic move by using a Residential Status Score (RSS) as a variable that measures local residential statuses (as forms of place identities) and geographic mobility.

Secondly, I considered Silverstein's (2003) indexicality approach to the social meanings of linguistic variation, expanded upon and applied by sociolinguists such as Johnstone, et al. (2006), Johnstone and Kiesling (2008), and Eckert (2008). I argued that the concept of indexicality allows us to understand how emplaced variants can become third-order regional stereotypes, but also have multiple and indeterminate meanings for speakers when indexing other social identity categories, social styles and personae. Therefore, patterns of variation might not correspond to individual and group beliefs about what it means to be local and to belong. I used Eckert's (2008) notion of the indexical field as a heuristic: it allows for the tracing of social meanings that are discursively created through – and constrained by – language ideologies, while also accounting for correlations between linguistic forms and macro-social categories.

Thirdly, I argued that *emplaced sounds* are the result of the regimentation of specific dialect features to particular localities/places. Thus, emplaced sounds can become part of a recognisable set of regional dialect features, which in turn can become enregistered and thus 'differentiable within a language as a socially recognized register of forms' (Agha 2003:231). As explained by Agha (2005:38; see Chapter 2.3), enregisterment refers to 'processes whereby distinct forms of speech come to be socially recognized (or enregistered) as indexical of speaker attributes by a population of language users.' Thus, emplaced sounds can be seen as *part of* the social stylistic register of speakers who are stereotypically associated with a regionally enregistered way of speaking. Furthermore, similar to the concept of enregisterment, linguistic variants can have different degrees of emplacement, which might constrain the range of social meanings attributable to a variant. Thus, for some speakers, *bry* or uvular-*r* means *specific* places such as the Swartland or Oudtshoorn. In this case, the sound has been emplaced

to such a degree that its range of social meanings is restricted to the location and therefore a candidate for enregisterment, along with other linguistic forms associated with the social voices of particular social types (such as wheat farmers or rural folk). Emplaced sounds are created through perceptions, attitudes, and language ideologies. However, in traditional dialectology emplaced sounds are ‘laid down’ (i.e. top-down) onto a dialect geography, and in this study I argued that if one approaches an emplaced sound from within (i.e. bottom-up), it is possible not only to understand its significance as a local accent feature, but also to gain an understanding of how speakers in dialect areas have multiple and fluid notions of the social meanings of a sound that is deemed ‘regional’.

9.3. Metalinguistic comments and indexicality

Chapter Six was mainly concerned with the question about Houtiniquadorpers’ own perspectives on local and extra-local ways of speaking. I discussed the participants’ metalinguistic comments and found that while some participants regarded uvular-*r* as local, others attributed either no social meaning to it, or articulated meanings that were related to other social aspects (such as *extremely local* social styles and personae; see below). I also found that two extra-local places stood out for the participants, namely Cape Town and Oudtshoorn. Cape Town represents a variety of Afrikaans, which the participants viewed as ‘slang’ or ‘incorrect’ Afrikaans. Oudtshoorn was associated with uvular-*r*, albeit qualitatively different than the one used in Houtiniquadorp. The participants’ descriptions of these differences constitute a kind of folk-phonetics, which shows that speakers can not only perceive regional differences, but also articulate these difference descriptively.

I also considered what the participants’ metalinguistic comments can tell us about the social meanings of (r) variation. By looking at three individuals in particular, I found that micro-level local attitudes, styles and personae are also part of the social meaning of uvular-*r*. Furthermore, no matter how divergent the kinds of lived experiences were that these individuals had, geographic mobility, especially, increased their awareness of local and extra-local ways of speaking. The metalinguistic comments showed that the social meanings of uvular-*r* as a linguistic form also involved notions of difference and socialisation, experiences of being local in one’s own neighbourhood, and personal senses of locality and belonging tied to authenticity and rootedness.

Chapter Six highlighted a juncture between perceptual dialectology (i.e. a focus on local and extra-local differences), and what happens *within place*, i.e. a kind of *experiential*

dialectology based on speakers' awareness of difference through situated experiences. I adopted the notion of 'extremely local' from Williams and Stroud's (2010) 'extreme locality' to show that the level of the 'local' is in fact the intermediate between the extra-local and the extremely local. Therefore, extremely local social meanings supply the *infra*-structure that is the underlying base or foundation of how speakers construct local social meanings. These extremely local meanings are difficult to observe, since they are situated and emergent in interactions, and oftentimes fleeting and fluid. However, in terms of language use as social practice, they are important and form part of individual or group styles (Eckert 2004b). Thus, I argued that variationist research should consider speakers' *perceptions* of dialects as well as speakers' *experiences* of regional ways of speaking (see Johnstone and Kiesling 2008).

9.4. A variationist view of rhotic variation in Houtiniquadorp

In Chapter Seven, the participants' use of the different (r) variants was quantified and statistical results were presented according to macro-social categories and speech styles. This chapter was concerned with the following question: How do macro-social categories correlate with (r) variation in Houtiniquadorp (i.e. what are the distribution patterns of (r) variation)? I considered interactions between neighbourhoods and residential status scores (RSS), and between age cohorts and genders to explore distribution patterns of (r) use.

The traditional variationist analysis found patterns of (r) use that were statistically significant, especially for RSS, age groups, and genders. The distribution patterns showed that uvular-*r* can be associated with the following social types: YOUNG, MEN, OLD DORP, and ESTABLISHED LOCALS. RSS as a variable of local social status and mobility showed that uvular-*r* is a regional feature used by *boorlinge* (RSS 1) and locals (RSS 2-5). However, I also argued that neighbourhoods (as proxies for socioeconomic status) interacted with RSS, where RSS 1 *boorlinge* who live in Bergview used alveolar-*r* more frequently, creating a distinction between endocentric/exocentric attitudes and upward social mobility. Since uvular-*r* is locally meaningful, use of this variant by groups who have stronger local connections, such as RSS 1 *boorlinge* from Old Dorp, is not surprising. I argued that the endocentric orientations of traditional *boorlinge* can explain their maintenance of uvular-*r* as the variant that indexes local prestige. Therefore, (r) use does not directly index socioeconomic status on a macro-level, but rather points to the importance of local social status, such as the association between *boorlinge* and ancestral landownership.

In terms of age, it was especially the participants in the youngest age group who showed a higher frequency use of uvular-*r*. The increase in use amongst the younger participants indicates a possible change in the social meanings of uvular-*r*. I initially argued that this might be a stable pattern of age grading and not necessarily a change in progress. However, when I looked at gendered age groups, I found that young women had a high frequency use of uvular-*r*, compared to women in the other three age groups. This stark difference was not found for young men in comparison to older men, because men generally used uvular-*r* more frequently than women. The high frequency use of uvular-*r* by participants younger than twenty-five, from both genders, indicates that the variant has local prestige, which supports the notion of a possible change-in-progress.

Apart from looking at variation according to macro-social categories, I also used cluster analyses to identify groups in the data. Three groups were identified: two groups of near-categorical users of either variant (*bryers* and *rollers*), and a group of *mixers*, who used both variants. Near-categorical users do not show intra-speaker variation according to speech styles. For the group of *mixers*, I found that speech style was not statistically significant, because half of the *mixers* increased their use of uvular-*r* during the description style, while the other half used uvular-*r* more frequently during the conversational style. This indicates that the statistically significant results calculated from averages can sometimes obscure meaningful patterns of style-shifting. I argued that this finding reflects the ambivalence towards uvular-*r* as a non-standard variant supra-locally, but with local prestige. I furthermore proposed that the participants' use of (r) was influenced by both the interview-as-speech-situation, as well as other contextual factors. Mainly, during the description style, the participants were not directly interacting with me in conversation, but focused on the task at hand. If they were minimising their use of uvular-*r* to accommodate their speech to me, one could argue that their uvular-*r* “returned” when they were not directly engaging me, but instead focused on the task. I concluded that the notion of speech styles was complicated by interactional, situational factors such as topic, interlocutors and audience (see Bell 1984, 2001), which supported the notion of an indexical field of Afrikaans (r) shaped by ideologies and interactional stances (as more recently shown by Coupland 2007; Schilling 2013; and others). The main argument I made from the cluster analyses was that the ability to use *both* variants might be just as meaningful as the categorical use of either (r) variant.

Finally, I drew on the findings of Chapters Six and Seven to construe an indexical field of Afrikaans /r/. I argued that indexical fields are useful heuristics, which enable sociolinguists

to trace local styles and personae linked – in this case – to ideologies of locality and belonging. With the indexical field of uvular-*r*, I showed that the social meanings of the variant actually resided in social positionings, which speakers could draw on to situate themselves and project (or perform) their styles and personae. I observed these social positionings in my analyses of the participants' beliefs and attitudes about what it means to be, for example, from the Old Dorp, or a traditional *boorling*, or a man, or young.

9.5. Being from a *boorling* family, identity work, and meaning in interaction

Chapter Eight focused on individuals and explored the question: how does (r) variation play out during individual interview interactions?

I started off by considering the local significance of being from a traditional *boorling* family, where locally recognised surnames play an important role in indexing local positions. By focusing on (r) use by individuals from a *boorling* family, I showed how individuals, in a place where kinship is important, used uvular-*r* in ways that do not necessarily correspond to the distribution patterns of the macro-social categories (such as *boorling*, or a man, or young). I first discussed two brothers, one a near-categorical user of alveolar-*r*, and the other a near-categorical user of uvular-*r*, and argued that their ways of speaking during the interviews were performances of their individual senses of self (following Johnstone 1996). Furthermore, it was not only Jeffery's categorical use of alveolar-*r* that set him apart from his brother, Dennis. Jeffery indexed his individualist, ambitious, and dramatic persona through code-switching, prosody, and discourse markers. Thus, speakers can draw on (r), and other ways of speaking, to orient or align themselves towards – or away from – social types or categories (macro-social levels), personae or local social categories (meso-social levels), and interactional stances (micro-social levels; Ochs 1992; Moore and Podesva 2009).

I also analysed the interactional use of (r) by two *mixer* participants, Lionel and Hope, and brought in the notion of *moments of meaning*. My focus on moments of meaning followed Mendoza-Denton's (2007) argument that the frequency use of a variant is but one aspect involved in the social meanings of linguistic forms in interaction. Therefore, I did not only show how frequently Lionel and Hope used (r) variants during the interview: I also investigated the variants' recency (i.e. their use during particular topics) and showed how Lionel and Hope drew on either variant to actively design their talk, using uvular-*r* to create the semiotic differentiation of a friendship group and to express emotion. I argued that the ways these two participants varied their use of (r) during specific moments in the interview showed the

dynamic and fleeting nature of the contextually situated meanings of linguistic forms. I concluded that even though these two participants had distinct, and perhaps irreconcilably different lived experiences, they showed that the social meanings of uvular-*r* in interaction can move beyond indexing locality and belonging, taking one towards considerations of the variant's use as an index of extremely local in-groups (i.e. Lionel's soccer-playing, Grasshopper-wearing *Sparkies*), or to express emotion, intimacy and place attachment, as exemplified by Hope. With Hope's discussion I argued that *variation per se* is socially meaningful (following Ochs 2012).

9.6. Limitations of the study and directions for future research

Before I consider directions for future research, I discuss some limitations of the current study.

This study would have benefitted from investigating interactions beyond the sociolinguistic interviews. For example, recording the interactions a speaker has in different spaces within Houtiniquadorp, in other areas in and around George, and with different interlocutors, would have provided more information about the interactional use and social meanings beyond the moments of meaning in a sociolinguistic interview. This would have fostered a stronger exploration of (r) as part of local stylistic practices. In terms of understanding stylistic practices, this study is also limited through its investigation of only one linguistic form and further studies could explore whether uvular-*r* clusters with other phonetic, morphosyntactic or lexical variants to establish a Houtiniquadorp 'way of speaking' or 'register'.

Furthermore, this was not a traditional *sociophonetic* study, and possible pertinent patterns of linguistically conditioned variation were not explored. For instance, although I looked at phonological environments, other aspects such as word stress and word type (i.e. grammatical or lexical) might be involved in (r) variation. In Chapter Eight, I observed that Hope's frequent use of uvular-*r* with specific verbs (e.g. *praat* 'speak' and *vra* 'ask') indicates that there might be a lexical interaction with the type of (r) variant used, and that some words might be primed for uvular-*r* (following exemplar theory). Further analyses are needed to confirm these hypotheses.

Finally, as I showed in Chapter Five, my exploration into using formants to analyse Afrikaans /r/ indicates that this might be a promising direction, particularly for trilled realisations. All these limitations and shortcomings, however, are highlighting aspects for further research. I proceed with considering some other possibilities.

The geographical spread, local social status, and sociophonetics of *bry-r* today

While the Swartland region seems to be firmly established as stereotypical uvular-*r* region, future studies can explore Western Cape regions to establish the extent of the geographical spread of the variant. Thus, Le Roux and Pienaar's (1927) call in the early twentieth-century for further studies into uvular-*r*'s geographical spread has not yet been answered in the early twenty-first century; this study is one step in that direction. As this study found, Oudtshoorn is perceived to be a uvular-*r* location, and I am especially interested to further explore the type of rhotic variation occurring on the other side of the Outiniqua Mountains.

The metalinguistic comments showed that a sociophonetic study of Afrikaans (r) in broader social and geographical contexts can contribute promising results about rhotic variation. For instance, the folk-phonetics of some of the participants indicated that the acoustic and articulatory realisations of the types of uvular-*r* described by them can be explored. I also observed that realisations of zero-*r* is on a continuum with *r*-coloured vowels, where the rhotic is co-articulated with the preceding vowel. Given the established phenomenon of vowel nasalisation in Afrikaans, vowel rhoticisation can also be explored.

What are the young people doing?

As stated above, the youngest age cohort showed a strong increase in the use of uvular-*r*. Lionel (aged 18; see Chapter Eight) switched between variants when he talked about his own and an adversarial peer group, which showed that further ethnographic studies of young people might provide insight into how the variants are recruited into locally meaningful stylistic practices. Thus, an approach similar to the ground-breaking work done by Eckert (1989a; 2000) can trace the social meanings of (r) variation, constructed locally around salient social and ideological issues. Social and geographic mobility can also be considered, since prestige is attached to attending a former White school in George, where young people can form different kinds of social networks than in the local Houtiniquadorp high school. Finally, it can also be worthwhile to further explore the interaction between gendered identities and uvular-*r*, since the young female participants are using a linguistic form that their mothers and grandmothers avoid.

Social meanings, place identities and linguistic variation

Finally, it might be worthwhile to explore what other linguistic variables can play a role in different kinds of Afrikaans place identities. Some studies, such as Wissing's (2006) exploration into vowel rounding, indicate that there is a perceptual boundary between the Afrikaans spoken in the northern parts of the country, compared to the south. Vowel rounding

is particularly associated with the Gauteng region, which is also a main urban centre. Since there have been few Afrikaans variationist studies since the late nineteen-eighties, my study acts a call for the return of a serious engagement with the sociolinguistic realities of Afrikaans variation. Furthermore, as shown by Mesthrie (2012), other sociolinguistic studies can benefit from incorporating place as a meaningful part of social identity constructs (i.e. the emic importance of place identities), not only for varieties of South African English or Afrikaans, but also for varieties of South Africa's African languages. This is especially pertinent in contexts of social changes in the form of social and geographic mobility, which are increasingly entering the discussions and explanations for linguistic variation and change.

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Chapter 3 Appendices

Appendix 3.1. Racial population groups in South Africa (2011 census)

In table 3.1, the population groups in Houtiniquadorp are compared to George (the larger municipality; see discussion below), the Western Cape Province, and South Africa.

	Houtiniquadorp	George	Western Cape	South Africa
Coloured	92.3%	50.4%	48.8%	8.9%
Black	5.6%	28.2%	32.8%	79.2%
White	0.6%	19.7%	15.7%	8.9%
Indian/Asian	0.5%	0.5%	1.0%	2.5%
Other ⁷⁷	1%	1.2%	1.6%	0.5%
<i>Population</i>	<i>25,275</i>	<i>193,672</i>	<i>5,822,734</i>	<i>51,770,560</i>

Table 1. Population groups according the 2011 census (StatsSA 2012)

⁷⁷ People who did not want to be categorised into any of the groups selected 'Other'.

Appendix 3.2. 2011 census demographics of Houtiniquadorp: age and household income

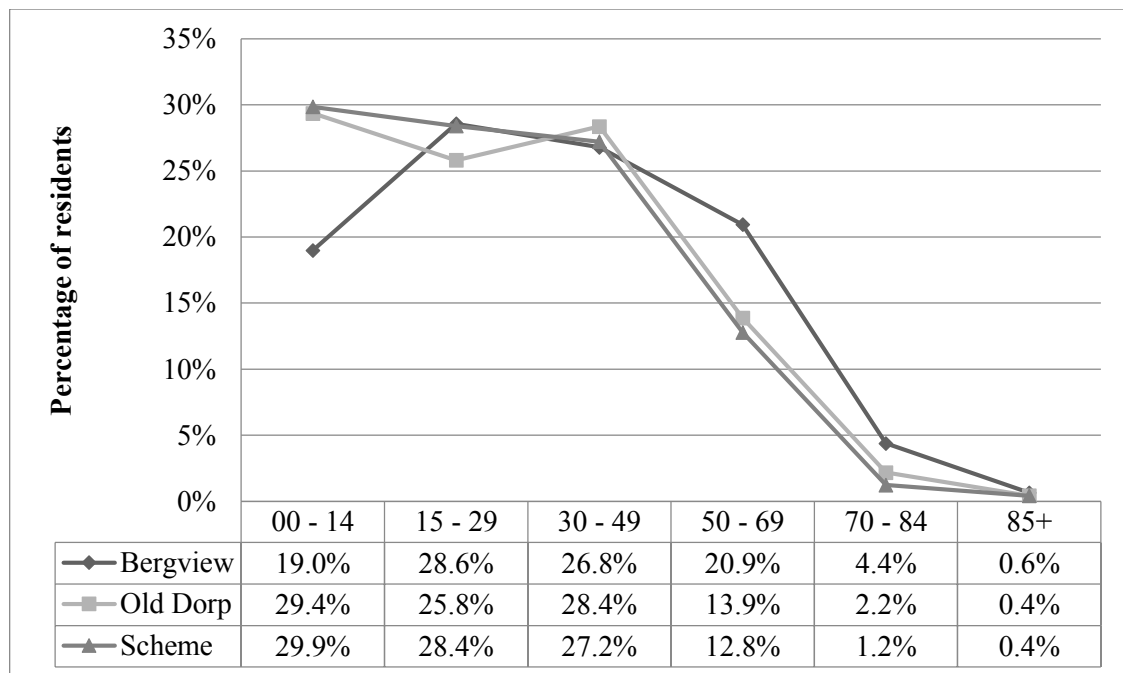


Figure 1. Age cohorts according to neighbourhoods (StatsSA 2011 census)

5,896 households were counted in the 2011 census. The average annual household income in each neighbourhood is shown in figure 2.

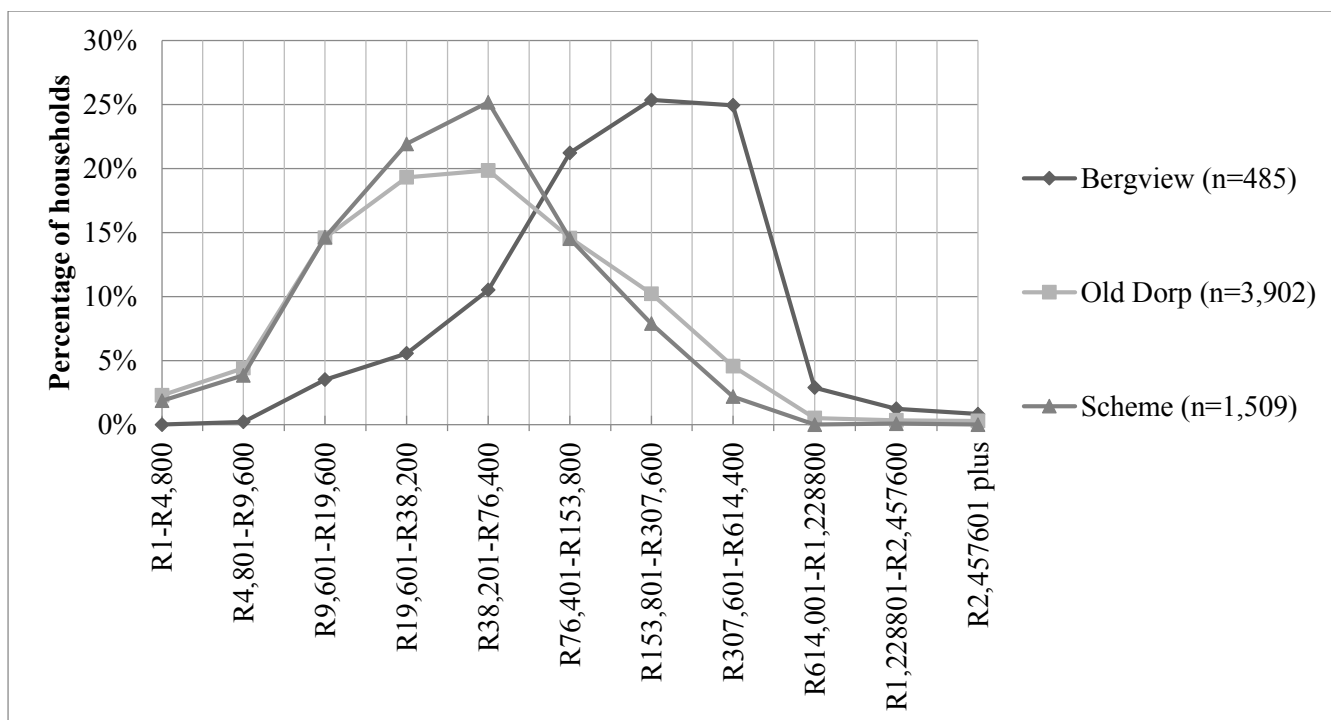


Figure 2. Average annual household income in each neighbourhood (StatsSA 2011 census)

Appendix 3.3. Metadata about the language use question in the 1996, 2001 and 2011 Census questionnaires

1996

In the questionnaire, the respondents were asked to state which language they speak most often at home. If more than one language is spoken, the next most spoken were specified.

Language spoken most often at home

A coding list of languages was compiled, including the 11 official languages as well as other languages which are spoken in South Africa.

<http://www.statssa.gov.za/census01/Census96/HTML/default.htm>

2001

I could not locate the questionnaire for the 2001 census, but from the metadata about the language use question (see below), it seems that respondents were asked to only list the language they speak most often at home.

The description supplied was as follows:

Language spoken most often in the household

‘The language most often used by the individual at home, whether often in the household or not they consider it their mother tongue.’

Methodology: Small children who cannot yet speak are considered to have the same language as the parent or primary caregiver. The alternatives are pre-coded and there is a space for indicating languages other than the official languages of South Africa. If household members use more than one language at home, each person has to indicate the language he/she uses most in the household when communicating with parents, siblings and other persons. The language used at the workplace or at school is not taken into account.

<http://www.statssa.gov.za/census01/html/concepts%20&%20definitions.pdf>

2011

In the 2011 questionnaire, each respondent in the household were asked to name the two languages they speak most often in their household. Their responses were ranked 'first' and 'second' most.

The description supplied in the metadata was as follows:

Language spoken most often in the household

'The language most often used by the individuals at home, whether or not they consider it their mother tongue.'

http://www.statssa.gov.za/Census2011/Products/Census_2011_Metadata.pdf

Questionnaire A can be located here:

<http://www.statssa.gov.za/census2011/CensusQuestionnaire.asp>

Appendix 3.4. Old Dorp areas



Open spaces in Old Dorp (own photo, June 2010)





Grazing animals and children tending to vegetable gardens (own photos, June 2010)

Chapter 4 Appendices

Appendix 4.1. Facebook group: Taalgoggas en Balbyters

1,800 members on 3 September 2013; 5,008 members on 24 September 2014

Group description in Afrikaans:

'n Webblad vir enigiemand wat in Afrikaans werk of sommer lief is vir die taal. Kom skop taalsake rond, vra vrae, help ander, redeneer, debatteer. Die enigste vereiste is: wees verdraagsaam en beleefd. Om jou daarmee te help: hier praat ons nie politiek, godsdiens of seks nie, behalwe as dit 'n bona fide taalkwessie is wat daarmee verband hou.

As jy oor hierdie sake wil praat, daar is baie ander blaaie op FB wat jou met ope arms sal verwelkom. As jy iemand is wat net eenvoudig jou mond oor rassekwessies móét uitspoel, hou verby. Daar is ander mense wat reikhalsend smag na jou wyskede.

Nie almal is so slim soos jy nie. :)

O, JA: Smouse en bemarkers is nie welkom nie. As ons sonbrille, modeskoene, prikkelmiddels of enigiets anders wil koop, weet ons waar om te gaan soek.

Translated group description:

A website for anyone who works in Afrikaans or who simply loves the language. Come and kick language matters around, ask questions, help others, rationalise, debate. The only requirement is: be patient and polite. To help you with this: here we do not talk politics, religion or sex, except if it relates to a bona fide language issues.

If you want to talk about these matters, there are many other pages on FB that will welcome you with open arms. If you are someone who simply must rant about race issues, keep away. There are other people who longingly yearn for your wisdoms.

Not everyone is as clever as you. :)

Oh, YES: Hawkers and marketers are not welcome. If we want to buy sunglasses, fashion shoes, excitants or anything else, we know where to go and look.

Appendix 4.2. Facebook comments: 75 comments by 31 participants

The comments reproduced here contain the original spelling deviations. Surnames have been removed.

Posted question:

Yolandi Ribbens-Klein: *Waar kom die Afrikaanse bry-r vandaan? Waar in Suid-Afrika kan mens dit hoor en wie gebruik dit meestal?*

Where does the Afrikaans burr-*r* come from? Where in South Africa can one hear it and who usually uses it?

I have coloured-coded the responses according to these topics:

	Folk historical linguistics or European origins of <i>bry</i>
	Regions associated with <i>bry</i> speakers
	Uvular- <i>r</i> as speech defect
	Regional feature or speech defect
	Comments that did concern the above topics but commented on uvular- <i>r</i> through anecdotes and other references
	Comments that were off-topic

As is expected from the real-time chat-like and public forum nature of these Facebook wall interactions, several members responded directly to others and dialogues developed (e.g. two members had their own off-topic conversation about retiring from work; these constituted nine comments).

1.	Chris: die goeie mense van Maaalmsbrry se kontrrrry	the good people from Malmesbury's area
2.	Gerda: Sekeg die Fganse invloed	Probably the French influence
3.	Machteld: Bry kom dikwels onder Namkwalanders voor en dan natuurlik die Swartlanders. Ek is 'n opregte Trônsvôller maar het ook 'n effense bgry. Dus - orals.	Burr occurs frequently among people from Namakwaland and then naturally the Swartlanders. I am an authentic Transvaler but also have a slight burr. Thus – everywhere.
4.	Alet: sekere is spreektaal ander is n onvermoe om die “r” te kan se.	some is a dialect other is an inability to say the “r”.
5.	<p>Marko: Die Afrikaanse ‘bry’ kom, as my geheue my nie parte speel nie, (ek gaan nou terug na Afr/Nedl 111 Taalgeskiedenis, onder Dr Edith Raidt op U.K. in 1969!) meestal uit die Brabantse dialek wat ook die bousteen van A.B.N. was.</p> <p>Die Provinsie Brabant is gedeeltelik afgeskei van Holland en ook in Vlaamse Brabant en Walloniese Brabant opgedeel na die 80-jarige oorlog.</p> <p>Talle van die matrose in die diens van die V.O.C. was Brabanders en HULLE dhet hulle ‘r’ gerol of dan ge-bry... steeds hoor mens dit in die egte streeksdialek daar!</p> <p>Brabants:</p> <p>verschillen in uitspraak:</p> <p>-De ‘h’ wordt vaak niet uitgesproken aan het begin van een woord.</p> <p>-Brabanders spreken met een rollende ‘r’.</p> <p>-Brabanders spreken met een zachte ‘g’.⁷⁸</p>	<p>The Afrikaans ‘burr’ comes, if my memory doesn’t fail me, (I’m now going back to Afrikaans/Netherlands 111 Language History under Dr Edith Raidt at University of Cape Town in 1969!) mostly from the Brabant dialect that was also the cornerstone of <i>Algemene Beskaafde Afrikaans</i> (General Civil Afrikaans). The Province Brabant is partly set apart from Holland and also divided into Flemish Brabant and Walloons Brabant after the eighty-year war.</p> <p>Many of the sailors in the service of the V.O.C. were Brabant and THEY have rolled their ‘r’ or then burred... still one hears it in the authentic regional dialect there!</p> <p>Brabants:</p> <p>differences in pronunciation:</p> <p>-The ‘h’ is frequently not pronounced at the start of a word.</p> <p>-Brabant speakers speak with a rolling ‘r’.</p> <p>-Brabant speakers speak with a soft ‘g’.</p>

⁷⁸ It is unclear whether Marko refers to the Dutch North Brabant Province, or the Province of Brabant in Belgium. He does not supply the source, but a *Google* search shows that he took it verbatim from the Dutch website <http://www.scholieren.com/werkstuk/10402>.

6.	Marko: Baie van daardie matrose het dan ook in die eerste jare aan die Kaap opge-eindig en was van die eerstes wat binneland toe getrek het.	Many of those sailors have then also ended up in the Cape in the first years and were of the first who moved into the interior.
7.	Dirk: As ek dit reg het, het ons 'n fonetiese teken vir die bry-r, 'n onderstebo R. Is dit korrek? Ek sien dit nie in die AWS nie.	If I have it right, we have a phonetic sign for the burr-r, a upside-down R. Is it right? I don't see it in the Afrikaans Words and Spelling Rules.
8.	Marko: Dalk in die W.A.T.?	Maybe in the Dictionary of the Afrikaans Language?
9.	Gerda: Wat ek interessant vind was dat Haas (Marco sal haar onthou), gebore Anna Blaauw, uit die Vredenburg-omgewing, name soos Francois Fgansoooo, met die klem op die tweede lettergreep, uitgespreek het. Sy het grootgeword binne 'n geslag of twee van my Franse voorsate (in dié geval nie Huguenote nie).	What I find interesting is that Haas (Marco will remember her), born Anna Blaauw, from the Vredenburg area, pronounced names such as Francois 'Fgansoooo', with the emphasis on the second syllable. She grew up within a generation or two from my French antecedents (in this case not Huguenots).
10.	Marko: Inderdaad onthou ek vir Haas, Gerda! (he-he, Marko met 'n 'k'!) - ek dink Haas (met die van Blaauw) sou dalk wel Brabantse bloed moes he?	Indeed I remember Haas, Gerda! (he-he, Marko with a 'k'!) – I think Haas (with the surname Blaauw) would maybe indeed must have had Brabant blood?
11.	Marko: Die Branbanders was meestal ook Frans magtig.	The Branbanders were mostly also proficient in French.
12.	Gerda: Ai tog, en ek's gewoonlik so versigtig met die C en K (lees geweën en gekners van tande hier)	Oh dear, I'm usually so careful with the C and K (read tears and gnashing of teeth here)
13.	Marko: Weet die ander mense wie Haas was?	Do the other people know who Haas was?
14.	Marko: LOL!	LOL!
15.	Gerda: Marko, glad nie 'n onmoontlike bloedlyn nie	Marko, definitely not an impossible bloodline
16.	Gerda: Kan later vertel, is eintlik besig om my korsie te verdien :-)	Can tell later, is actually busy to earn my crust :-)
17.	Marko: Jy is dus jou 'sout' werd!	You are thus your 'salt' worth!

18.	Tryna:nadat ons vir lank in België gewoon het, is ek nie meer verbaas oor die gebryde r onder vele van ons mens nie	after we have lived in Belgium for a long time, am I not surprised anymore about the burred r among many of our people
19.	Fanie: Ek het iewers gehoor dis Skandinawies in oorsprong.	I have heard somewhere its Scandinavia in origins.
20.	Gerda: Dit raak algaande moeiliker soos wat my aftrede nader – nog 21 dae en etlike ure	It gets progressively more difficult as my retirement gets closer – still 21 days and some hours
21.	Hennie: Ek's 'n suburbs boy. Ek bry. My nanny was 'n kleurlingvrou van Bloemfontein. Sy't gebry. My suster bry ook want die vrou was haar nanny ook. As jy in 'n bry-streek bly, dan's dit 'n dialek. As jy elders woon, is dit 'n spraakgebrek.	I am a suburbs boy. I burr. My nanny was a coloured woman from Bloemfontein. She burred. My sister also burrs because the woman was also her nanny. If you live in a burr-area, then it's a dialect. If you live elsewhere, it is a speech defect.
22.	Dirk: Hennie [surname], hou vas. Iemand vertel dat hulle hulle dogtertjie na 'n spraakterapeut neem, omdat sy bry.	Hennie, hold on. Someone told me that they take their daughter to a speech therapist, because she burrs.
23.	Marko: @ Fanie... hoeveel Skandinawiers het aan die Kaap geland? LOL! @ Gerda - sjoe, jy al so jonk!?!	@ Fanie... how many Scandinavians landed at the Cape? LOL! @ Gerda – wow, you are already that young!?!
24.	Fanie: Ja, maar daar was 'n invloed van Skandinawiese tale op sekere Europese tale.	Yes, but there was an influence from Scandinavian languages on some European languages.
25.	Gerda: Amper 63, ons sell-by date	Almost 63, our sell-by date
26.	Theuns: Die Hollanders, Duitsers en Franse roll almal hulle 'r'e, so dis dalk daarvandaan...	The Hollanders, Germans and French all roll their 'r's, so its may from there...
27.	Marko: Beslis Fanie - maar nou's ons by Oud-Noors en Kelties... Waarvan mens duidelike spore in vandag se Cymreg (Wallies) en Fries - soos in Friesland gepraat - raak hoor.	Certainly Fanie – but now we're at Old Norse and Celtic... Of which one can hear clear traces in today's Cymreg (Wales) and Frisian – as spoken in Friesland.
28.	Jeanette: In antwoord op die vraag “Why do you roll your R's?” het 'n tannie eendag geantwoord: “Probably because of the high heels I wear!”	In answer to the question “Why do you roll your R's?” an aunty answered one day: “Probably because of the high heels I wear!”
29.	Marko: Cymraeg, 'skuus.	Cymric, sorry.

30.	Colette: Dis die invloed v/d Franse Hugenote.. Julle sal hoor die mense wat in die Karoo bly in 'n sekere streek het so 'n lekker lieflike bgei.. Dis so mooi!	It's the influence of the French Huguenots.. You-plural will hear the people who live in the Karoo in a certain area have such a nice lovely burr.. It's so pretty!
31.	Marko: @ Gerda... vasbyt! Ek is darem ook al ouer as wat my pa geword het!	@ Gerda... hang in there! I am at least already older as what my dad was!
32.	Gerda: Amper so oud soos my pa (65), twyfel of ek dit gaan maak tot waar my ma vandag staan (87)	Almost as old as my dad (65), doubt if I will make it to where my mom stand today (87)
33.	Lollie: Alet en Hennie is reg - streektaal as jy in daai omgewing bly, anders 'n spraakgebrek. In ieder geval kan mense jou verstaan, so ek vang nie eintlik die hele spraakterapeut-ding nie. Overberg is nog 'n brystreek - dis my oorsprong. Hulle bry-r rol meer as die Malmesbury ene. Malmesbury is dieper agtertoe, amper waar die g gevorm word. My dogter het gebry in my omgewing, maar na 'n jaar op skool het sy soos haar maatjies gepraat, ek dink die invloed is dus sterk van buite	Alet and Hennie is right – regional language is you live in that area, otherwise a speech defect. in any case people can understand you , so I don't understand the whole speech therapist-thing. Overberg is another burr area – its my origins. Their burr-r rolls more than the Malmesbury one. Malmesbury is deeper to the back, almost where the g is formed. My daughter burred in my area, but after a year at school she spoke like her friends, so I think the influence is thus strong from outside
34.	Yolandi Ribbens-Klein Baie interessante kommentaar - dankie almal! Terloops, die uvulêre /r/ triller is [R] en [ʀ] is die uvulêre /r/ frikatief. Ek kyk na die Suid-Kaap bry (George-omgewing spesifiek). Enige bryers al daar opgemerk? :-)	Very interesting commentary – thanks everyone! By the way, the uvular /r/ trill is [R] and [ʀ] is the uvular /r/ fricative. I am looking at the South Cape burr (George area specifically). Ever observed any burr speakers there? :-)
35.	Alet: vroeër jare sou n omroeper met n bry moeilik by die SAUk aangestel word. Deesdae maak dit nie saak nie.	earlier years a presenter with a burr would be appointed at the SABC with difficulty. These days it doesn't matter.
36.	André: Bostaande kommentaar baie insiggewend maar hoe verklaar mens dat my Botha-skoonseun, gebore en getoë in 'n Pretoriase huis, met familie wat nie één bry nie, bgy dat dit klink soos betonvibrator??	Commentary above very insightful but how does one explain that my Botha son in law, born and bred in a Pretoria house, with family that does not burr, burr that it sounds like concrete vibrator??

37.	<p>Alice: Ek wil graag 'n ligte noot in hierdie psalm sing. My tweede jongste kind (seun) kon, soos meeste kindertjies, aanvanklik nie 'n r-klank sê nie. Hy het die met 'n l-klank vervang, soos dikwels gebeur. Jongste boetie, drie jaar jonger, het die r-klank met 'n j-klank vervang. So kom 'n radioprogram eendag in die motor ter sprake. Boetie vertel met oorgawe van iets wat hy oor die 'ladio' gehoor het. Jongste snip tussenin en sê 'dis nie ladio nie, dis jadio! As ek nie agter die stuur was nie, het ek hulle opgevreet van liefde. Boetie het hard geoefen om 'rooi geroeste draad' te kon sê. Op 'n dag storm die vier kinders opgewonde by die agterdeur in: ma, ma, Boetie het rrrr gesê! Hy sou nie langer by die skool gespot word nie. Mettertyd het jongste se j in 'n gutterale bry-r verander. Niemand anders in ons familie of onmiddellike omgewing het gebry nie. Skoolmaatjies het hom natuurlik na gespot. Ek het tuis 'spraakterapeut' gespeel en na harde werk van sy kant af, het sy jadio ook 'n radio geword.</p>	<p>I would like to add a light note to this psalm. My second youngest child (boy) could, like most children, initially not say an r-sound. He replaced it with an l-sound, as happens frequently. Youngest brother, three years younger, replaced the r-sound with a j-sound. Now a radio programme applies. Brother tells in earnest about something that he heard on the 'ladio'. Youngest butts in and says 'it's not ladio, its jadio! If I weren't behind the steering wheel, I would have ravished them out of love. Brother practiced hard to say 'red rusted wire'. One day the four children stormed into the kitchen excitedly: mom, mom, Brother said rrrr! He would no longer be teased at school. In time the youngest's j changed into a guttural burr-r. No one else in our family or immediate environment burred. School friends obviously teased him terribly. I played 'speech therapist' at home and after hard work from his side, his jadio also became a radio.</p>
38.	<p>Lollie: Dan is dit 'n spraakgebrek, maar as almal hom verstaan, André, los hom dat hy vibreer.</p>	<p>Then it's a speech defect, but if everyone can understand him, André, leave him to vibrate.</p>
39.	<p>Lollie: Genadiglik het niemand my in my skooljare gedwing om van my bry-r ontslae te raak nie. My ma sou 'n floute gekry het. Ek moet sê, ek veroorsaak baie genot as ek "Kerrie" sê.</p>	<p>Mercifully no one forced me in my school years to get rid of my burr. My mom would have fainted. I must say, I cause a lot of pleasure if I say "Curry".</p>
40.	<p>Hanlie: Ek stem saam met Lollie. Ek is 'n gebore Overberger, en bry beslis omdat dit die streekstaal se invloed was. Engels het ek eers later leer praat, en moet dit deesdae meer</p>	<p>I agree with Lollie. I am a born Overberger, and definitely burr because it is the regional language's influence. I only learned to speak English later, and must speak it more than</p>

	as Afrikaans praat, maar kan (om my lewe te red) nie Brits bry nie.	Afrikaans these days, but can not (to save my life) burr in British.
41.	Lollie: Ek bry vrolik voort in Engels, dan vra die mense of ek Duitssprekend is, ai!	I go ahead and burr happily in English, then people ask me if I am German-speaking, oh!
42.	Chris: Self was ek in die 70s op laerskool in Kaapstad. Daar is my spraak ontbry, & ek geforseer om met my regterhand, nie links nie te skryf! Nee dis glo beter vir die kind, is geglo...	I was in the 70s in primary school in Cape Town. There my speech was un-burred, and I was forced to write with my right hand, not left! No that's apparently better for the child, was believed...
43.	Riana: Ek dink nie brei is 'n spraakgebrek nie,definitief streektaal maar dan brei nie ek of my man nie en my kinders het kleintyd almal gebrei,het dit later afgeleer. En dan kon hulle r'e sê (of dan brei !!!) lank voor hulle maatjies kon.	I don't think burr is a speech defect, definitely a regional language ... but then I don't burr nor my husband and my children have all burred during childhood, have unlearned it later. And then they could say their r's (or burr then!!!) long before their friends could.
44.	Gerard: Ek verstaan ook nie die bry ding nie. Het daar op Jacobsdal twee skoolmaats gehad wat bry. Het ook 'n Tswana werker gehad wat gebry het. Waar kry jy Vrystaers en Tswanas vandaan?	I also don't understand this burr thing. Had two school friends there at Jacobsdal who burred. Also had a Tswana worker who burred. Where do you get Free -taters and Tswanas from?
45.	Gerard: Vryaters lees Vrystaters.	Free -staters read Free Staters.
46.	Lollie: Chris, dis baie erg! Almal het my gelos dat ek bry. Tswana het 'n bry-r in die taal, Gerhard.	Chris, that's very bad! Everyone left me so that I can burr. Tswana has a burr-r in the language, Gerhard.
47.	Alice: My Nederlandse man, wat in Groesbeek gebore is en grootgeword het, bry soos vele Nederlanders doen. Hier in Engeland is heelwat rasegte Engelse wat bry, ook sommige radio- en TV-aanbieders. Terloops, brei word met penne en wol gedoen. Bry gebeur in die mond.	My Dutch husband, who was born in Groesbeek and grew up there, burr like many Dutch do. Here in England are many pure-bred Englishmen who burr, also some radio- and TV-presenters. By the way, 'brei' [knit] is done with pins and wool. 'Bry' [burr] happens in the mouth.
48.	Alet: Baie Suid-Sotho- en Tswanasprekers bry. Ek hoor dit dikwels en bry kan beslis n spraakgebrek wees. Dis nie net streektaal nie.	Many South Sotho- and Tswana speakers burr. I hear it frequently and burr can definitely be a speech defect. It's not only a regional language.

49.	Lollie: Ja, die Sotho-tale gebruik net 'n bry-r.	Yes, the Sotho languages use only a burr-r.
50.	Alice: Opge-eindig? Opgeëindig? Is dit Afrikaans? Ek vra omdat ek die vreemdeling in Jerusalem is.	Ended up? Ended up? Is it Afrikaans? I ask because I am a stranger in Jerusalem.
51.	Francois: Waarom noem julle dit 'n spraakgebrek. Dis mos hoe die stem- en spraakdele in die keel gevorm is deur genetika, ens. Dis soos link of regs skryf.	Why do you-plural call it a speech defect. It's rather how the voice- and speech parts are formed in the throat through genetics, etc. It's like writing left or right.
52.	Renee: Jare gelede het ons groot pret gehad met n huisvriend wat lekker gebry het... "Willem, hoeveel het jy Saterdag jou golfjoggie betaal?" en dan kom die antwoord... "R8.00", want dit was daardie jare die "going rate".	Years ago we had great fun with a house friend who burred a lot... "Willem, how much did you pay your ghole caddie Saturday?" and then comes the answer... "eight rand", because those years it was the "going rate".
53.	Barbara: Hier in Nederland klink dit vir my brei meeste mense, dis maar net hoe hulle die 'r' uitspreek, so dit klink nie so 'verkeerd' nie. Klink nie altyd mooi nie, moet ek sê	Here in the Netherlands it sounds to me most people burr, it's just how they pronounce the 'r', so it does not sound so 'wrong'. Doesn't always sound nice, I must say.
54.	Antoinette: Wonder ook hoekom dit 'n gebrek is. Het in Knysna grootgeword en is die enigste een in my hele uitgebreide familie wat brei. Dit by niemand gehoor nie (dalk was hulle almal 'uitgebrei')	Also wondering why it is a defect. Have grown up in Knysna and am the only one in my whole extensive family who burr. Haven't heard it from anyone (maby they were all 'extended')
55.	Hennie: Nee ONS noem bry nie 'n spraakgebrek nie, Francois [surname], HULLE doen dit. Die reëlmakers. Hulle sê dis slegtigeit want die bryer is te lui om sy/haar tong op te lig en dit teen die verhemelte laat vibreer soos dit hoort. Nou vorm hulle sommer die r agter in die keel, vat kortpad. Glo nie dis genetika nie tensy jy na die luiheid verwys. Ek ploeter voort, die lewe is moeitevol genoeg ek wil nie nog 'n stryd voer om my tong teen my verhemelte vas te klap	No WE don't call burr a speech defect Francois THEY do it. The rule-makers. They say it's slovenliness because the burrer is too lazy to pick up his/her tongue and vibrate it against the palate as it ought. Now they just form the r back in the throat, take shortcut. Don't believe it's genetics unless you refer to laziness. I plodder along, life is troublesome enough I don't also want to struggle to slap my tongue against my palate. And thus far

	nie. En kom tot dusver nog heel goed klaar sonder vibrating dankie.	managed quite well without vibrating thanks.
56.	Tryna: Chris [surname] ek is 1960 skool toe en nooit was daar met my gekarring oor my linkhandigheid nie.	Chris I went to school in 1960 and never was there nagging with me about my left-handedness.
57.	Chris A.: My ouma het altyd gese sy bry nie, sy hekel. (lol)	My grandma has always said she does not burr, she crochets.
58.	Org: Dok Craven het altyd gebry, Marthinus Basson bry net as hy nie op die verhoog is nie.	Doc Craven has always burred, Marthinus Basson only burrs if he is not on stage.
59.	Deidre: Ek is in Uitenhage gebore, het in Pretoria, Bloemfontein, Kroonstad, Ficksburg en Queenstown grootgeword, en het gebry as kind. Die enigste een in my familie. Dit was toe glo 'n spraakgebrek en ek moes jare vir spraakonderrig gaan. Dit het nie veel gehelp nie; ek “rol” nog steeds my r. Toe ek op skool en universiteit Frans as vak geneem het, het ek baie minder gesukkel om die Franse r te bemeester as my klasmaats. Ek woon al 18 jaar in die VSA, en my jongste wat hier gebore is, spreek haar r uit presies soos ek dit doen, alhoewel sy my baie min hoor Afrikaans praat en ek nie die “spraakprobleem” in Engels het nie. Sy praat goed Frans en het 'n perfekte aksent, en wanneer sy Spaanse woorde gebruik rol sy haar r presies soos ek dit doen in Afrikaans. So ek dink dis definitief deels geneties	I am born in Uitenhage, have grown up in Pretoria, Bloemfontein, Kroonstad, Ficksburg and Queenstown, and have burred as a child. The only one in my family. Then it was apparently a speech defect and for many years I had to go for speech education. It didn't help much; I still “roll” my r. When I took French as subject at school and university, I have struggled much less to master the French r than my classmates. I've been living for 18 years in the USA, and my youngest who was born here, pronounce her r exactly like I do it, even though she rarely hears me speak Afrikaans and I don't have the “speech problem” in English. She speaks good French and has a perfect accent, and when she uses Spanish words she rolls her r exactly like I do it in Afrikaans. So I think it's definitely partly genetic.
60.	Susan: Malmesbury se boege bgy so, is ons altyd vertel toe ons kinders was	Malmesbury's farmers burr like that, we were told when we were children
61.	John: Dirk [surname] - Die bry-r kan [r] of [ɾ] wees. Albei kom in die verskeie Nederlandse dialekte (Suid-hollands, Brabants) voor, en ook in ander tale wat 'n invloed op Afrikaans gehad het.	Dirk – The burr-r can be [r] or [ɾ]. Both occur in various Dutch dialects (South Holland, Brabants), and also in other languages that had an influence on Afrikaans.

	[ʀ] (trill) : Standaard (Parys) Frans, Duits, en Sotho. [ʁ] (frikatief) : Frans, Limburgs en 'n Maleise dialek	[ʀ] (trill): Standard (Parisian) French, German, and Sotho. [ʁ] (fricative): French, Limburgs and a Malayan dialect.
62.	Gerda: Lekker ou Afrikaans	Nice old Afrikaans
63.	Rita: In ons gesin van agt, bry vier - die jongste vier. Vrystaters. Bolanders het glo taamlik gebry.	In our family of eight, four burr – the youngest four. Free Staters. Bolanders have apparently burred somewhat.
64.	Dirk: John, baie dankie!	John, thanks a lot!
65.	Marko: Een regs, een aweregs... laat val 'n steek! - SO 'brei' mens mos... LOL! One plain, one pearl, drop one! LEKKER OU AFRIKAANS!!	One right, one purl... drop a stitch! – SO 'knit' one rather... LOL! One plain, one pearl, drop one! NICE OLD AFRIKAANS!!
66.	Marko: So 'gly' en 'bry' ons voort, of hoe?	So 'slip' and 'burr' we ahead, right?
67.	Rita: Lollie [surname], sommige Suid-Sothos praat met 'n bry, maar beslis nie almal nie.	Lollie, some South Sothos speak with a burr, but definitely not everyone.
68.	Lollie: Almal het dan seker streke en gebreke, Rita.	Everyone then probably have areas and defects, Rita.
69.	Riette: Prof. Willem Kempen het daardie vraag beantwoord in 1966 Afr.Ndl I toe iemand dit gevra het. Baie Franse maak 'n soort trill / bry klank - luister maar na sommige Franse minnesangers - en dit was omtrent die enigste invloed wat die Franse taal na 1688 hier nagelaat het. Miskien was die begin daarvan hoe die Franse die Nederlandse taal beetgekry het? Weet almal dat Simon van der Stel hulle verbied het om Frans te praat?	Prof. Willem Kempen has answered that question in 1966 Afrikaans/Netherlands when someone asked it. Many French makes a kind of trill / burr sound – just lisent to some French minstrels – and that was about the only influence that the French language left here after 1688. Maybe the start of it was when the French took hold of the Dutch language? Do everyone know that Simon van der Stel prohibited them to speak French?
70.	André: Nô nô greegrêets... (Edith Piaf?)	Nô nô greegrêets... (Edith Piaf?)
71.	Anton: Duits bry tog ook? en al die Van der Merwes wat bry, steek julle hande op! Hoe Frans IS julle?	German surely also burr? and all the Van der Merwes who burr, put up your hands? How French ARE you-plural?
72.	Anton: Met permissie. Prof Kempen het die pot misgesit	With permission. Prof Kempen has missed the mark.

73.	Riette: Miskien maar later 'n samesmelting van al die ander tale wat hier saamgekom het? Van der Merwes het tog ook Franse voorouers? Anna Prevot het iets soos 17 van der merwes die lig laat sien? - 10 was seuns. en hulle het pa's geword van 90 kinders!	Maybe but later a merger of all the languages that came together here? Van der Merwes surely also had French ancestors? Anna Prevot had brought something like 17 Van der Merwes into the world? – 10 were sons. And they became fathers of 90 children!
74.	Riette: Anton [surname] - ek was maar 'n student en hy 'n professor. Dis net iets wat ek onthou van sy interessante lesings.	Anton – I was but a student and he a professor. It's just something that I remember of his interesting lectures.
75.	Anton: Ek was ook daar rond in 1966 en het ook van daardie uitspraak gehoor. Toe al is daar genoem dat die Franse invloed erg oordryf word, want in sommige kringe word om “Frans” te wees en enkele Franse woorde te kan praat as “half adellik” beskou? Daar was 'n hele 180 Franse Hugenate wat hierheen gekom het.	I was also around there in 1966 and have also heard about those pronouncements. Then already it was mentioned that the French influence was largely exaggerated, because in some circles to be “French” and to be able to speak single French words were regarded as “half aristocratic”? There were a whole 180 French Huguenots that came here.

Chapter 5 Appendices

Appendix 5.1. List of participants

In the first column of the table below, I supply either an abbreviation or a pseudonym for each participants' name. The pseudonyms are used for participants cited in the dissertation. The participants are listed according to neighbourhood. As explained in chapter 5.2, my process of creating pseudonyms was as followed: I tried to create a pseudonym that reflects the person's real name, e.g. whether it is an English (e.g. *John*) or Afrikaans first name (e.g. *Hannes*), or a name that is unusual (i.e. nonce creations, a common practice amongst Afrikaans speakers in general; e.g. *Jeffrica*). Grey-shaded interviews were dyads or triads. The pilot interviews are also included in this list (shown as dark-grey). Six pilot interviews were conducted, and four of these participants were re-interviewed and asked to do the picture descriptions. Alexander was not available again for a follow-up interview, and I asked Sam to do the picture description at a later stage. I could not use EW's picture descriptions, because she had a speech impediment. Ant Stienie's daughter Beatrice was present during the interview, so I included her in the list. I could not do the picture description task with Ant Stienie, because of her visual impairment (diabetic cataracts).

Thus, the qualitative data come from 75 participants, and the picture descriptions (forming part of the quantitative data) were done with 72 participants.

Abbr. or Pseudonym	Gender	Neighbourhood	Age	Place of Interview	Interview duration (minutes.seconds)
1. Zeinab	female	Scheme	18	Home	98.40
2. NO	female	Scheme	30	Home	107.09
3. EW	female	Scheme	33	Home	91.25
4. Elaine	female	Scheme	19	Home	63.17
5. Nicolene	female	Scheme	23	Church	93.15
6. Sue-Ellen	female	Scheme	20	Home	79.07
7. Thalita	female	Scheme	47	Home	98.46
8. Jane	female	Scheme	53	Home	120.12
9. Hope	female	Scheme	59	Work place (excl. pilot)	83.12

10. Sophia	female	Scheme	57	Home	103.14
11. Lionel	male	Scheme	18	Home	72.07
12. Anton	male	Scheme	19	Home	62.01
13. AA2	male	Scheme	27	Church	87.02
14. Jimmy	male	Scheme	46	Jimmy's home	113.21
15. Benjamin	male	Scheme	49		
16. Fred	male	Scheme	51	Home	98.14
17. Andrew	male	Scheme	24	Church	117.21
18. Jono	male	Scheme	22		
19. Denis	male	Scheme	44	Home	102.54
20. SJ	male	Scheme	22	Church	65.35
21. CJ	male	Scheme	63	Home	75.13
22. CP	male	Scheme	42	Church	91.47
23. Vincent	male	Scheme	52	Home	103.36
24. P.BK	male	Scheme	65	Work place	90.07
25. GN	male	Scheme	58	Home	112.33
26. TN	female	Bergview	18	Home	100.57
27. SN	female	Bergview	53		
28. ON	male	Bergview	52		
29. Jeffrica	female	Bergview	40	Home	69.54
30. Clive	male	Bergview	47	Church	98.12
31. Sandi	female	Bergview	52	Work place (excl. pilot)	28.11
32. Mervin	male	Bergview	29	Home	127.26
33. Letitia	female	Bergview	58		
34. Eleanor	female	Bergview	62	Coffee shop (Pilot)	74.03
35. Eleanor	female	Bergview	62	Work place	29.22
36. OF	male	Bergview	76	Home	94.42
37. DB	female	Bergview	23	Home	83.05
38. Mandy	female	Bergview	31		
39. Helga	female	Bergview	63	Home	133.59
40. Susan	female	Bergview	53	Work place	74.28

41. Hannes	male	Bergview	55		
42. Bob	male	Bergview	65	Home	96.39
43. DM	female	Bergview	74	Home	110.08
44. AA	male	Bergview	81	Home	78.20
45. EJ	female	Old Dorp	13	TT's home	113.59
46. AW	female	Old Dorp	14		
47. TT	female	Old Dorp	14		
48. Jamie	female	Old Dorp	20	Home	61.43
49. Henry	male	Old Dorp	20	Home	80.23
50. Ashley	male	Old Dorp	20	Home	90.00
51. Roylon	male	Old Dorp	22	Home	60.32
52. Hanwell	male	Old Dorp	23		
53. Jeffery	male	Old Dorp	38	Home	113.14
54. Lena	female	Old Dorp	48	Work place (excl. pilot)	28.11
55. Bertie	male	Old Dorp	54	Home	115.45
56. Ant Fiela	female	Old Dorp	70	Home	85.56
57. Victorine	female	Old Dorp	20	Home	73.19
58. SM	female	Old Dorp	18	Home	76.06
59. Nadia	female	Old Dorp	32	Home	112.08
60. Elsie	female	Old Dorp	40	Home	83.45
61. Gelica	female	George Prison	45	Home	99.04
62. Abram	male	Old Dorp	42	Home	95.04
63. Darion	male	Old Dorp	49	Home	67.10
64. Sam	male	Old Dorp	46	Coffee shop (Pilot)	74.47
65. Alexander	male	Old Dorp	45	Home (pilot)	66.24
66. Dan	male	Old Dorp	52	Sam's home	92.55
67. HM	female	Old Dorp	62	Home	88.39
68. LPJ	female	Old Dorp	62	Home	64.12
69. JS	female	Old Dorp	65	Home	100.58
70. Calvin	male	Old Dorp	63	J.P.'s home	103.40
71. J.P.	male	Old Dorp	69		

72. Clinton	male	Old Dorp	71	Home	80.04
73. Oom Davey	male	Old Dorp	78	Home	102.41
74. SS	female	Old Dorp	81	Home	97.17
75. Ant Stienie	female	Old Dorp	84	Home	95.31
76. Beatrice	female	Old Dorp	55		
77. Oom Piet	male	Old Dorp	82	Home	93.01
78. Lena	female	Old Dorp	48	Work place (pilot)	52.2
79. Hope	female	Scheme	59		
80. Sandi	female	Bergview	52		
Total					5787.42
Total duration (approx.) = 96:45.07					

Appendix 5.2. Formants of alveolar-*r* and uvular-*r* in a scatterplot

PRAAT can be employed to isolate and analyses single sounds. Distinction between trills can be made according to the amount of open and closed phases as well as the trill frequency (also measured in Hertz; Tops 2009:46; Ladefoged and Maddieson 1996:226). The sounds can also be analysed according to their energy peaks (called ‘formants’ and measured in Hertz). Arguably, the open phases produce vowel-like formant frequencies that can indicate the position of the tongue; the first formant (F1) indicating high or low tongue position, and the second formant (F2) showing backness or frontness of the tongue in the oral cavity. These results can be plotted on a scatterplot, as illustrated in figure 1.

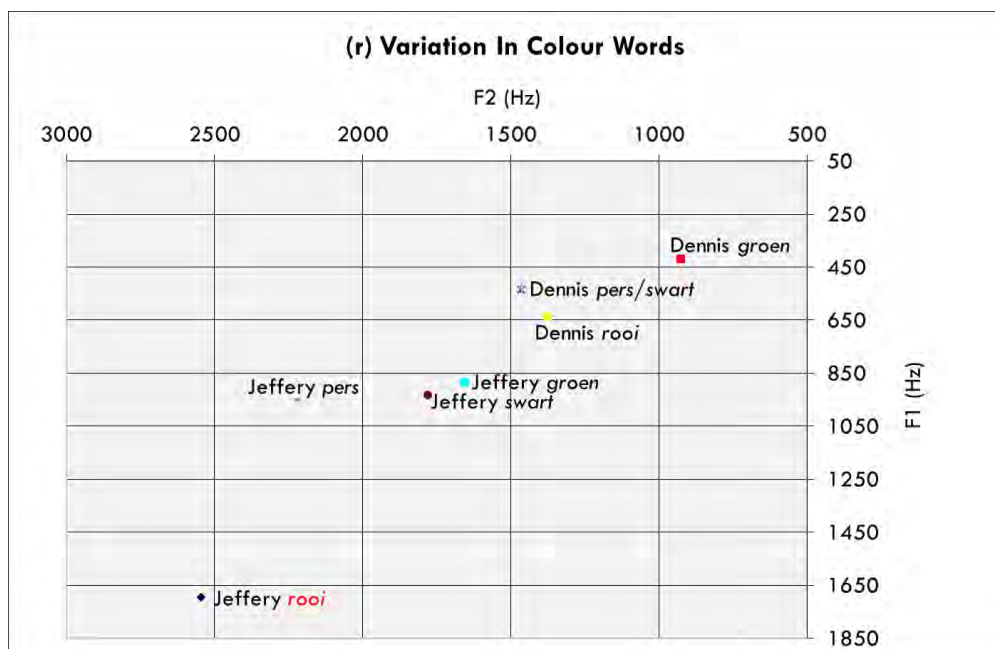


Figure 1. Scatterplot of alveolar and uvular trills produced by two male speakers (aged 38 and 44)

To listen to the audio clips of these participants naming the colours, go to the following links:

Jeffery: <https://dl.dropboxusercontent.com/u/13073674/Jeffery%20colours.wav> or <https://db.tt/pYKLKAsB>

Dennis: <https://dl.dropboxusercontent.com/u/13073674/John%20colours.wav> or <https://db.tt/SdKMYXpf>

Both speakers are male and thirty-eight and forty-years old respectively. Both grew up in Houtiniquadorp (in fact, they are brothers; see chapter eight). Jeffery produces an alveolar-*r*, and Dennis a uvular.⁷⁹ The formant frequencies for the *r*-sounds are shown in table 1.

	F1	F2	F3	F2 - F3 distance
Dennis ‘groen’	420.4	926.0	2287.2	1361.2
Jeffery ‘groen’	887.9	1656.7	3137.6	1480.9
Dennis ‘rooi’	637.7	1377.8	2317.7	939.9
Jeffery ‘rooi’	1696.6	2545.6	3318.8	772.2
Dennis ‘swart’	534.6	1466.1	2055.0	588.9
Jeffery ‘swart’	932.2	1780.5	3221.3	1440.8
Dennis ‘pers’	528.0	1464.1	1979.4	515.3
Jeffery ‘pers’	948.2	2230.9	3305.1	1074.2

Table 1. Formant values of two participants as produced in four words from the picture descriptions

These values are not normalised, and are therefore exploratory. This scatterplot provides an indication of the degree that the phonetic environment influences a trill: comparing Jeffery’s *rooi* ‘red’ with *groen* ‘green’, it can be argued that the preceding back velar fricative [x] in *groen* contributes to a retraction of the tongue. Tops (2009: 24) states that with alveolar trills, a higher third formant can indicate articulation towards the front of the mouth.⁸⁰ Furthermore, Ladefoged and Maddieson (1996: 226) state that ‘there is a consistent distinction in the spectral

⁷⁹ Dennis’ SWART and PERS overlaps.

⁸⁰ Scobbie (2006: 338) cites Lindau (1985: 161) who finds that the third spectral peak is quite low in Chicano Spanish, but ‘other forms of Spanish from Argentina, Colombia, and Mexico display a much higher third spectral peak than the Chicano Spanish, indicating a more dental place of articulation. The low third spectral peak in Chicano Spanish may be due to influence from English.’

domain between uvular and apical trills, with the uvular trills showing a much higher third resonance (between 2500 and 3000 Hz in these examples).’ The results here do not support the latter claim, and might indicate that Jeffery’s alveolar-*r* is not so much apical, and might involve other articulatory factors. Tops (2009: 46) hedges this claim by stating that these spectral differences *might* distinguish between a uvular from an alveolar sound, but that the interpretation of this property is rather complex since it is also applicable to dental sounds. She states that audio perception is the most trusted method to distinguish between these trill sounds.

Appendix 5.3. Semi-structured interview prompts

After explaining the ethics (see section 5.4), I asked the participants for their consent to participate and to be recorded. Their consent was also audio-recorded. The interview started with general biographical details, such as place of birth, age, current place of residence, and family background.

My prompts were guided by the following:

- Historical (place and personal)

Can you tell me a bit about Houtiniquadorp’s history?

How old is Houtiniquadorp now? (George is celebrating its 200 old existence – is Houtiniquadorp older)

Where did you grow up?

If in Houtiniquadorp, what neighbourhood?

Who was your childhood friends – are you still friends today?

How have things changed in Houtiniquadorp since you were young (older speakers mostly)?

Does your grandparents/parents speak about how Houtiniquadorp used to be when they were young (younger speakers) – and is that different for you now?

How did it change – people, places, etc.?

Did things change after apartheid?

How did Apartheid affect yourself/Houtiniquadorp?

Did you ever have a near-death experience?

- Social

Local elections – are there different political parties in Houtiniquadorp?

Who makes the important local community decisions here?

Do the churches play a role in the community?

How is the level of crime here?

Are there certain things only men or only women may do? Like specific clubs, walking around, etc.

Are there people that you try to avoid here in Houtiniquadorp?

- Spatial

Are there different neighbourhoods here?

Do you visit there?

Are there any places you will not go? Why?

What do you think about George – is it nicer than Houtiniquadorp?

How often do you go to George, and why?

How often do you travel to the rest of the country or overseas?

Are there specific ‘hanging out’ places – who goes there?

Where do the young people meet?

- Language

Can you speak any other languages?

How often do you speak English? (online social networking sites included here)

Are there people living in Houtiniquadorp who speak more English than Afrikaans?

Can you hear if someone is from Houtiniquadorp? How?

Can you hear if someone is not from Houtiniquadorp, but from another place/city/area, such as Cape Town? Can you mimic their accent for me?

Is there a Houtiniquadorp Afrikaans?

How do the young people speak?

How do the old people speak?

Do you use language differently when writing different things (mainly on social networking sites)?

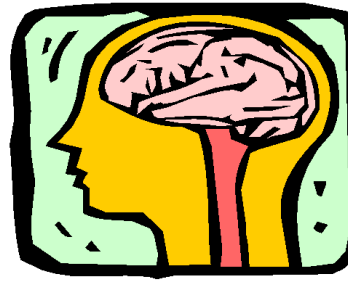
Appendix 5.4. Pictures used in description task

The pictures provided here have been made smaller to save space. I am also adding the key words I was aiming for – these were not visible to the participant.

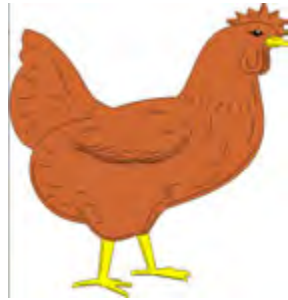
Firstly, the participant was shown nineteen clipart pictures and asked to state what he/she saw; the aim was to elicit the target word for each picture and this word usually contains an (r) token in the pre-determined phonological environments. The four main phonological environments were represented at least twice (see below).



spieRe



bRein



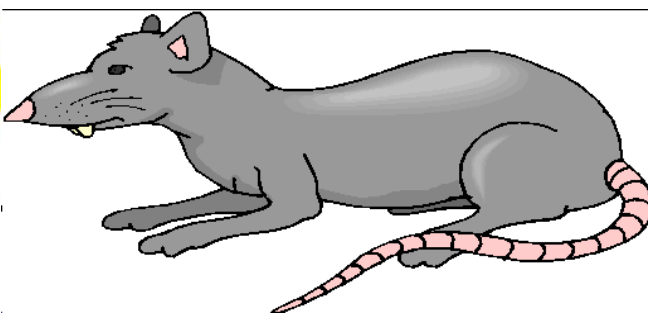
hoendeR



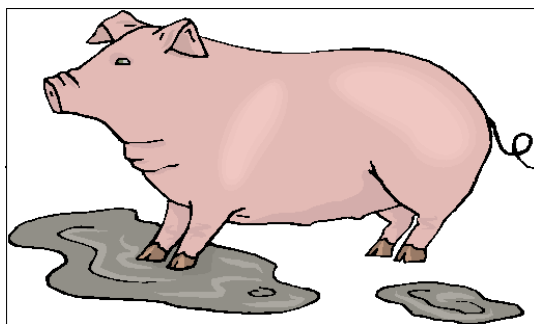
(die koei) spRing



(die haan) kRaai



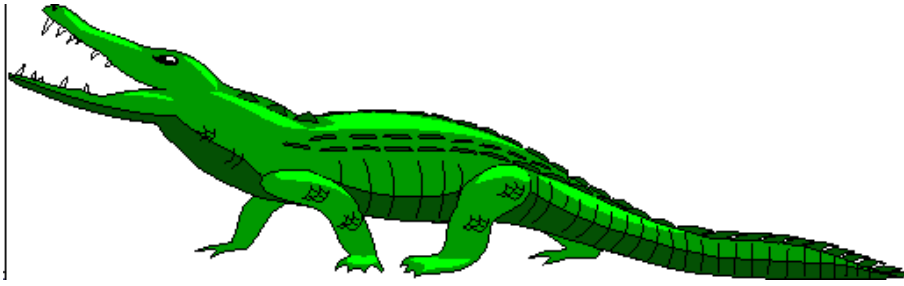
Rot



vaRk



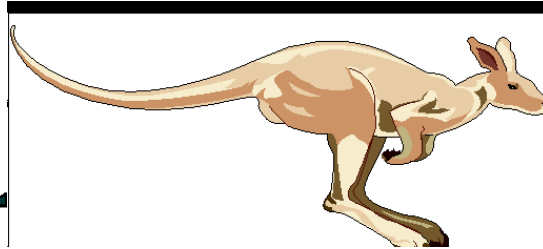
beeR



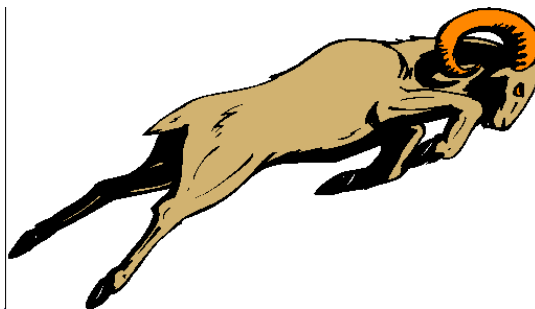
kRokkedil



(padda op 'n) blaaR



kangaRoo



Ram



eekhoRing

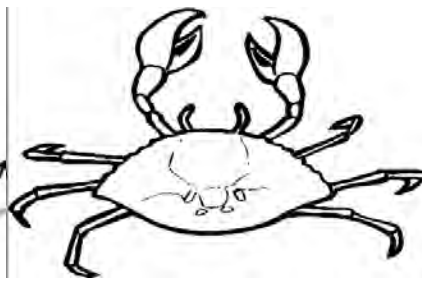


tieR

zebRa



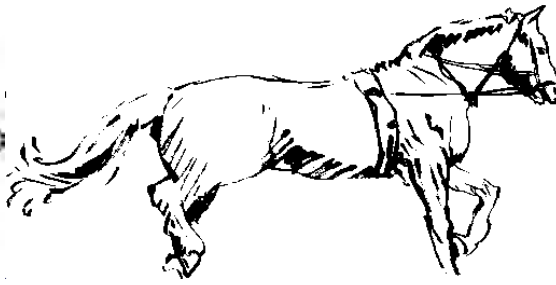
RenosteR



kRap

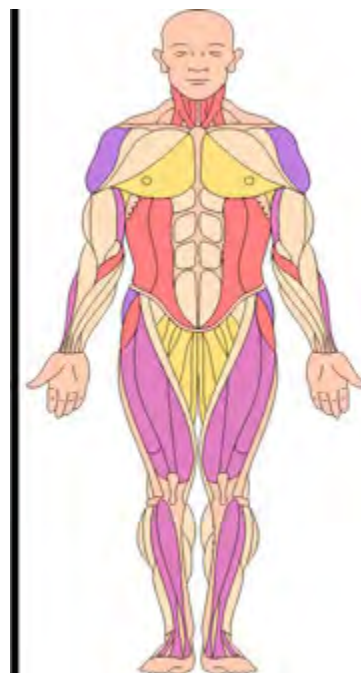


steR



peRd

With the second task, the participants were asked to identify all the different body parts on a picture of a human body. This task was chosen because in Afrikaans the names for several body parts contain an *r*-sound.

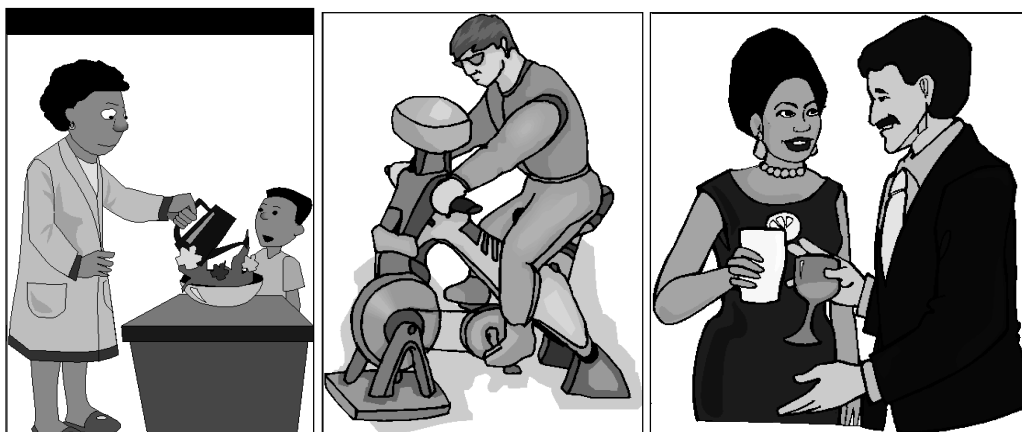


Possible words: ooR; oRe; aRm; aRms; vingeR; vingeRs; spieR; spieRe; boRs;

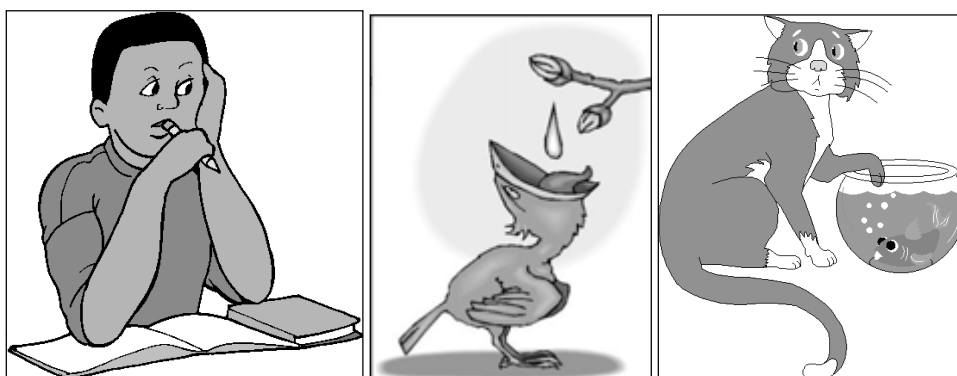
Thirdly, the participants were asked to narrate what they saw in eleven different pictures; these pictures were more complex than the first set.



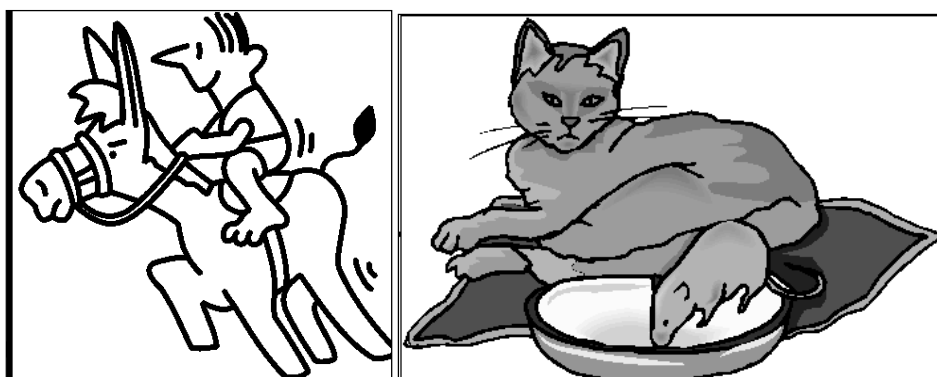
A. blaar/blaRe **B.** gRas **C.** aaRbeie



D. wateR **E.** tRap/Ry **F.** dRink/kuieR



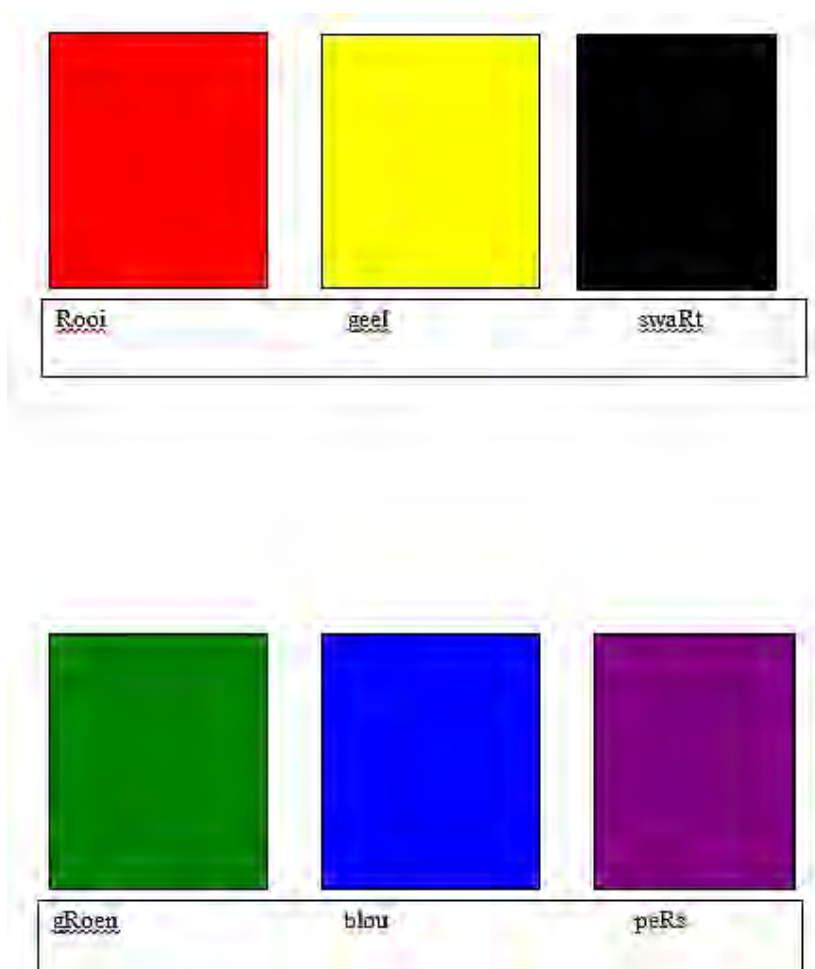
G. studeeR **H.** dRuppel/wateR/dRink **I.** kRap?



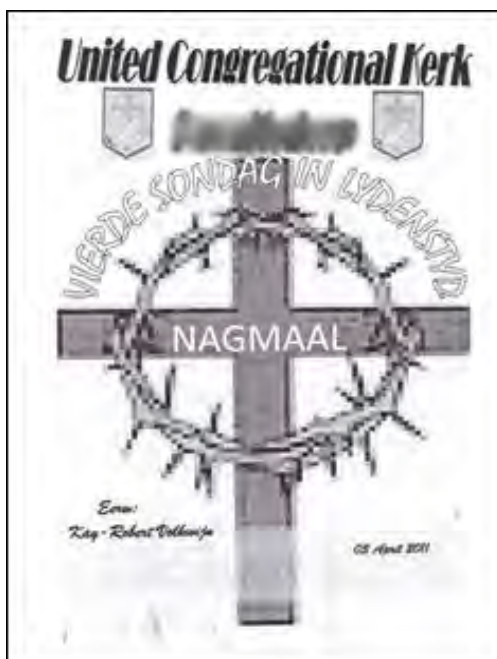
J. Ry/peRd

K. dRink/pieRing

Lastly, I showed six colours to the participant and asked him/her to name the colours. Five of the colour words contained an (r) token. The last task is most similar to the traditional wordlist activity, i.e. the speaker provides a one-word response.



Appendix 5.5. Images of fieldwork activities





Own photos, June 2010 to July 2011. The ones where I am interacting with participants were taken by Sam.

Appendix 5.6. Agglomeration schedule for hierarchical cluster analysis

The agglomeration schedule shown in the table below is obtained with *SPSS* hierarchical cluster analysis using Ward's method (squared Euclidean distance).

Agglomeration Schedule						
Stage	Cluster Combined		Coefficients	Stage Cluster First Appears		Next Stage
	Cluster 1	Cluster 2		Cluster 1	Cluster 2	
1	60	68	0.000	0	0	5
2	63	67	0.000	0	0	3
3	13	63	0.000	0	2	9
4	9	62	0.000	0	0	33
5	5	60	0.000	0	1	7
6	58	59	0.000	0	0	7
7	5	58	0.000	5	6	14
8	56	57	0.000	0	0	9
9	13	56	0.000	3	8	11
10	54	55	0.000	0	0	11
11	13	54	0.000	9	10	16
12	35	52	0.000	0	0	16
13	40	45	0.000	0	0	14
14	5	40	0.000	7	13	20
15	23	39	0.000	0	0	20
16	13	35	0.000	11	12	18
17	29	30	0.000	0	0	18
18	13	29	0.000	16	17	21
19	22	26	0.000	0	0	21
20	5	23	0.000	14	15	26
21	13	22	0.000	18	19	23
22	18	20	0.000	0	0	23
23	13	18	0.000	21	22	24
24	13	16	0.000	23	0	50
25	10	12	0.000	0	0	26
26	5	10	0.000	20	25	27
27	5	8	0.000	26	0	60
28	43	69	.000	0	0	34
29	42	64	.002	0	0	55

30	17	27	.007	0	0	32
31	34	44	.015	0	0	43
32	4	17	.031	0	30	39
33	9	70	.046	4	0	49
34	14	43	.090	0	28	39
35	19	50	.200	0	0	48
36	7	31	.321	0	0	40
37	21	32	.465	0	0	41
38	47	53	.739	0	0	44
39	4	14	1.141	32	34	50
40	7	24	1.612	36	0	52
41	21	65	2.179	37	0	58
42	33	61	2.748	0	0	51
43	34	38	3.670	31	0	49
44	25	47	4.669	0	38	57
45	28	46	5.876	0	0	59
46	48	71	7.356	0	0	54
47	3	15	9.265	0	0	53
48	11	19	11.777	0	35	62
49	9	34	14.980	33	43	54
50	4	13	21.573	39	24	63
51	33	51	28.360	42	0	58
52	1	7	36.735	0	40	60
53	3	49	48.354	47	0	65
54	9	48	61.868	49	46	63
55	42	72	78.954	29	0	64
56	6	37	97.763	0	0	64
57	25	36	120.476	44	0	66
58	21	33	150.830	41	51	62
59	2	28	182.346	0	45	65
60	1	5	222.149	52	27	68
61	41	66	323.792	0	0	67
62	11	21	435.843	48	58	66
63	4	9	586.817	50	54	69
64	6	42	804.952	56	55	67

65	2	3	1045.318	59	53	68
66	11	25	1646.820	62	57	69
67	6	41	2885.117	64	61	70
68	1	2	4793.749	60	65	70
69	4	11	8721.432	63	66	71
70	1	6	25097.564	68	67	71
71	1	4	247909.318	70	69	0

The column containing the coefficients is important (i.e. the fourth column). Starting at row 71 (i.e. from the bottom upwards), it shows that the agglomeration coefficient for one cluster is 247,909.318, for two clusters 25,097.564, for three clusters 8,721.432, etc.

Chapter 6 Appendices

Appendix 6.1. Lionel's comments

Lionel (18 years old; 43% alveolar-r and 57% uvular-r)

Yolandi:	<i>En, as jy nou Kaap toe gaan, kan jy hoor die mense in die Kaap klink anders as, as mense van Houtiniquadorp?</i>	And, if you now go to Cape Town, can you hear the people in the Cape sound different than, than people from Houtiniquadorp?
Lionel:	<i>Ja baie anders [laughs] ja.</i>	Yes very different [laughs] yes.
Yolandi:	<i>Is dit? Hoe so?</i>	Is it? How so?
Lionel:	<i>Hulle, hulle, hulle's amper soos hulle, hulle eie taal, of hulle eie Afrikaans, het hulle ja, so.</i>	They, they, they're almost like their, their own language, or their own Afrikaans, they have yes, like that.
Yolandi:	<i>Rerig? Kan jy dit praat, kan jy dit na maak?</i>	Really? Can you speak it, can you imitate it?
Lionel:	<i>Nie regtig nie [laughs] Nie regtig nie uh-uh.</i>	Not really [laughs] Not really uh-uh.
Yolandi:	<i>So kan hulle hoor jy's ook nie van die Kaap nie?</i>	So can they hear you're also not from the Cape?
Lionel:	<i>Ja, hulle let gou op ek is nie van die Kaap nie.</i>	Yes, they quickly notice I am not from the Cape.
Yolandi:	<i>Sê hulle vir jou so, jy's nie van die Kaap nie of?</i>	Do they tell you that, you're not from the Cape or?
Lionel:	<i>Ja soos ek praat nog dan sal hulle nou 'ja, ek kan sien jy's nie van die Kaap nie.'</i>	Yes like I'm still speaking then they will now 'yes, I can see you're not from the Cape.'
Yolandi:	<i>Wat sê hulle dat jy anders klink?</i>	What do they say that you sound different?

Lionel:	<i>Laat ek sien, dis nie regtig, soos hulle sê, maar die dinge wat hulle doen, hulle sê-goedjies, is so, anders, anders, as wat ons nou sê, so anders ja.</i>	Let me see, it's not really, like they say, but the things that they do, their sayings, is so, different, different, than what we now say, thus different yes.
Yolandi:	<i>En Engels en Afrikaans?</i>	And English and Afrikaans?
Lionel:	<i>Ja hulle's lief om dit te meng, [laughs] ja hulle's lief om dit te meng.</i>	Yes they like to mix it, [laughs] yes they like to mix it.
Yolandi:	<i>Is dit soos 'n tipe slang vir jou?</i>	Is it like a type of slang for you?
Lionel:	<i>Ja, ek sal sê dis slang ja, ek sal sê dis 'n slang.</i>	Yes, I will say it's a slang yes, I will say it's a slang.
Yolandi:	<i>Is hier 'n Houtiniquadorp slang?</i>	Is there a Houtiniquadorp slang?
Lionel:	<i>Ja. Laat ek sien, uhmmm, ek kan nie nou aan 'n woord dink nie ...</i>	Yes. Let me see, uhmmm, I can't think of a word now ...
Yolandi:	<i>Kan jy hoor mense van Oudtshoorn klink anders?</i>	Can you hear people from Oudtshoorn sound different?
Lionel:	<i>Ja, hulle rrr [mimics the uvular-r]</i>	Yes, their rrr [mimics the uvular-r]
Yolandi:	<i>Hoe?</i>	How?
Lionel:	<i>Die rrrr [mimics the uvular-r] en daai.</i>	The rrrr [mimics the uvular-r] and those.
Yolandi:	<i>Is dit, maak weer?</i>	Is it, do it again?
Lionel:	<i>Die rrrrr [mimics the uvular-r]</i>	The rrrrr [mimics the uvular-r]
Yolandi:	<i>Dis interessant, so hulle't 'n ander tipe?</i>	That's interesting, so they've a different type?
Lionel:	<i>Rrr [mimics the uvular-r], as wat ons nou het.</i>	Rrr [mimics the uvular-r], as what we now have.
Yolandi:	<i>Het julle ook 'n tipe rrr</i>	Do you-plural also have a type of rrr

	<i>wat verskil?</i>	that differs?
Lionel:	<i>Ja, van ons bry, van ons bry nie, so ons is mos nou so gemeng.</i>	Yes, some of us burr, some of us don't burr, so we are rather now mixed like that.
Yolandi:	<i>Is daar spesifieke mense wat bry?</i>	Are there specific people who burr?
Lionel:	<i>Ja.</i>	Yes.
Yolandi:	<i>Soos wie?</i>	Like who?
Lionel:	<i>Soos in, mense wat hierso, hier in die, gedeelte hier bly, van hulle bry</i>	Like in, people that here, stay here in this area here, some of them burr.
Yolandi:	<i>Watter gedeelte?</i>	Which area?
Lionel:	<i>Die is, [Ocean Park], ons sê sommer die Scheme, ja, so, mens sal, maklik mense uitken, soos ons wat nou hier bly, sal maklik mense uitken mos as hulle van die Scheme is.</i>	This is, [Ocean Park], we just say the Scheme, yes, so, one will, easily recognise people, like we who now live here, will rather easily recognise people if they are from the Scheme.
Yolandi:	<i>Hoekom?</i>	Why?
Lionel:	<i>Net die, die, soos hulle, dinge doen en, /'t ek sien/ aantrek so, soos hulle nou doen ja.</i>	Just the, the, like they, do things, and, /let me see/ dress like that, like they do now yes.
Yolandi:	<i>Is dit, hoe trek hulle aan?</i>	Is it, how to they dress?
Lionel:	<i>/'t ek sien/ sommer net so, nog, hulle worry nie wat ander mense dink nie, so. Hulle's so never-mind, sal hulle, aantrek ja.</i>	/Let me see/ just like that, more, they don't worry what other people think, like that. They're so never-minded, they will dress yes.
Yolandi:	<i>En is dit hulle wat bry, of julle wat bry?</i>	And is it they who burr, or you-plural who burr?
Lionel:	<i>Sommer ja, is soos, meeste van, sommer dis mos oral, ons Bruinmense wat bry, so.</i>	Just yes, is like, most of, just its everywhere rather, us Brown people who burr, like that.

Yolandi:	<i>Maar die mense in die Scheme bry nie eintlik nie?</i>	But the people in the Scheme don't actually burr?
Lionel:	<i>Nie rerig nie maar van hulle, van die klein mannetjies, hulle word so groot gemaak.</i>	Not really but some of them, some of the children, they are brought up like that.
Yolandi:	<i>Okay, die oueres nie?</i>	Okay, not the older ones?
Lionel:	<i>Nee.</i>	No.
Yolandi:	<i>Is dit dan inkommer mense of?</i>	Is it then incomer people or?
Lionel:	<i>Nee hulle is mar van hierso.</i>	No they are just from here.
Yolandi:	<i>Okay, maar daar's 'n duidelike verskil vir jou, jy kan hoor, die Oudtshoorn bry teenoor Houtiniquadorp?</i>	Okay, but there's a clear difference for you, you can hear, the Oudtshoorn burr compared to Houtiniquadorp?
Lionel:	<i>Ja.</i>	Yes.
Yolandi:	<i>Maak weer vir my lat ek hoor?</i>	Do it again for me that I can hear?
Lionel:	<i>Rrrrr [laughs]</i>	Rrrrr [laughs]

Appendix 6.2. Elsie's comments

Elsie (40 years old; 87.9% alveolar-r and 12.1% uvular-r)

Elsie:	<p> <i>En so groter jy geraak het so het jy nou maar regtig, saam met die pas, van van hierdie hedendaagse, hoe sê mens nou, nie se groei nie of se spoed, het jy mar begin saam leef. Mar, daai roots, sal altyd, is altyd die goed wat jou anker, dit is die anker in jou lewe, die roots van Houtiniquadorp dit wat jy hier geleer het. En soos meneer Taylor net nou gesê het dat, jy kan 'n Houtiniquadorper uitken. Man of ons nou Riversdal toe gan, of, uhm, Goudini toe. Ons was in die begin van die jaar in Goudini, toe vra een vrou, 'n blanke vroutjie 'dame kom gou hierso nou.' Toe sê ek 'ekke?' Nou sê sy 'dja.' Nou sê sy vir my 'van waar is djulle?' Toe sê ek 'nee'/ Nee, sy't my, voor sy my daai vraag vra toe vra sy vir my 'djulle's nie van hier nie nê?' Toe sê ek</i> </p>	<p> And as you get bigger so you have now really, with the pace, of of these present-day, how does one now say, not its growth or its speed, you have just started to live with it. But, those roots, will always, is always the things that anchor you, it is the anchor in your life, the roots of Houtiniquadorp that what you have learned here. And like mister Taylor said just now that, you can recognise a Houtiniquadorper. Man if we go now to Riversdal, or, uhm, to Goudini. We were in the beginning of the year in Goudini, when one woman asks, a white woman 'lady quickly come here now.' Then I say 'me?' Now she says 'yes.' Now she says to me 'where are you-plural from?' Then I say 'no'/ No, she has me, before she asks me that question then she asks me 'you-plural are not from here right?' Then I say </p>
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	<i>'nee, ons lyk mos nie soos van hier nie.'</i> <i>En nou sê sy, uh/</i>	'no, we rather don't look like from here.' And now she say, uh/
Yolandi:	<i>Hoekom?</i>	Why?
Elsie:	<i>Nee sy kan mos nou grond raak.</i> <i>Nee daar't die mense mooi hare,</i> <i>ons het etniese hare.</i> <i>Toe's my etniese hare nou erg daar,</i> <i>[laughs]</i>	No she can rather now earth spot. No there the people have pretty hair, we have ethnic hair. Then my ethnic hair was now bad there, [laughs]
Yolandi:	<i>Wat bedoel jy,</i> <i>is hulle hare anders in die Kaap?</i>	What do you mean, is their hair different in the Cape?
Elsie:	<i>O nee hulle't mos,</i> <i>hulle gronddraad is gelê,</i> <i>dis al wat ek vir u gan sê.</i> <i>Hulle't, dis daar met wortel uit,</i> <i>ons/</i> <i>maar hier's darem nou mooi produkte</i> <i>wat ons ook nou darem mos nou bietjie kan</i> <i>gebruik.</i> <i>Kyk hier nee mar dis nou 'n grap</i> <i>/unclear/ in elk geval,</i> <i>toe begin sy nou te praat</i> <i>en sy praat</i> <i>en sy vra, vir my</i> <i>'van waar is djulle?'</i> <i>Toe sê ek</i> <i>'nee dame, ek gan nie vir u sê nie,</i> <i>ons is hier, van van Suid-Afrika.'</i> <i>Dis al wat ek vir haar sê,</i> <i>'nee man sê nou!'</i> <i>En 'n ander vroutjie kom.</i> <i>En die vroutjie sê,</i> <i>nog 'n blanke,</i> <i>sy kom toe</i> <i>en sy sê</i> <i>'uh, julle is van, George.'</i> <i>Toe sê ek</i>	Oh no they have rather, their earth wire is laid, it's all that I will say to you-formal. They've, it's there with the root out, we/ but here's at least now nice products that we also now at least rather can use a bit now. Look here no but it's a joke now /unclear/ in any case, then she now starts to speak and she speaks and she asks, me 'from where are you-plural?' Then I say 'no lady, I will not tell you-formal, we are here, from from South Africa.' It's all that I say to her, 'no man say now!' And a different woman comes. And the woman says, another white, she then comes and she says 'uh, you-plural are from, George.' Then I say

	<i>'jinne mar hoe?! Wys my wangbene uit of iets aan my wat?' Toe sê sy 'nee julle aksent.' Onse aksent.</i>	'geez but how?!' Do my cheekbones stick out or something on me what?' Then she says 'no your-plural accent.' Our accent.
Yolandi:	<i>O, so mens kan hoor die verskil?</i>	Oh, so one can hear the difference?
Elsie:	<i>Ja nee nee nee jy kan, ons bry. Ek weet nie of ek, nee mar ek bry verskriklik. U sal nou hoor ek bry. En uh, maar dit het mens weer laat goed voel, en dan laat dit jou voel, jinne ek behoort in 'n plek waar ek geken word, al het mense my nog nooit van te vore gesien nie, ek, iewers belong ek. So, en dis goed as mense/</i>	Yes no no no you can, we burr. I don't know if I, no but I burr extremely. You-formal will here now I burr. And uh, but it has made one feel good again, and then it makes you feel, geez I belong in a place where I am recognised, even if people have never seen me before, I, somewhere I belong. So, and it's good if people/
Yolandi:	<i>Oor hoe jy klink en hoe jy?</i>	Because how you sound and how you?
Elsie:	<i>Hoe ek klink en, nee nee ek kan nou enige plek gaan, vra daar was ek en meneer Taylor in die Kaap, toe't daai mense somer geweet, man ons bry. Ons was weer by 'n kursus gewees. Ja ons bry bry.</i>	How I sound and, no no I can now go to any place, ask there I was and Mr. Taylor in the Cape, then those people just knew, man we burr. We were at a course. Yes we burr burr.
Yolandi:	<i>En kan jy hoor iemand is van die Kaap?</i>	And can you hear someone is from the Cape?
Elsie:	<i>Absoluut!</i>	Absolutely!
Yolandi:	<i>Hoe hoor jy dit dan?</i>	How do you hear it then?
Elsie:	<i>Ag ek praat somer somtyds daar</i>	Ag I just speak sometimes there

	<i>met die klong-goete daar,</i> <i>sommer uh,</i> <i>‘nie djy wiet mos nou, kom!’</i> <i>[laughs]</i>	with the kids there, just uh, <i>‘nie djy wiet mos nou, kom!’</i> [laughs]
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Chapter 7 Appendices

Appendix 7.1. Results of Rbrul mixed effects regression – zero-*r* vs. produced-*r*

ONE-LEVEL ANALYSIS OF RESPONSE Zero_R WITH PREDICTOR(S): Speaker [random, not tested] and Style (1.07e-97) + Age (0.00728) + Gender (0.275) + Neighbourhood (0.36) + RSS (0.846) ⁸¹			
	Log Odds	Tokens (7,415)	Centred Factor Weight
AGE			
<25	0.131	2,618	0.533
26-45	-0.072	1,663	0.482
46-65	0.153	4,385	0.538
>66	-0.212	1,455	0.447
<i>Range = 9.1</i>			
RSS			
1	0.027	4,885	0.507
2-5	-0.016	2,955	0.496
6-7	-0.010	2,281	0.497
<i>Range = 1.1</i>			
GENDER			
Male	0.039	4,950	0.51
Female	-0.039	5,171	0.49
<i>Range = 2</i>			
NEIGHBOURHOOD			
Old Dorp	0.050	4,074	0.512
Bergview	-0.077	2,532	0.481
Scheme	0.027	3,515	0.507
<i>Range = 3.1</i>			
STYLE			
Description	-0.524	4,178	0.372
Conversational	0.524	5,943	0.628
<i>Range = 25.6</i>			

Table 1. Factor weights conditioning zero-*r* or produced-*r* (zero-*r* as application value)

⁸¹ The numbers in parentheses are the p-values associated with dropping each dependent variable from a full model with all of them (ordered from most to least significant).

Appendix 7.2. Unusual use of zero-*r*

During the picture descriptions, five participants used zero-*r* in the syllable-initial position. The words were:

re.nos.ter (used by four participants); *spie.re* (twice by same participant); *EEK.ho.rin.kie*; and *ry*.

Eight other participants used zero-*r* in the post-consonantal, syllable-onset position during the picture descriptions. The words were: *skryf* (three times: twice by same participant and once by another); *kro.kke.dil* (used by two participants); *pro.beer*; *pro.fe.ssi.o.ne.le*; *ge.kry*; and *trap.fiets*.

Only one participant used zero-*r* in these environments and in both speech styles. He was one of only four participants who used zero-*r* during the conversational style. Two participants used zero-*r* in the syllable-initial position: *vor.de.rings*; and *da.rem*. Two other participants used zero-*r* in the post-consonantal, syllable-onset position during the conversations: *vr̥ien.de*; and *pro.beer*.

Appendix 7.3. Rbrul step-up/step-down results

BEST STEP-DOWN MODEL OF RESPONSE A[ve_Uvu] IS WITH PREDICTOR(S): Speaker [random, not tested] and RStatusGroup (0.00174) + Age (0.00594) + Gender (0.0257)

[p-values dropping from full model]

\$Age

factor	logodds	tokens	R/R+r	centered	factor	weight
YA	4.270	1852	0.636			0.986
MA	-0.482	3152	0.230			0.382
XA	-1.591	1251	0.253			0.169
OA	-2.197	1160	0.249			0.1

\$Gender

factor	logodds	tokens	R/R+r	centered	factor	weight
Male	1.5	3579	0.441			0.818
Female	-1.5	3836	0.242			0.182

\$RStatusGroup

factor	logodds	tokens	R/R+r	centered	factor	weight
2to5	2.452	2151	0.432			0.921
1	1.815	3588	0.403			0.86
6to7	-4.267	1676	0.079			0.014

\$`speaker (random)`

	std dev	intercept	tokens	R/R+r	centered	factor	weight
		4.944	7415	0.338			
ABA	11.086	92		0.957			1
MF	8.418	108		1			1
SL	7.474	107		0.131			0.999
CN	7.249	101		1			0.999
JR	7.007	95		0.253			0.999
PT	6.581	89		1			0.998
BP	6.183	90		1			0.997
JC	5.929	67		1			0.996
LPJ	5.582	128		0.023			0.995
TT	4.27	100		1			0.981
EM	4.176	89		1			0.979
SM	4.148	86		1			0.978
ABN	3.621	155		0.832			0.964
AA	3.493	92		0.696			0.959
JV	3.134	105		0.457			0.942
VB	3.12	106		0.038			0.942
AP	2.82	79		0.886			0.923
NO	2.746	88		0.159			0.917
AW	2.413	101		0.98			0.888
EM	2.368	131		0.115			0.884
JB	2.329	83		1			0.88
SR	2.282	85		0.565			0.875
CS	2.224	94		0.872			0.868
RP	2.22	71		1			0.868
EJ	2.216	83		0.976			0.867
ET	2.03	87		0.218			0.844
AT	1.881	81		1			0.824
AC	1.872	80		1			0.822
MN	1.626	142		0.789			0.783
SN	1.065	104		0.096			0.674
NH	0.858	88		0.909			0.627
HM	0.619	79		0.114			0.569

MO	0.332	103	0.049	0.498
JL	0.299	89	0.652	0.49
MDR	0.094	124	0.21	0.439
CC	-0.063	100	0	0.401
CF	-0.146	83	0	0.381
JB	-0.153	132	0.03	0.379
JS	-0.169	98	0	0.375
EB	-0.207	125	0	0.367
PCS	-0.532	123	0	0.295
CP	-0.713	108	0	0.259
GC	-0.72	94	0.011	0.257
HP	-0.943	61	0.984	0.217
ON	-0.986	112	0.214	0.21
PBQ	-1.075	77	0	0.195
CJ	-1.145	88	0	0.185
GVN	-1.287	114	0	0.164
PBK	-1.292	115	0	0.164
PAS	-1.302	117	0	0.162
SDS	-2.013	94	0	0.087
TN	-2.039	82	0.354	0.085
DM	-2.1	107	0	0.08
TN	-2.88	320	0	0.038
CJ	-3.101	124	0	0.031
GS	-3.186	76	0.776	0.029
CAH	-3.201	110	0.145	0.028
DB	-3.742	114	0.158	0.017
AJ	-3.781	103	0.029	0.016
JE	-3.795	71	0.085	0.016
JR2	-4.012	89	0.011	0.013
WB	-4.02	103	0.602	0.013
LDR	-4.159	158	0	0.011
LR	-4.167	113	0.566	0.011
TR	-4.179	162	0	0.011
OF	-4.217	89	0	0.01
OB	-4.646	101	0.069	0.007
GN	-4.887	110	0	0.005
VF	-4.996	82	0.049	0.005
AA	-5.365	103	0	0.003
GF	-5.529	78	0	0.003
SJ	-8.536	77	0.026	0

```
$misc
Deviance      AIC      df      intercept      grand mean      centered input
2866.502      3172.888      8      -3.144      0.338      0.041
prob R2.fixed      R2.random      R2.total
0.375      0.551      0.926
```

BEST STEP-UP MODEL OF RESPONSE Alve_Uvu] IS WITH PREDICTOR(S): Speaker [random, not tested] and RStatusGroup (1.31e-05) + Age (0.0159) + Gender (0.0257)
[p-values building from null model]

BEST STEP-DOWN MODEL OF RESPONSE Alve_Uvu] IS WITH PREDICTOR(S): Speaker [random, not tested] and RStatusGroup (0.00174) + Age (0.00594) + Gender (0.0257)
[p-values dropping from full model]

STEP-UP AND STEP-DOWN MATCH!

Appendix 7.4. Mixer participants: Rbrul step-up/step-down results

BEST STEP-DOWN MODEL OF RESPONSE A[ve_Uvu] IS WITH PREDICTOR(S): Speaker [random, not tested] and PhonEnviron (4.25e-06) + Gender (0.00823)
[p-values dropping from full model]

\$Gender

factor	logodds	tokens	R/R+r	centered	factor	weight
Male	0.637	952	0.501			0.654
Female	-0.637	1005	0.245			0.346

\$PhonEnviron

factor	logodds	tokens	R/R+r	centered	factor	weight
final	0.410	652	0.431			0.601
coda	0.034	273	0.388			0.509
onset	-0.177	615	0.328			0.456
initial	-0.267	417	0.321			0.434

\$`Speaker (random)`

	std dev	intercept	tokens	R/R+r	centered	factor	weight
		0.927	1957	0.369			...

AA		1.973	93	0.688			0.877
MN		1.18	144	0.778			0.763
GS		1.057	79	0.747			0.74
JV		1.039	106	0.453			0.737
TN		0.606	83	0.349			0.645
JL		0.561	90	0.644			0.635
WB		0.445	104	0.596			0.607
SR		0.225	86	0.558			0.554
LR		0.177	115	0.557			0.542
ET		-0.042	88	0.216			0.487
NO		-0.418	89	0.157			0.395
DB		-0.427	115	0.157			0.393
CH		-0.513	111	0.144			0.373
SL		-0.602	108	0.13			0.352
HM		-0.697	80	0.112			0.331
EM		-0.758	132	0.114			0.317
JR		-1.07	96	0.25			0.254
MR		-1.262	125	0.208			0.219
ON		-1.313	113	0.212			0.211

\$misc

deviance	AIC	df	intercept	grand mean	centered	input	prob	R2.fixed	R2
.random	R2.total								
2063.398	2145.669	6	-0.659	0.369			0.341	0.105	
0.185	0.29								

BEST STEP-UP MODEL OF RESPONSE A[ve_Uvu] IS WITH PREDICTOR(S): Speaker [random, not tested] and PhonEnviron (4.07e-06) + Gender (0.00823)
[p-values building from null model]

BEST STEP-DOWN MODEL OF RESPONSE A[ve_Uvu] IS WITH PREDICTOR(S): Speaker [random, not tested] and PhonEnviron (4.25e-06) + Gender (0.00823)
[p-values dropping from full model]

STEP-UP AND STEP-DOWN MATCH!

Chapter 8 Appendices

Appendix 8.1. Jeffery's 'I am living my dream' speech

1.	<i>En ek was deeply moved, to ek daar sing,</i>	And I was deeply moved, when I sang there,
2.	<i>en toe remind ek, aan die woorde wat Martin</i>	and then I remind, of the words that Martin
	<i>Luther King gesê</i>	Luther King said
3.	<i>I have a dream.</i>	I have a dream.
4.	<i>En dis oral my, my/</i>	And it is everywhere my, my/
5.	<i>My saying, oral waar ek heen gaan,</i>	My saying, everywhere I go,
6.	<i>en my ultimate saying is</i>	And my ultimate saying is
7.	<i>never give up on your dream,</i>	
8.	<i>Keep on keeping on even if you fall down,</i>	
9.	<i>don't stay down,</i>	
10.	<i>stand up,</i>	
11.	<i>because it's not how many times that you fall</i>	
	<i>down,</i>	
12.	<i>but it is how many times that you stand up.</i>	
13.	<i>And keep on trying,</i>	
14.	<i>want at least you tried, you know.</i>	Because at least you tried, you know.
15.	<i>So uhm, work hard, believe in yourself,</i>	
16.	<i>dreams can come true.</i>	
17.	<i>And then uhm, look up you/</i>	
18.	<i>Jou hulp kom van bo,</i>	Your help comes from above,
19.	<i>en uhm, my dreams has come true</i>	and uhm, my dreams has come true
20.	<i>I'm not dreaming anymore</i>	
21.	<i>I am living my dream.</i>	

Appendix 8.2. Dennis' interview introduction

Dennis:	<p><i>En ja dit is dit is ek, ek is ek is, baie opgewonde ek is 'n, trotse Houtiniquadorper. Ek is gebore en getoë hierso, in in in Houtiniquadorp en regtig waar ek ek kan net ek kan net sê dankie, uhm-uhm vir die vir die wonderlike jare, ja wat die Here my ook uitgespaar het, en vir die persoon wat ek vandag is en ook deur my ouers.</i></p>	<p>And yes it is it is me, I am I am, very excited I am a, proud Houtiniquadorper. I am born and bred here, in in in Houtiniquadorp and honestly I I can just I can just say thank you uhm-uhm for the for the wonderful years, yea that the Lord have kept me, and for the person who I am today and also through my parents.</p>
Yolandi:	<i>Ja?</i>	Yes?
Dennis:	<p><i>Ek dink hulle, dit dit dit kom baie, te danke aan hulle. En ja ek is ek is ek is bly om my te kan assosieer met 'n plek soos Houtiniquadorp, ek ek ek ek is altyd, raak opgewonde, uhm, as ek as ek as ek as ek uhm-uhm, selfs by vreemde mense kom, en ek kan met nostalgie kan ek, kan ek vertel</i></p>	<p>I think they, it comes a lot, thanks to them. And yes I am I am I am happy to be able to associate myself with a place like Houtiniquadorp, I I I I am always, get excited, uhm, if I if I if I if I uhm-uhm, even [when I] meet strangers, and I can with nostalgia I can, I can tell</p>

	<p><i>van van van van Houtiniquadorp,</i> <i>nou vra die mense</i> <i>maar waar is Houtiniquadorp?</i> <i>Baie mense sê mos, uhm,</i> <i>hulle's van George.</i></p>	<p>about about about Houtiniquadorp, now the people ask but where is Houtiniquadorp? May people rather say, uhm, they're from George.</p>
Yolandi:	<i>Ja?</i>	Yes?
Dennis:	<p><i>Nou nou nou, nou hulle is,</i> <i>sommige mense is soms te skaam</i> <i>om te sê</i> <i>hulle is van Houtiniquadorp.</i></p>	<p>Now now now, now they are, some people are sometimes too shy to say they are from Houtiniquadorp.</p>
Yolandi:	<i>Ja?</i>	Yes?
Dennis:	<p><i>Nou sê hulle</i> <i>hulle is van George.</i> <i>Nou sê ek</i> <i>nee ek is,</i> <i>ek/</i> <i>ja, George is so, sewe kilometer,</i> <i>uit Houtiniquadorp uit</i> <i>maar ek is 'n gebore,</i> <i>gebore en getoë,</i> <i>uh, 'n Houtiniquadorper.</i> <i>Uh, so so/</i></p>	<p>Now they say they are from George. Now I say no I am, I/ yes, George is about, seven kilometre, outside Houtiniquadorp but I am a born, born and bred, uh, a Houtiniquadorper. Uh, so so/</p>
Yolandi:	<p><i>Is u 'n boorling</i> <i>sal jy na jouself na verwys</i> <i>as 'n boorling?</i></p>	<p>Are you-formal a <i>boorling</i> will you refer to yourself as a <i>boorling</i>?</p>
Dennis:	<p><i>Ja, ek is 'n boorling</i> <i>van Houtiniquadorp.</i> <i>So ek is nou vir vier-en-veertig jaar,</i> <i>is ek gevestig hierso,</i> <i>uh uh uh in Houtiniquadorp.</i></p>	<p>Yes, I am a <i>boorling</i> from Houtiniquadorp. So I am now for forty-four years, am I rooted here, uh uh uh in Houtiniquadorp.</p>

Appendix 8.3. Dennis' explanation of work opportunities

Yolandi:	<i>Nog nêrens anders gebly nie?</i>	Never stayed anywhere else?
Dennis:	<i>Nee!</i> <i>Nog nêrens anders gebly nie,</i> <i>nogsteeds hier in Houtiniquadorp.</i>	No! Never stayed anywhere else, still here in Houtiniquadorp.
	<i>Uh, ek weet nie</i> <i>wat die toekoms vir my inhou nie</i> <i>ek weet nie</i> <i>uh uh,</i>	Uh, and I don't know what the future holds for me I don't know uh uh.
	<i>of of of ek nog,</i> <i>nog moet ander plekke heen gaan</i> <i>of wat ookal nie</i> <i>ek ek ek weet regtig nie.</i>	if if if I still, still have to go to other places or whatever I I I really don't know.
Yolandi:	<i>Maar jy sal graag Houtiniquadorp wil</i> <i>verlaat?</i>	But you would want to leave Houtiniquadorp?
Dennis:	<i>Uh, kom ek wees eerlik met u,</i> <i>as dit gaan [oor] werksgeleenthede,</i>	Uh, let me be honest with you-formal, if it concerns work opportunities,
	<i>of wat ookal die geval mag wees,</i> ...	or whatever may be the case, ...
	<i>dan sal ek my my my my,</i>	then I will my my my,
	<i>my seker maar vir 'n,</i> <i>vir 'n tydperk moet los maak van</i> <i>Houtiniquadorp,</i>	myself probably but for a, for a while must unloosen from Houtiniquadorp,
	<i>en dan,</i> <i>en ek dink</i> <i>ook ter wille van my gesin</i> <i>ook op die einde van die dag.</i>	and then, and I think also for the sake of my family also at the end of the day.
Yolandi:	<i>Ja.</i>	Yes.
Dennis:	<i>Uhm, uh uh dis nie te sê</i> <i>jy gaan soek groener weivelde nie,</i>	Uhm, uh uh it's not to say you go and seek greener pastures,
	<i>maar ek sal</i> <i>beslis sal ek,</i>	but I will, definitely I will,
	<i>uhm, as dit gaan oor werksaangeleenthede,</i> <i>want werk is regtig waar baie skaars.</i>	uhm, if it concerns work matters, because work is really truly very scarce.

Appendix 8.4. Lionel's 2 minutes of interaction

I've shaded the relevant sections in grey to show that they are in temporal sequence.

Also listen to full version here: <https://db.tt/VUKB1YYf>.

Lionel:	<i>ja, soos ons die seuns, onse groepie ons het, net, Grasshoppers gedra, die, Grassies</i>	yes, like we the boys our group we wore, only, Grasshoppers, the, Grassy's
Yolandi:	<i>yes?</i>	yes?
Lionel:	<i>ons almal het dit gedra</i>	all of us wore it
Yolandi:	<i>okay</i>	okay
Lionel:	<i>ja [laughs]</i>	yes [laughs]
Yolandi:	<i>en die/ wat het die ander aangehad?</i>	and the/ what did the others wear?
Lionel:	<i>van 'ie, wie nou?</i>	of the, who now?
Yolandi:	<i>wat nie, Grasshoppers aangehad het nie</i>	who didn't, have Grasshoppers
Lionel:	<i>nee hulle't ma' die, die, Toughies, en daai gehad</i>	no they've just had the, the, Toughies, and those
Yolandi:	<i>okay</i>	okay
Lionel:	<i>en Bronx en al daai [unclear/ claps fingers]</i>	and Bronx and all those [unclear / claps fingers]
Yolandi:	<i>o okay en het jul/ is daar soos name, noem julle julle-self iets?</i>	oh okay and did you/ are there like names, do you call yourselves something?
Lionel:	<i>ons was die Spa'kies gewees [laughs] ja, waa' dit opgekom het weet ek nie, ek het net een keer gehoo' ek is ook deel van die Spa'kies</i>	we were the Sparkies [laughs] yes, where that came up I don't know, I just heard one time I am also part of the Sparkies
Yolandi:	<i>Spa'kies? dis 'n oulike naam yes bright spa'ks</i>	Sparkies? it's a nice name yes bright sparks
Lionel:	<i>so iets ja [laughs]</i>	something like that yes [laughs]
Yolandi:	<i>dis nice, ja wat julle alles/</i>	it's nice, yes what did you all/
Lionel:	<i>ons het altyd/ ons het altyd sokker gespeel, pouses, sokker gespeel</i>	we have always/ we have always played soccer, break-time, played soccer
Yolandi:	<i>okay</i>	okay
Lionel:	<i>pouses</i>	break-time
Yolandi:	<i>en uh net in skool tyd of het julle, uhm, het julle uitgehang/</i>	and uh only in school hours of did you, uhm, did you hang out/
Lionel:	<i>al 'ie/</i>	all the/

	<i>ja, na skool het ons altyd gan, op die veld opgegan en, so 'n, paa' gespeel, /unclear/</i>	yes, after school we always went, went on the field and, like played a, couple, [unclear]
Yolandi:	<i>en het julle ooit, uhm soos, fights of konflik gehad met, met ander, ander groepe?</i>	and have you ever, uhm like, had fights or conflict with, with other, other groups?
Lionel:	<i>met ande' groep, ja, ons het altyd</i>	with other group, yes, we have always
Yolandi:	<i>ja?</i>	yes?
Lionel:	<i>want daa' is mos, daa' is mense wat, aanmerkings maak, somme' [claps hands]</i>	because there is just, there are people who, make remarks, just [claps hands]
Yolandi:	<i>het hulle 'n naam [coughs] ok 'n naam gehad?</i>	do they have a name [coughs] also had a name?
Lionel:	<i>uh-uh nee hulle's nie, nie 'n rerig groep maa' hulle is 'n groep maa' hulle't nie 'n naam gehad, hulle's die, ampe' soos die, rugby, hulle's die rugbymanne so</i>	uh-uh no they're not, not really a group but they are a group but they didn't have a name, they're the, almost like the, rugby, they're the rugby men like that
Yolandi:	<i>uhmm</i>	uhmm
Lionel:	<i>altyd konflik [laughs]</i>	always conflict [laughs]

Appendix 8.5. Hope and her roles at work

Also listen to full version here: <https://db.tt/jspVBTqs>.

Uvular-*r* underlined and indicated with a R. Zero-*r* and other contractions indicated with ‘.

Hope:	<i>Ons was saam in een gemeente en toe sê sy jong wil jy nie by die kollege kom werk nie? dat ek nou nog in my tuig staan.</i>	We were together in one congregation and then she says hey don't you want to work at the college? that I stand in my post till now.
Yolandi:	<i>Aah dit is wonderlik.</i>	Aah that is wonderful.
Hope:	<i>Volgende jaar dan's ek sestig en dan weet ek nie wat ek gaan maak nie, as ek nog gaan aanhou wat nie maar as die Here nodig het gaan ek aan.</i>	Next year then I'm sixty and then I don't know what I will do, if I still go on what but if the Lord needs [it] I go on.
Yolandi:	<i>Ja, is/ dit lyk of jy goed hier/</i>	Yes, is/ it looks as if you good here/
Hope:	<i>Ja nee dis rustig ja</i>	Yes no it's peaceful yes
Yolandi:	<i>Ja, dis nou nie hande werk nie maa' die, die/ halfkwaliteit kontrol amper, is nogsteeds?</i>	Yes, it's not hand work now but the, the/ almost half quality control, still is?
Hope:	<i>Ja, yes, ja dit is, soos dis goed ja dit is, dis nog okay en ek kan /unclear/ by eksamens,</i>	Yes, yes, yes it is, like it's good and it is, it's still okay and I can /unclear/ with the exams,
Yolandi:	<i>Ja</i>	Yes
Hope:	<i>So, dit is, vi' my, regtig ek <u>leeR</u> baie <u>meeR</u>, ek leer al hoe meer.</i>	So, it is, for me, really I learn a lot more, I learn even more.
Yolandi:	<i>En ontmoet ander seker ande' mense?</i>	And probably meet other people?
Hope:	<i>Oh yes</i>	Oh yes
Yolandi:	<i>En hie's jong mense hou mens jonk/</i>	and here's young people keeps one young/
Hope:	<i>Oh yes, ja ja, nee dis 'n plesier om hier te <u>weRk</u>, ve'al om die kinders ve'al as hie' moeilikheid kom of so aan.</i>	Oh yes, yes yes, no it's a pleasure to work here, especially for the children especially if here's trouble or so,
Yolandi:	<i>Is dit? Kom die kinders en gesels of hoe bedoel u nou?</i>	Is it? Do the children come and talk or how do you-formal mean now?
Hope:	<i>Hulle kom bietjie gesels ons gesels en ve'al as ek, noodhulp doen,</i>	they come to talk a bit we talk and especially when I, do first aid,

Yolandi:	<i>O ja?</i>	Oh yes?
Hope:	<i>Ja.</i>	Yes.
Yolandi:	<i>Ja soos wat gebeur?</i>	Yes like what happens?
Hope:	<i>As hulle miskien nog faint, of hulle epilepsiese aanval al ons/ /unclear/ hulle 't net vi' ons, uh, level, eh, een en twee ge/ gegee? en, daa 'vandaan af het ek maa' so, altyd as daar een is dan <u>Roep</u> hulle altyd aan ons, of hulle <u>Roep</u> aan my of so aan. sien jy en is, is, iets goed dat, kyk hoe's/ so bly as 'n mens iemand kan help of so aan, of miskien hulle, probleem het dan kan jy met hulle gesels, ons sê hulle moet 'n <u>werkeR</u> gaan sien, nee man, daa's baie goedjies wat jy hulle kan, bedags waar die <u>kindeRse</u> gaan deur 'n baie, 'n moeilike tyd, en ons sal nooit dink, ons dink miskien die kinde's leef net en dit gaan goed en so maa' as jy, as jy, as jy as die een nou kom en jy <u>yRa</u> nou uit en, jy gesels en dan sal jy verbasend wees wat, uit watter agtergrond uit daai ene kom sien jy?</i>	If they maybe faint, or they epileptic attack all our/ /unclear/ they only gave us, uh, level, uh, one and two? and, from there I have just so, always when there is one then they always call on us, or they call on me or so. you see and is, is, something good that, see how's/ so happy if one can help someone or so, or maybe they have a problem then you can talk to them, we say they must see a worker, no man, there's many things that you can [help] them, today where the children go through a very, a tough time, and we won't ever think, we maybe think the children just live and it goes well and so but if you, if you, if you if the one comes now and you ask after and, you chat and then you will be astonished what, from what background that one comes you see?

Appendix 8.6. Hope and surviving cancer

Also listen to full version here: <https://db.tt/FpmxW42S>.

Uvular-*r* underlined and indicated with a R. Zero-*r* and other contractions indicated with ‘.

Yolandi:	<i>Seker ook toe jy nou siek was ook?</i> <i>Het/</i>	Probably also when you were also sick? Have/
Hope:	<i>Oh yes, /unclear/</i>	Oh yes, /unclear/
Yolandi:	<i>Ja</i>	Yes
Hope:	<i>En ek dink weet jy, jy <u>pRa</u>at nou so, jy kan/ ek kan nie genoeg <u>pRa</u>at van, van my siekte wat ek deurgemaak het nie, en uhm, nou ek ek gaan praat baie mense as ek uitvind die een het miskien kanker, of so dan gaan, dan gaan <u>pRa</u>at ek baie met sulke pasiente <u>pRa</u>at baie met sulke mense,</i>	An I think you know, you talk now like this, you can/ I cannot talk enough about, about my illness and what I went through, and uhm, now I I go and speak [to] many people when I find out this one maybe has cancer, or so the [I] go, then I often go and talk with such patients talk a lot with such people,
Yolandi:	<i>Om hulle moed in te?</i>	To give them courage?
Hope:	<i>Om hulle te, [sigh] bietjie te bemoedig [sigh] en uh [claps hands] weet jy die dag toe, toe, hulle vi' my sê, ek het/ ek was, ek was baie hartseer, want ek het net gesê, dood. is nou dood, is, dis my laaste, dit, dit het net, dit het net/ oe dit het/ oe ek kon dit nie/ man jy sal, jy sal, kan jou nie beskryf nie,</i>	To [give] them, [sigh] a bit encouragement [sigh] and uh [claps hands] you know the day when, when they told me, I have/ I was, I was very sad, because I just said, death. now [it's] death, is, it's my last, it, it just has, it just has/ oh it has/ oh I could it not/ man you will, you will, cannot describe [it to] you,
Yolandi:	<i>Hmmm</i>	Hmmm
Hope:	<i>Dit het net gekom ek sien net daa' kom my dood dis aan is nou my dood,</i>	It just came and I just see there comes my death it's on is now my death,
Yolandi:	<i>Sjoe, hoe lank terug was dit?</i>	Wow, how long ago was it?

Hope:	<i>Hy's, dis nou elf jaar gelede,</i>	It's, it's now eleven years ago,
Yolandi:	<i>Wow, wonderlik.</i>	Wow, wonderful.
Hope:	<i>Weet, en uh, ek het deur daai trauma en ek het, late' het hulle my gepraat, vRa nou, sê hulle vi' my nou, waa's die probleem gekom het en,</i>	Know, and uh, I went through that trauma and I have, later they spoke to me, ask now, they now say to me, where the problem came and,
Yolandi:	<i>Yes?</i>	Yes?
Hope:	<i>wat nou gebeur het en so aan, en vra hulle vi' my is ek is ek 'n, mode mens of, hoe? toe sê ek 'nee, ek's net so 'n, gewone mens soos vRou /unclear/' voel ek nou hulle moet die bors afsit, of moet hulle net die klont verwyder, sê ek vi' hulle, vat net die bors af, wat, wat die beste is, hulle sê toe wat die opsies is en toe sê ek vi' hulle nee man neem die bors weg, en uh, hulle het dit so gedoen, operasie het seke' vieR en 'n half uuR,</i>	what happened now and so on, and they ask me am I am I a, fashion person or, how? then I say 'no I'm just like a, normal person like woman /unclear/' [do] I feel now they must take the breast off, or must they just remove the lump, I say to them, just take the breast off, what, what is the best, they then say what the options are and then I say to them no man take the breast away, and uh, they did it like that, operation have probably four and a half hour,
Yolandi:	<i>Sjoe, groot</i>	Wow, big
Hope:	<i>ja en uhm, hy was/ want hy was aan my borskas, aan my boRskas,</i>	yes and uhm, it was/ because it was on my chest, on my chest,
Yolandi:	<i>hmm dan's dit seker beter om, alles/</i>	hmm then it's probably better to, everything/
Hope:	<i>alles, te ve'wyde' nee ek sal nie skaam wees nie lat ek jou wys kyk hie'so, en uh, dit was nie vi' my snaaks nie weet jy, en dit is, ek het dit so gou aanvaaR,</i>	to remove, everything no I won't be shy let me show you look here, and uh, it wasn't strange to me you know, and it is, I have accepted it so quickly,
	<i>[lifting up her shirt to show me her operated breast]</i>	
Yolandi:	<i>Haai</i>	Hey
Hope:	<i>Sien jy, dis die boRs wat ek nou dra,</i>	You see, this is the breast that I wear now,
Yolandi:	<i>Ja</i>	Yes

Hope:	<i>dit moet ek, kry dit, /unclear/ so ek lyk net soos 'n ande' mens,</i>	this I must, get this, /unclear/ so I look just like another person,
Yolandi:	<i>Ja, hmm, so hy't hom heeltemal uitgehaal daa'</i>	Yes, hmm, so he took it out completely there
Hope:	<i>Ja heeltemal afgesny, en uh/</i>	Yes cut off completely, and uh/
Yolandi:	<i>Hy't mooi gesond geraak lyk dit vi' huh?</i>	It healed well it looks [to me] huh?
Hope:	<i>Ja ja, kyk hie'so en uh/</i>	Yes yes, look here and uh/
Yolandi:	<i>Spiere hoe is die spiere/</i>	Muscles how is the muscles/
Hope:	<i>Die <u>spieRe</u> is nou in die <u>winteR</u> baie <u>seeR</u> want die koue hulle wil nie dit hê nie</i>	The muscles is now in the winter very sore because the cold they don't want that
Yolandi:	<i>Ja</i>	Yes
Hope:	<i>sien jy baie <u>seeR</u> en dis baie pynlik</i>	you see very sore and it's very painful
Yolandi:	<i>Joh</i>	Wow
Hope:	<i>en een wat nou hier omgaan die <u>spieR</u> hie' agte' hy bly <u>seeR</u> sien jy maa' en weet jy, weet jy, ooe, meisiekind, ek weet nie hoe moet ek die Here dankie sê nie.</i>	and the one that now goes around here the muscles here [at the] back it stays sore you see but and you know, you know, ooh, girl, I don't know how I must thank the Lord.

Appendix 8.7. Hope: land and new developments

Also listen to full version here: <https://db.tt/O9eKt4bJ>.

Uvular-*r* underlined and indicated with a R. Zero-*r* and other contractions indicated with ‘.

Hope:	<i>Nou, hulle plaas.. mense, hou baie vergaderings daa’ met, Blankes daa’ <u>agteR</u>, sien jy, hulle’t baie in ’n meeting, toe sê sy nou, uhm,</i>	Now, their farm.. people, hold many meetings there with, Whites there at the back, you see, they have [many meetings], then she says now, uhm,
	<i>‘ons sit so hie’ kom nog ’n <u>gRote</u> ding aan,</i>	‘we sit like this a big thing is still coming’
Yolandi:	<i>Ja?</i>	Yes?
Hope:	<i>ek sê ‘wat man?’ ek sê ‘nig los af die goed!’ nou sê ek ‘wat is dit nou’ sê hulle ‘nee, daa’ waa’’, hmm nee nie in Sedgefield nie, uhm, uit, Wildernis, iewers, hulle wil daa’ vandaant af, <u>Reg deuR</u> ’n pad laat kom,</i>	I say ‘what man?’ I say ‘[female cousin] let these things go!’ now I say ‘what is it now’ they say ‘now, there where’, hmm, no not in Sedgefield, uhm, from Wildernis, somewhere, they want to from that side, let a road come straight through,
Yolandi:	<i>Wat?</i>	What?
Hope:	<i>Mosselbaai toe,</i>	to Mossel Bay,
Yolandi:	<i>Teen die see af ja ek het ook so iets gehoor</i>	Down long the see yes I also heard something like that
Hope:	<i>ja hier <u>ooR</u> laat kom, maa’ nou vat hulle mos baie van die gronde weg, ’n pad gaan mos baie van die gronde vat, en dan dan is daa’ brue en goed nog gebou wo’d, so sien dis wat wat hulle wee’ baklei <u>ooR</u>.</i>	yes let [it] come over here, but now they rather take a lot of the land away, a road will rather take a lot of the land away, and then then there are bridges and stuff that still need to built, so see that’s what what they fight over again.

END=^.#.^=='_==^_^=END